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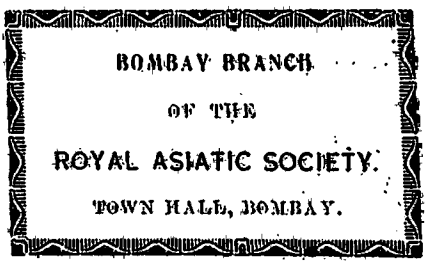

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THE

LITERATURE

OF

THE SABBATH QUESTION.

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BY

ROBERT COX, F.S.A. Scot.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE

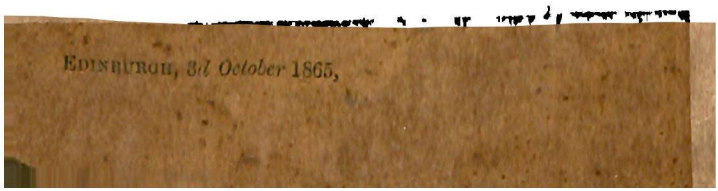
This work is designed chiefly as a help to those who wish to study the Sabbath Question in a thorough and impartial manner—but also professes to be a contribution to the discussion itself, and to the history of opinion about the weekly day of rest in Jewish and Christian times. After collecting at the outset those portions of Scripture upon which all varieties of belief on the subject are based, I have given a copious list, in chronological order, of the principal books in which those varieties are set forth and maintained, or which afford the evidence relied on by disputants. To the titles of the most remarkable treatises are subjoined notices and samples of their contents, the extracts being sometimes of considerable length, especially when selected from rare or voluminous works, or relating to topics of peculiar interest at the present time. Some of the discussions introduced may perhaps be regarded as obsolete; yet these are still interesting historically, and deserve to be recorded as curious relics of by-gone theological days.

As originally planned, the [illegible] to consist of a single volume of moderate size. But when, [illegible] through the press, I became more [illegible] than at first with the great controver[illegible]

Charles I., the expediency of enlarging the scale of the book became apparent. The earlier articles being thus comparatively meagre, I have embraced many subsequent opportunities of supplying their defects. This has been accomplished chiefly in the Supplement to Volume I., in preparing which I have derived important aid from the "Bampton Lectures" of Dr Hessey, published after most of the following sheets had already been printed. Of late, I have been hoping for the additional advantage of perusing the continuation of Mr James Donaldson's "Critical History of Christian Literature and Doctrine from the Death of the Apostles to the Nicene Council." Of that very able work, however, only the first volume has yet appeared; but in those which are to follow, a clear and accurate account of the opinions of the Fathers about the Sabbath and the Lord's Day may be confidently expected.

My thanks are due to those literary friends and others who have promoted my researches, and favoured me with information and advice.

Such readers as desire to make a methodical use, in study or discussion, of the materials here collected, are referred to the articles "Sabbath" and "Lord's Day" in the Index, where the subjects of inquiry are systematically arranged.



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"It shall greatly help thee to understand Scripture if thou mark not only what is spoken or written, but of whom, and unto whom, with what words, at what time, where, to what intent, with what circumstance, considering what goeth before, and what followeth after."—COVERDALE'S *Prologue to his Translation of the Bible.*

"There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies; his senses awakened, his judgment sharpened, and the truth which he holds more firmly established."—MILTON, *Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism, and Toleration.*

I.—THE CREATION.

GENESIS.

CHAP. I.

In the beginning God created the heaven and the 1
earth. And the earth was without form and void, and 2
darkness *was* upon the face of the deep: and the Spirit
of God moved upon the face of the waters.

And God said, "Let there be light:" and there was 3
light. And God saw the light, that *it was* good: and 4
God divided the light from the darkness. And God 5
called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night.
And the evening and the morning were the first day.

And God said, "Let there be a firmament* in the 6
midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from
the waters." And God made the firmament, and divided 7
the waters which *were* under the firmament, from the
waters which *were* above the firmament: and it was so.
And God called the firmament Heaven. And the evening 8
and the morning were the second day.

And God said, "Let the waters under the heaven be 9
gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land
appear:" and it was so. And God called the dry land 10
Earth, and the gathering together of the waters called
he Seas: and God saw that *it was* good. And God 11
said, "Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding

* Heb. "expansion."—*Margin.*

seed, *and* the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed *is* in itself, upon the earth:" and it was so.
12 And the earth brought forth grass, *and* herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed *was* in itself, after his kind: and God saw that *it*
13 *was* good. And the evening and the morning were the third day.
14 And God said, "Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven, to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and
15 years; and let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon the earth:" and it was
16 so. And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night:
17 *he made* the stars also. And God set them in the fir-
18 mament of the heaven, to give light upon the earth, and to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness: and God saw that *it was*
19 good. And the evening and the morning were the fourth day.
20 And God said, "Let the waters bring forth abundantly, the moving creature that hath life, and fowl *that* may fly above the earth in the open firmament of
21 heaven." And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly after their kind, and every winged fowl
22 after his kind: and God saw that *it was* good. And God blessed them, saying, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in
23 the earth." And the evening and the morning were the fifth day.
24 And God said, "Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle and creeping thing, and
25 beast of the earth after his kind:" and it was so. And God made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and God saw that *it was*
26 good. And God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the

fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." So God 27
created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. And 28
God blessed them, and God said unto them, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." And God said, "Behold, I 29
have given you every herb bearing seed, which *is* upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which *is* the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat. And to every beast of the earth, and to every 30
fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein *there is* life, *I have given* every green herb for meat:" and it was so. And God saw every thing 31
that he had made, and behold, *it was* very good. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day.

CHAP. II.

Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all 1
the host of them. And on the seventh* day God ended 2
his work which he had made: and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. And 3
God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it; because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made.†

* "Sixth," in the Samaritan copy of the Hebrew text, and in the ancient Syriac version and the Septuagint.

† Compare Exod. xx. 11 (p. 11), xxxi. 17 (p. 15); John v. 17 (p. 71); Heb. iv. 4 (p. 103). Verse 3, Dr Geddes thinks, ought to be translated thus: "God, therefore, hath blessed the seventh day, and made it holy, because on it he ceased from all his works, which he had ordained to do."—See his *Translation of the Bible*, vol. i., p. 4, and *Critical Remarks*, vol. i., pp. 23–28. As to the meaning of the word translated "blessed," commentators are much at variance. With respect, however, to that rendered "sanctified," or "made holy," (*Kadesh*), the most learned concur in regarding it as here equivalent to "set apart." Thus Calvin says: "*Kadesh*, with the Hebrews, is to separate from the common number. God therefore sanctifies the

II.—THE PATRIARCHAL PERIOD.

GENESIS—*Continued.*

CHAP. IV.

3 And in process of time* it came to pass that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the
4 Lord. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof.

CHAP. VII.

4 "For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon
10 the earth forty days and forty nights." . . . . And it came to pass after seven days,† that the waters of the flood were upon the earth.

CHAP. VIII.

10 And Noah staid yet other seven days, and again he
11 sent forth the dove out of the ark. And the dove came in to him in the evening, and lo, in her mouth *was* an olive-leaf pluckt off: So Noah knew that the waters
12 were abated from off the earth. And he staid yet other

seventh day, when he renders it illustrious, that by a special law it may be distinguished from the rest."—(*Comm. on Gen.* ii. 3). And Bishop Horsley observes: "*Set it apart* is the true import of the word 'hallowed it;'" and again, "'He hallowed it,'—that is, God distinguished this particular day, and set it apart from the rest."—(*Sermons* 22 and 23, On the Christian Sabbath). The meanings of the Hebrew word *Kadosh* are amply illustrated by Dr Campbell in Dissertation VI., Part IV., prefixed to his *Translation of the Gospels*, to which the reader is referred.

* Heb. "at the end of days."—*Marg.* Dr Geddes says: "Some render—'Now at the end of the year.'"

† Or, "on the seventh day."—*Marg.*

seven days, and sent forth the dove; which returned not again unto him any more.

CHAP. XXIX.

And Jacob said to Laban, "What *is* this thou hast 25
done unto me? did not I serve with thee for Rachel?
Wherefore then hast thou beguiled me?" And Laban 26
said, "It must not be so done in our country, to give
the younger before the first-born. Fulfil her week,* and 27
we will give thee this also, for the service which thou
shalt serve with me yet seven other years." And Jacob 28
did so, and fulfilled her week: and he gave him Rachel
his daughter to wife also. . . . . And he loved also 30
Rachel more than Leah, and served with him yet seven
other years.†

* Compare Judges xiv. 12 (p. 30). Marriage-feasts lasted a week.

† The peculiar frequency with which the number *seven* occurs in Scripture, and the sacred character which in ancient times was generally attributed to it by Eastern nations, are thought by some to indicate a traditionary knowledge of the primeval sanctification of the seventh day by God because of His resting on it after the work of creation. The service of Jacob for Rachel, during two periods of seven years, as mentioned in the passage quoted above, is one of the examples usually adduced; and another is as follows: "And the Lord said unto Cain, Therefore whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold" (Gen. iv. 15). Again, we read that Abraham made a solemn gift of seven ewe-lambs to Abimelech (Gen. xxi. 28); that Jacob bowed before Esau seven times (Gen. xxxiii. 3); that Pharaoh saw in his dream seven fat and seven lean kine, seven full and seven empty ears of corn (Gen. xli. 2–7); that Balak by the command of Balaam built seven altars, on which were sacrificed seven oxen and seven rams (Numb. xxiii. 1–4); and that Eliphaz was directed by the Lord to sacrifice seven bullocks and seven rams (Job. xlii. 8).

In the Mosaic law we find not only the weekly sabbath of the seventh day, but the sabbath of the seventh year, during which the land was to rest (Lev. xxv. 4, p. 21), and the feast of unleavened bread, which lasted seven days (Lev. xxiii. 6, p. 20; xxxiv. 18). In Lev. iv. 6, it is written, "The priest shall dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle of the blood seven times before the Lord, before the vail of the sanctuary;" and similar passages occur in verse 17 of the same chapter, and in viii. 11, xvi. 14, 15, &c.; also in Numb. xix. 4. In cleansing from leprosy, the priest was to sprinkle the person seven times (Lev. xiv. 7). At the siege of Jericho seven trumpets were sounded by seven priests round the walls of the

CHAP. L.

10 And Joseph made a mourning for his father seven days. *

III.—THE JEWISH PERIOD BEFORE CHRIST.

EXODUS.

CHAP. XVI.

1 And they took their journey from Elim, and all the congregation of the children of Israel came unto the wilderness of Sin, which *is* between Elim and Sinai, on the fifteenth day of the second month after their depart-
2 ing out of the land of Egypt. And the whole congregation of the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness. . . .
4 Then said the LORD unto Moses, "Behold, I will rain bread from heaven for you; and the people shall go out and gather a certain rate every day,† that I may prove
5 them, whether they will walk in my law, or no. And it shall come to pass, that on the sixth day, they shall prepare *that* which they bring in; and it shall be twice
6 as much as they gather daily." ‡ And Moses and Aaron said unto all the children of Israel, "At even, then ye

city seven days (Josh. vi. 4, 6, 8). Elisha bade his servant "go again seven times" (1 Kings xviii. 43); the child of the Shunammite sneezed seven times (2 Kings iv. 35); and Naaman was directed by Elisha to wash seven times in the river Jordan (2 Kings v. 10). In the Book of Revelation the number seven frequently occurs.

* Compare Job. ii. 13 (p. 37).

† "Let the people go out and gather daily the quantity sufficient for that day."—*Geddes's Transl.*

‡ "But on the sixth day, let it so be, that what they bring in be the double of what they gather every other day."—*Geddes's Transl.*

shall know that the LORD hath brought you out from the land of Egypt. And in the morning, then ye shall 7
see the glory of the LORD; for that he heareth your murmurings against the LORD: and what *are* we, that ye murmur against us?" . . . . .

And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold, 14
upon the face of the wilderness *there lay* a small round thing, *as* small as the hoar frost on the ground. And 15
when the children of Israel saw *it*, they said one to another, "It *is* manna:" for they wist not what it *was*. And Moses said unto them, "This *is* the bread which the LORD hath given you to eat. This *is* the thing 16
which the LORD hath commanded, Gather of it every man according to his eating; an omer for every man, *according to* the number of your persons: take ye every man for *them* which *are* in his tents."

And the children of Israel did so, and gathered, some 17
more, some less. And when they did mete *it* with an 18
omer, he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little, had no lack:* they gathered every man according to his eating.

And Moses said, "Let no man leave of it till the 19
morning." Notwithstanding they hearkened not unto 20
Moses, but some of them left of it until the morning, and it bred worms and stank: and Moses was wroth with them. And they gathered it every morning, every 21
man according to his eating: and when the sun waxed hot, it melted.

And it came to pass *that* on the sixth day they ga- 22
thered twice as much bread, two omers for one *man:* and all the rulers of the congregation came and told

* "But when they measured it with an omer, he who had too much kept not the overplus; and he who had too little suffered no lack."—*Geddes's Transl.*

"The meaning is, that although the Israelites gathered, some more, some less, yet, when it came to be divided, each received the same quantity."—*Rosenmüller.*

The Jewish rabbis, who, as Geddes observes, are ever for multiplying miracles, interpret this passage as intimating, that whatever quantity of manna was gathered by each individual, when he came to measure it he had no more than an omer.

23 Moses. And he said unto them, "This *is that* which
the LORD hath said, To-morrow *is* the rest of the
holy sabbath* unto the LORD: bake *that* which ye will
bake *to-day*, and seethe that ye will seethe; and that
which remaineth over, lay up for you to be kept until
24 the morning." And they laid it up till the morning,
as Moses bade; and it did not stink, neither was there
25 any worm therein. And Moses said, "Eat that to-day;
for to-day *is* a sabbath unto the LORD: to-day ye shall
26 not find it in the field. Six days ye shall gather it;
but on the seventh day, *which is* the sabbath, in it there
shall be none."

27 And it came to pass, *that* there went out *some* of the
people on the seventh day for to gather, and they found
28 none. And the LORD said unto Moses, "How long
refuse ye to keep my commandments and my laws?†
29 See, for that the LORD hath given you‡ the sabbath,
therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of

* In the Hebrew phrase here translated "the rest of the holy sabbath," and in that translated "a sabbath" in verse 25, and "the sabbath" in verse 26, the article is wanting; and consequently, instead of using the *definite* English article in the first and third instances, our translators ought to have used the *indefinite*, as they have done in the second instance. The words in verse 23 mean literally, "A resting of a holy sabbath to Jehovah is tomorrow." In verse 29, where the article *is* prefixed in the original, we have a correct translation in the phrase "*the* sabbath," the institution thus being now spoken of as known to the hearers. This distinction between the 29th and the previous verses in regard to the article, is preserved in the Septuagint, and also in De Wette's translation. Geddes inconsistently gives "a sabbath" in verses 25 and 29, and "the sabbath" in verse 26.

The true rendering of these verses ought to be kept in mind while judging whether or not the sabbath is in this chapter spoken of as an institution previously known to the Israelites. In reference to that question, see Gen. ii. 3 (p. 3); Exod. xx. 8–11 (p. 11); Deut. v. 12–15 (p. 25); Neh. ix. 14 (p. 35); Ezek. xx. 12 (p. 44).

† Compare verse 4, and Gen. xxvi. 5.

‡ The Hebrew word here translated "hath given," is the same which in the next line is rendered "giveth." Some argue, that if it be taken literally, as it must be, in regard to the *bread*, there is no reason why it should not equally be so taken in regard to the *sabbath*. Geddes's translation is, "See how, because the Lord hath appointed to you a sabbath."

two days: abide ye every man in his place, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day." So the people rested on the seventh day. 30

CHAP. XIX.

In the third month, when the children of Israel were gone forth out of the land of Egypt, the same day came they *into* the wilderness of Sinai.* For they were departed from Rephidim, and were come *to* the desert of Sinai, and had pitched in the wilderness, and there Israel camped before the mount. And Moses went up unto God, and the LORD† called unto him out of the mountain, saying, "Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel; 'Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and *how* I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people; for all the earth *is* mine. And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation.' These *are* the words which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel." 1 2 3 4 5 6

And Moses came, and called for the elders of the people, and laid before their faces all these words which the LORD commanded him. And all the people answered together, and said, "All that the LORD hath spoken, we will do." And Moses returned the words of the people unto the LORD. 7 8

And the LORD said unto Moses, "Lo, I come unto thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak with thee, and believe thee for ever." And Moses told the words of the people unto the LORD. 9

And the LORD said unto Moses, "Go unto the people, and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and let them wash their clothes, and be ready against the third day: for the third day the LORD will come down in the 10 11

* "On the first day of the third month from the going out of the children of Israel from Egypt, they came to the wilderness of Sinai."—*Geddes's Transl.*

† Compare Acts vii. 38 (p. 77).

12 sight of all the people upon mount Sinai. And thou
shalt set bounds unto the people round about, saying,
Take heed to yourselves, *that ye* go *not* up into the
mount, or touch the border of it: whosoever toucheth
13 the mount shall be surely put to death. There shall
not an hand touch it, but he shall surely be stoned or
shot through; whether *it be* beast or man, it shall not
live. When the trumpet soundeth long, they shall come
up to the mount."
14 And Moses went down from the mount unto the
people, and sanctified the people, and they washed their
15 clothes. And he said unto the people, "Be ready
against the third day: come not at *your* wives."
16 And it came to pass on the third day in the morning,
that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick
cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet
exceeding loud; so that all the people that *was* in the
17 camp trembled.* And Moses brought forth the people
out of the camp to meet with God, and they stood at
18 the nether part of the mount. And mount Sinai was
altogether on a smoke, because the LORD descended
upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as
the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked
19 greatly. And when the voice of the trumpet sound-
ed long, and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake,
20 and God answered him by a voice. And the LORD
came down upon mount Sinai,† on the top of the mount;
and the LORD called Moses *up* to the top of the mount,
21 and Moses went up. And the LORD said unto Moses,
"Go down, charge the people, lest they break through

* Compare Deut. iv. 11 (p. 24), and Heb. xii. 18 (p. 104).

† In the following places, this name is given to the mount where the law was received by Moses: Exod. xxiv. 16; xxxi. 18; xxxiv. 2; Neh. ix. 13; Acts vii. 38; Gal. iv. 24. But it is called "*Horeb*" in Deut. iv. 10; v. 2; xxix. 1; 1 Kings viii. 9; 2 Chron. v. 10; Mal. iv. 4. "Sinai" is mentioned also in Deut. xxxiii. 2, Judg. v. 5, and Psal. lxviii. 8, 17; and "Horeb" in Deut. i. 6, xviii. 16, Psal. cvi. 19, Exod. iii. 1, and 1 Kings xix. 8. In the last two places Horeb is called "the mount of God."

The explanatory supposition is, that Horeb was a particular mountain in a ridge, the whole of which went by the name of Sinai.

unto the LORD, to gaze, and many of them perish.
And let the priests also which come near to the LORD, 22
sanctify themselves, lest the LORD break forth upon
them." And Moses said unto the LORD, "The people 23
cannot come up to mount Sinai; for thou chargedst us,
saying, Set bounds about the mount, and sanctify it."
And the LORD said unto him, "Away, get thee down, 24
and thou shalt come up, thou; and Aaron with thee;
but let not the priests and the people break through, to
come up unto the LORD, lest he break forth upon them."
So Moses went down unto the people, and spake unto 25
them.

CHAP. XX.

And God spake all these words, saying, 1

"I *am* the LORD thy God, which have brought thee 2
out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

"Thou shalt have no other gods before me. 3

"Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, 4
or any likeness *of any thing* that *is* in heaven above,
or that *is* in the earth beneath, or that *is* in the water
under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself to 5
them, nor serve them: for I the LORD thy God *am* a
jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon
the children unto the third and fourth *generation* of
them that hate me; and shewing mercy unto thousands 6
of them that love me and keep my commandments.

"Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy 7
God in vain; for the LORD will not hold him guiltless
that taketh his name in vain.

"Remember the sabbath-day, to keep it holy. Six 8,9
days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: But the 10
seventh day is the sabbath of the LORD thy God; *in it*
thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy
daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor
thy cattle, nor thy stranger that *is* within thy gates.*
For *in* six days the LORD made heaven and earth, the 11
sea, and all that in them *is*, and rested the seventh day:

* Compare Deut. xxxi. 12 (p. 28).

wherefore the LORD blessed the sabbath-day, and hallowed it.*

12 "Honour thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long upon the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.†

13 "Thou shalt not kill.

14 "Thou shalt not commit adultery.

15 "Thou shalt not steal.

16 "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

17 "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that *is* thy neighbour's."

18 And all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking; and when the people saw *it*, they removed,
19 and stood afar off. And they said unto Moses, "Speak thou with us, and we will hear; but let not God
20 speak with us, lest we die." And Moses said unto the people, "Fear not; for God is come to prove you, and that his fear may be before your faces, that ye sin not."
21 And the people stood afar off, and Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God *was*.

22 And the LORD said unto Moses, "Thus thou shalt say unto the children of Israel, Ye have seen that I have
23 talked with you from heaven. Ye shall not make with me gods of silver, neither shall ye make unto you gods
24 of gold. An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me,

* Compare Deut. v. 12-15 (p. 25); Gen. ii. 3 (p. 3); Exod. xvi. 23-30 (p. 8); xxxi. 12-17 (p. 14); xxxiv. 1-29 (p. 16); xxxv. 2, 3 (p. 18); Lev. xix. 3, 30 (p. 19); xxiii. 3 (p. 19); Heb. iv. 4 (p. 103). Dr Geddes gives "Mayst thou labour" in verse 8, and "hath blessed" in verse 11. As to the meaning of the words translated "keep holy" and "hallowed," compare Exod. xvi. 30 (p. 9); xxxi. 14, 15 (p. 15); xxxiv. 21 (p. 17); xxxv. 2, 3 (p. 18); Lev. xxiii. 1-8, 27-32 (p. 19); Numb. xv. 32 (p. 22); xxviii. 25 (p. 23); Neh. viii. 9-12, 17, 18 (p. 34); xiii. 15-18, 22 (p. 36); Jer. xvii. 21, 22, 24, 27 (p. 43); Matt. xii. 1-5 (p. 49); Luke xiii. 14 (p. 64); xiv. 1-12 (p. 64); xxiii. 56 (p. 66); and see p. 3, note†.

† Compare Eph. vi. 2, 3 (p. 99).

and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt-offerings, and thy peace-offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen. In all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee. And if thou wilt make me an altar of 25
stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone; for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it. Neither 26
shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon," &c.

CHAP. XXIII.

Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on the seventh 12
day thou shalt rest; that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thy hand-maid and the stranger may be refreshed.*

CHAP. XXIV.

And he said unto Moses, "Come up unto the LORD, 1
thou, and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel; and worship ye afar off. And Moses 2
alone shall come near the LORD: but they shall not come nigh, neither shall the people go up with him."

And Moses came and told the people all the words 3
of the LORD, and all the judgments; and all the people answered with one voice, and said, "All the words which the LORD hath said, will we do."

And Moses wrote all the words of the LORD, and rose 4
up early in the morning, and builded an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars according to the twelve tribes of Israel. And he sent young men of the children of 5
Israel, which offered burnt-offerings, and sacrificed peace-offerings of oxen unto the LORD. And Moses 6
took half of the blood, and put *it* in basons; and half of the blood he sprinkled on the altar. And he took 7
the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of

* Dr Geddes prefers the Samaritan lection of this verse as the most natural, although all the versions copy the other. His rendering is as follows:—"Six days ye may do your work; but on the seventh day ye shall rest; to the end that your man-servants and maid-servants, and all your cattle, and the sojourner also, may repose, as well as yourselves."—See his *Translation of the Bible*, vol. i., p. 144, and *Critical Remarks*, vol. i., p. 255.

the people; and they said, "All that the LORD hath
8 said, will we do, and be obedient." And Moses took the blood, and sprinkled *it* on the people, and said, "Behold the blood of the covenant, which the LORD hath made with you concerning all these words."
9 Then went up Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu,
10 and seventy of the elders of Israel. And they saw the God of Israel: and *there was* under his feet as it were a paved work of a sapphire-stone, and as it were the
11 body of heaven in *his* clearness. And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he laid not his hand: also they saw God, and did eat and drink.
12 And the LORD said unto Moses, "Come up to me into the mount, and be there: and I will give thee tables of stone, and a law, and commandments which I have
13 written; that thou mayest teach them." And Moses rose up, and his minister Joshua; and Moses went up
14 into the mount of God. And he said unto the elders, "Tarry ye here for us, until we come again unto you: And behold, Aaron and Hur *are* with you; if any man have any matters to do, let him come unto them."
15 And Moses went up into the mount, and a cloud
16 covered the mount. And the glory of the LORD abode upon mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days: and the seventh day he called unto Moses out of the
17 midst of the cloud. And the sight of the glory of the LORD *was* like devouring fire on the top of the mount,
18 in the eyes of the children of Israel. And Moses went into the midst of the cloud, and gat him up into the mount: and Moses was in the mount forty days and forty nights.

CHAP. XXV.

16 And thou shalt put into the ark the testimony which I shall give thee.*

CHAP. XXXI.

12 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, "Speak

* This is repeated in verse 21.

thou also unto the children of Israel, saying, Verily 13
my sabbaths ye shall keep: for it *is* a sign between
me and you,* throughout your generations; that *ye*
may know that I *am* the LORD that doth sanctify
you. Ye shall keep the sabbath therefore: for it *is* 14
holy unto you.† Every one that defileth it shall surely
be put to death: for whosoever doeth *any* work therein,
that soul shall be cut off from amongst his people.
Six days may work be done, but in the seventh *is* the 15
sabbath of rest,‡ holy§ to the LORD: whosoever doeth
any work in the sabbath-day, he shall surely be put to
death. Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the 16
sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout their gene-
rations, *for* a perpetual covenant. It *is* a sign between 17
me and the children of Israel for ever: for *in* six days
the LORD made heaven and earth, and on the seventh
day he rested, and was refreshed." And he gave unto 18
Moses, when he had made an end of communing with
him upon mount Sinai, two tables of testimony, tables
of stone, written with the finger of God.‖

CHAP. XXXII.

And the LORD said unto Moses, "Go, get thee down; 7
for thy people, which thou broughtest out of the land
of Egypt, have corrupted *themselves*. They have turned 8
aside quickly out of the way which I commanded them:
they have made them a molten calf, and have wor-
shipped it, and have sacrificed thereunto, and said,
'These *be* thy gods, O Israel, which have brought thee
up out of the land of Egypt.'" . . . .

And Moses turned, and went down from the mount, 15
and the two tables of the testimony *were* in his hand:

* In discussions upon this clause, and the parallel passages in Ezek. xx. 12, 20 (p. 44), the following texts have been cited: Gen. ix. 12, 13, xvii. 11; Exod. xiii. 6-16; Deut. v. 8-12, xi. 18.

† "Because for you it hath been hallowed."—*Geddes's Transl.*

‡ "But let the seventh day be a sabbath of rest."—*Geddes's Transl.*

§ Heb. "holiness."—"*Marg.*

‖ Comparo Deut. ix. 10; x. 4 (p. 27).

the tables *were* written on both their sides; on the one
16 side and on the other *were* they written. And the tables *were* the work of God, and the writing *was* the writing of God graven upon the tables. . . . .
19 And it came to pass as soon as he came nigh unto the camp, that he saw the calf, and the dancing: and Moses' anger waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his hands, and brake them beneath the mount.

CHAP. XXXIV.

1 And the LORD said unto Moses, "Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first; and I will write upon *these* tables the words that were in the first tables, which thou
2 brakest.* And be ready in the morning, and come up in the morning unto mount Sinai, and present thyself
3 there to me in the top of the mount. And no man shall come up with thee, neither let any man be seen throughout all the mount: neither let the flocks nor herds feed before that mount."
4 And he hewed two tables of stone, like unto the first: and Moses rose up early in the morning, and went up unto mount Sinai, as the LORD had commanded him,
5 and took in his hand the two tables of stone. And the LORD descended in the cloud, and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of the LORD. . . . .
10 And he said, "Behold, I make a covenant: before all thy people I will do marvels, such as have not been done in all the earth, nor in any nation; and all the people amongst which thou *art*, shall see the work of the LORD: for it *is* a terrible thing that I will do with thee.
11 "Observe thou that which I command thee this day: behold, I drive out before thee the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite,
12 and the Jebusite. Take heed to thyself, lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou
13 goest, lest it be for a snare in the midst of thee. But ye shall destroy their altars, break their images, and

* Compare verses 27 and 28 of this chapter, and Deut. x. 2–4 (p. 27).

cut down their groves. For thou shalt worship no other 14
god: for the LORD, whose name *is* Jealous, *is* a jealous
God: lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants 15
of the land, and they go a whoring after their gods, and
do sacrifice unto their gods, and *one* call thee, and thou
eat of his sacrifice; and thou take of their daughters 16
unto thy sons, and their daughters go a whoring after
their gods, and make thy sons go a whoring after their
gods.

"Thou shalt make thee no molten gods. 17

"The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep. 18
Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I com-
manded thee, in the time of the month Abib: for in
the month Abib thou camest out from Egypt.

"All that openeth the matrix *is* mine; and every 19
firstling among thy cattle, *whether* ox or sheep, *that is*
male. But the firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem 20
with a lamb; and if thou redeem *him* not, then shalt
thou break his neck. All the first-born of thy sons
thou shalt redeem; and none shall appear before me
empty.

"Six days thou shalt work,* but on the seventh day 21
thou shalt rest; in earing time and in harvest thou
shalt rest.

"And thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, of the 22
first-fruits of wheat-harvest, and the feast of ingather-
ing, at the year's end.

"Thrice in the year shall all your men-children appear 23
before the Lord GOD, the God of Israel. For I will cast 24
out the nations before thee, and enlarge thy borders:
neither shall any man desire thy land, when thou shalt go
up to appear before the LORD thy God thrice in the year.

"Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with 25
leaven; neither shall the sacrifice of the feast of the
passover be left until the morning.

"The first of the first-fruits of thy land thou shalt 26
bring unto the house of the LORD thy God.

"Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk."

* "Ye may work."—*Geddes's Transl.*

27 And the LORD said unto Moses, "Write thou these words; for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel."

28 And he was there with the LORD forty days and forty nights; he did neither eat bread, nor drink water: and he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments.*

29 And it came to pass when Moses came down from mount Sinai, with the two tables of testimony in Moses' hand, when he came down from the mount, that Moses wist not that the skin of his face shone, while he talked with him.

CHAP. XXXV.

1 And Moses gathered all the congregation of the children of Israel together, and said unto them, "These *are* the words which the LORD hath commanded, that ye
2 should do them. Six days shall work be done, but on the seventh day there shall be to you an holy day,† a sabbath of rest to the LORD:‡ whosoever doeth work
3 therein shall be put to death. Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations upon the sabbath-day."

CHAP. XL.

17 And it came to pass, in the first month, in the second year, on the first *day* of the month, *that* the taber-
18 nacle was reared up. And Moses reared up the taber-
20 nacle; . . . . and he took and put the testimony into the ark, and set the staves on the ark, and put the
21 mercy-seat above upon the ark. And he brought the ark into the tabernacle, and set up the vail of the covering, and covered the ark of the testimony; as the LORD commanded Moses.

* Heb. "words."—*Marg.* Compare verse 1 of this chapter, Exod. xx. 2–17 (p. 11); xxiv. 12 (p. 14); xxxi. 18 (p. 15); and Deut. v. 1–22 (p. 24); x. 2–4 (p. 27).

† Heb. "holiness."—*Marg.*

‡ "Six days may work be done; but the seventh day shall be to you a sabbath of rest, holy to the Lord."—*Geddes's Transl.*

LEVITICUS.

CHAP. XIX.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, "Speak 1
unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, and say unto them, Ye shall be holy; for I the LORD your God *am* holy.

"Ye shall fear every man his mother and his father, 3
and keep my sabbaths: I *am* the LORD your God.

"Turn ye not unto idols, nor make to yourselves 4
molten gods: I *am* the LORD your God. . . . .

"Ye shall keep my sabbaths, and reverence my 30
sanctuary: I *am* the LORD."*

CHAP. XX.

"And ye shall be holy unto me; for I the LORD *am* 26
holy, and have severed you from *other* people, that ye should be mine."

CHAP. XXIII.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, "Speak 1
unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, *Concerning* the feasts of the LORD, which ye shall proclaim *to be* holy convocations, *even* these *are* my feasts.

"Six days shall work be done, but the seventh day 3
is the sabbath of rest, an holy convocation;† ye shall

* This verse is repeated *verbatim* in chap. xxvi. ver 2.

† This phrase is frequently understood as an injunction to assemble on the sabbath-day, for the purpose of hearing the law and worshipping God. But it has been objected that Moses would have been as explicit on so important a point as he was in ordering the law to be read once in seven years to the assembled Israelites (Deut. xxxi. 10-12, p. 28); and that, besides, the phrase in the original will not bear the interpretation which has been put upon it. According to Vitringa, the words *mikra kodesh*, translated in the Septuagint "holy convocation" (κλητὴ ἁγία), should rather have been rendered "a proclamation of holiness;" *i.e.*, the day shall be proclaimed holy (viz., by the sound of a trumpet, as was

do no work *therein:* it *is* the sabbath of the LORD in all your dwellings.

4 "These *are* the feasts of the LORD, *even* holy convocations, which ye shall proclaim in their seasons.

5 "In the fourteenth *day* of the first month at even,
6 *is* the LORD's passover. And on the fifteenth day of the same month, *is* the feast of unleavened bread unto
7 the LORD: seven days ye must eat unleavened bread. In the first day ye shall have an holy convocation; ye
8 shall do no servile work therein. But ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD seven days: in the seventh day *is* an holy convocation, ye shall do no servile work *therein*. . . .

27 "Also on the tenth *day* of this seventh month *there shall be* a day of atonement: it shall be an holy convocation unto you; and ye shall afflict your souls,* and
28 offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD. And ye shall do no work in that same day; for it *is* a day of atonement, to make an atonement for you before the
29 LORD your God. For whatsoever soul *it be* that shall not be afflicted in that same day,† he shall be cut off
30 from among his people. And whatsoever soul *it be* that doeth any work in that same day, the same soul
31 will I destroy from among his people. Ye shall do no manner of work: *it shall be* a statute for ever through-
32 out your generations, in all your dwellings. *It shall be* unto you a sabbath of rest, and ye shall afflict your

the sabbath-day). In the Vulgate the correct reading, *vocabitur sanctus*, is given. The word *mikra*, he farther observes, is literally "a proclamation;" its root *kara* signifying "to proclaim," and being thus rendered by our translators in Exod. xxxii. 5; Levit. xxiii. 21; xxv. 10; Jer. xxxvi. 9; Joel ii. 15.—Bernard's abridgment of *Vitringa on the Synagogue and the Church*, pp. 25, 26. In a note on Exod. xii. 16, where the phrase "an holy convocation" is first found in our version, Dr Geddes, who adopts it, gives as an alternative translation "a proclaimed holy day."

On this subject see Sir William Domville's work entitled *The Sabbath; or an Inquiry into the Supposed Obligation of the Sabbaths of the Old Testament*, pp. 186, 231. Lond. 1855.

* "Humble yourselves."—*Geddes's Transl.*

† "Whosoever he be, who humbleth not himself during all that day."—*Geddes's Transl.*

souls, in the ninth *day* of the month at even: from even unto even, shall ye* celebrate your sabbath.†

CHAP. XXIV.

Every sabbath he [Aaron] shall set it [the bread] 8
in order before the LORD continually, *being taken* from the children of Israel by an everlasting covenant.

CHAP. XXV.

Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, 2
When ye come into the land which I give you, then shall the land keep a sabbath‡ unto the LORD. Six 3
years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and gather in the fruit thereof.
But in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto 4
the land, a sabbath for the LORD: thou shalt neither sow thy field, nor prune thy vineyard. That which 5
groweth of its own accord of thy harvest, thou shalt not reap, neither gather the grapes of thy vine undressed: *for* it is a year of rest unto the land. And the sabbath 6
of the land shall be meat for you; for thee, and for thy servant, and for thy maid, and for thy hired servant, and for thy stranger that sojourneth with thee, and for 7
thy cattle, and for the beast that *are* in thy land, shall all the increase thereof be meat.§

* Heb. "rest."—*Marg.*

† Verses 31 and 32: "Therefore, no work shall ye do *on it*: in all dwellings, throughout your generations, it shall, by a perpetual statute, be to you a sabbath of rest, in which ye shall humble yourselves: from the evening of the ninth day of the month until the next evening, from even to even, shall ye keep your sabbath."—*Geddes's Transl.*

The law concerning the annual day of atonement is more briefly given in Levit. xvi. 29–31, and Numb. xxix. 7. In the former place, it is made applicable to sojourning strangers as well as to Israelites: "And *this* shall be a statute for ever unto you: *that* in the seventh month, on the tenth *day* of the month, ye shall afflict your souls, and do no work at all, *whether it be* one of your own country, or a stranger that sojourneth among you."

‡ Heb. "rest."—*Marg.*

§ Compare Levit. xxvi. 33–35 (p. 22), and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, 21 (p. 33).

CHAP. XXVI.

33 And I will scatter you among the heathen, and will draw out a sword after you; and your land shall be desolate, and your cities waste.

34 Then shall the land enjoy her sabbaths, as long as it lieth desolate, and ye *be* in your enemies' land; *even* then shall the land rest, and enjoy her sabbaths.*

35 As long as it lieth desolate, it shall rest; because it did not rest in your sabbaths when ye dwelt upon it.†

NUMBERS.

CHAP. XV.

30 But the soul that doeth *ought* presumptuously,‡ (*whether he be* born in the land, or a stranger,) the same reproacheth the LORD; and that soul shall be cut off
31 from among his people. Because he hath despised the word of the LORD, and hath broken his commandment, that soul shall utterly be cut off: his iniquity *shall be* upon him.

32 And while the children of Israel were in the wilderness, they found a man that gathered sticks upon the
33 sabbath-day. And they that found him gathering sticks, brought him unto Moses and Aaron, and unto all the
34 congregation. And they put him in ward, because it was not declared what should be done to him.

35 And the LORD said unto Moses, "The man shall be surely put to death: all the congregation shall stone
36 him with stones without the camp." And all the congregation brought him without the camp, and stoned him with stones, and he died; as the LORD commanded Moses.

* This is repeated in verse 43.

† "During the whole time of its desolation shall it have that rest, which, while ye inhabited it, it had not on your sabbaths."—*Geddes's Transl.*

‡ Heb. "with an high hand."—*Marg.* Geddes explains the phrase as equivalent to "transgress voluntarily and deliberately."

CHAP. XXVIII.

And thou shalt say unto them, This *is* the offering 3
made by fire which ye shall offer unto the LORD; two
lambs of the first year without spot, day by day, *for* a
continual burnt-offering. The one lamb shalt thou offer 4
in the morning, and the other lamb shalt thou offer at
even. . . . And on the sabbath-day, two lambs of 9
the first year without spot,* and two-tenth deals of flour
for a meat-offering, mingled with oil, and the drink-
offering thereof. *This is* the burnt-offering of every 10
sabbath, beside the continual burnt-offering, and his
drink-offering. . . . After this manner ye shall 24
offer daily, throughout the seven days, the meat of the
sacrifice made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD:
it shall be offered beside the continual burnt-offering,
and his drink-offering. And on the seventh day ye shall 25
have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work.

DEUTERONOMY.

CHAP. IV.

Now therefore hearken, O Israel, unto the statutes, 1
and unto the judgments, which I teach you, for to do
them, that ye may live, and go in and possess the land
which the LORD God of your fathers giveth you.

Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, 2
neither shall ye diminish *ought* from it, that ye may
keep the commandments of the LORD your God which I
command you.

Your eyes have seen what the LORD did because of 3
Baal-peor: for all the men that followed Baal-peor, the
LORD thy God hath destroyed them from among you.
But ye that did cleave unto the LORD your God, *are* 4
alive every one of you this day.

Behold, I have taught you statutes and judgments, 5
even as the LORD my God commanded me, that ye

* Compare Ezek. xlvi. 4 (p. 46).

should do so in the land whither ye go to possess it.
6 Keep therefore and do *them:* for this *is* your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations, which shall hear all these statutes, and say, "Surely this great
7 nation *is* a wise and understanding people." For what nation *is there so* great, who *hath* God so nigh unto them, as the LORD our God *is* in all *things* that we call
8 upon him for? And what nation *is there so* great that hath statutes and judgments *so* righteous, as all this law which I set before you this day?
9 Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen, and lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life; but teach them thy sons, and thy sons' sons:
10 *Specially* the day that thou stoodest before the LORD thy God in Horeb,* when the LORD said unto me, "Gather me the people together, and I will make them hear my words, that they may learn to fear me all the days that they shall live upon the earth, and *that* they may teach
11 their children." And ye came near and stood under the mountain, and the mountain burned with fire unto the midst of heaven, with darkness, clouds, and thick dark-
12 ness. And the LORD spake unto you out of the midst of the fire: ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no
13 similitude; only *ye heard* a voice. And he declared unto you his covenant, which he commanded you to perform, *even* ten commandments; and he wrote them upon two
14 tables of stone. And the LORD commanded me at that time to teach you statutes and judgments, that ye might do them in the land whither ye go over to possess it.†

CHAP. V.

1 And Moses called all Israel, and said unto them, "Hear, O Israel, the statutes and judgments which I speak in your ears this day, that ye may learn them, and keep, and do them.
2 "The LORD our God made a covenant with us in

* See note on Exod. xix. 20 (p. 10).
† Compare Exod. xix. 16–25 (p. 10), and Heb. xii. 18 (p. 104).

Horeb. The LORD made not this covenant with our 3
fathers, but with us, *even* us, who *are* all of us here
alive this day.* The LORD talked with you face to face 4
in the mount, out of the midst of the fire, (I stood be- 5
tween the LORD and you at that time, to shew you the
word of the LORD; for ye were afraid by reason of the
fire, and went not up into the mount,) saying,

" ' I *am* the LORD thy God, which brought thee out 6
of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage.

" ' Thou shalt have none other gods before me. 7

" ' Thou shalt not make thee *any* graven image, *or* 8
any likeness *of any thing* that *is* in heaven above, or that
is in the earth beneath, or that *is* in the waters beneath
the earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself unto 9
them, nor serve them: for I the LORD thy God *am* a
jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon
the children unto the third and fourth *generation* of
them that hate me, and shewing mercy unto thou- 10
sands of them that love me and keep my command-
ments.

" ' Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy 11
God in vain: for the LORD will not hold *him* guiltless
that taketh his name in vain.

" ' Keep the sabbath-day to sanctify it, as the LORD 12
thy God hath commanded thee. Six days thou shalt 13
labour,† and do all thy work: But the seventh day *is* 14
the sabbath of the LORD thy God; *in it* thou shalt not
do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor
thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thine ox,
nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, nor thy stranger
that *is* within thy gates: that thy man-servant and thy
maid-servant may rest as well as thou. And remember 15
that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and *that*
the LORD thy God brought thee out thence through a
mighty hand, and by a stretched-out arm: therefore the

* " That covenant he made, not with our fathers *only*, but with us *also*; with all of us who are here alive at this day."—*Geddes's Transl.*

† " Mayst thou labour."—*Geddes's Transl.*

LORD thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath-day.*

16 " 'Honour thy father and thy mother, as the LORD thy God hath commanded thee; that thy days may be prolonged, and that it may go well with thee, in the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.

17 " 'Thou shalt not kill.

18 " 'Neither shalt thou commit adultery.

19 " 'Neither shalt thou steal.

20 " 'Neither shalt thou bear false witness against thy neighbour.

21 " 'Neither shalt thou desire thy neighbour's wife, neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's house, his field, or his man-servant, or his maid-servant, his ox, or his ass, or any *thing* that *is* thy neighbour's.'

22 " These words the LORD spake unto all your assembly in the mount out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a great voice, and he added no more; and he wrote them in two tables of stone, and delivered them unto me."†

CHAP. VII.

6 For thou *art* an holy people unto the LORD thy God: the LORD thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself, above all people that *are* upon the face of the earth.

CHAP. IX.

7 Remember, *and* forget not, how thou provokedst the LORD thy God to wrath in the wilderness: from the day that thou didst depart out of the land of Egypt, until ye came unto this place, ye have been rebellious against the LORD.

8 Also in Horeb ye provoked the LORD to wrath, so that the LORD was angry with you, to have destroyed
9 you. When I was gone up into the mount, to receive the tables of stone, *even* the tables of the covenant which the LORD made with you, then I abode in the mount

* Compare Exod. xx. 8–11 (p. 11).

† Compare Exod. xx. 3–17 (p. 11); xxxiv. 1–28 (p. 16).

forty days and forty nights; I neither did eat bread nor drink water: And the LORD delivered unto me two tables 10
of stone, written with the finger of God: and on them *was written* according to all the words which the LORD spake with you in the mount, out of the midst of fire, in the day of the assembly. And it came to pass at the 11
end of forty days and forty nights, *that* the LORD gave me the two tables of stone, *even* the tables of the covenant.* . . .

And I looked, and, behold, ye had sinned against the 16
LORD your God, *and* had made you a molten calf: ye had turned aside quickly out of the way which the LORD had commanded you. And I took the two tables, and 17
cast them out of my two hands, and brake them before your eyes.

CHAP. X.

At that time the LORD said unto me, "Hew thee two 1
tables of stone like unto the first, and come up unto me into the mount, and make thee an ark of wood. And 2
I will write on the tables the words that were in the first tables which thou brakest, and thou shalt put them in the ark."

And I made an ark *of* shittim-wood, and hewed two 3
tables of stone like unto the first, and went up into the mount, having the two tables in mine hand. And he 4
wrote† on the tables, according to the first writing, the ten commandments,‡ which the LORD spake unto you in the mount, out of the midst of the fire, in the day of the assembly: and the LORD gave them unto me.

And I turned myself, and came down from the mount, 5
and put the tables in the ark which I had made, and there they be, as the LORD commanded me.§

CHAP. XXVII.

And Moses, with the elders of Israel, commanded the 1
people, saying, "Keep all the commandments which I

* Compare Exod. xxxi. 18 (p. 15.)
† Compare Exod. xxxiv. 27, 28 (p. 18).
‡ Heb. "words."—*Marg.* § Compare 1 Kings viii. 9 (p. 30).

2 command you this day. And it shall be, on the day
when ye shall pass over Jordan unto the land which
the LORD thy God giveth thee, that thou shalt set thee
3 up great stones, and plaster them with plaster. And
thou shalt write upon them all the words of this law,
when thou art passed over; that thou mayest go in unto
the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, a land
that floweth with milk and honey; as the LORD God of
4 thy fathers hath promised thee. Therefore it shall be,
when ye be gone over Jordan, *that* ye shall set up these
stones, which I command you this day, in mount Ebal,
5 and thou shalt plaster them with plaster. And there
shalt thou build an altar unto the LORD thy God, an
altar of stones: thou shalt not lift up *any* iron *tool* upon
6 them. Thou shalt build the altar of the LORD thy God
of whole stones: and thou shalt offer burnt-offerings
7 thereon unto the LORD thy God: And thou shalt offer
peace-offerings, and shalt eat there, and rejoice before
8 the LORD thy God. And thou shalt write upon the
stones all the words of this law very plainly."*

CHAP. XXXI.

9 And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the
priests the sons of Levi, which bare the ark of the cove-
nant of the LORD, and unto all the elders of Israel.
10 And Moses commanded them, saying, "At the end of
every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release,
11 in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is come to
appear before the LORD thy God, in the place which he
shall choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel,
12 in their hearing. Gather the people together, men, and
women, and children, and thy stranger that *is* within
thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn,
and fear the LORD your God, and observe to do all the
13 words of this law:† and *that* their children, which have
not known *any thing*, may hear and learn to fear the

* Compare Judg. viii. 30–32 (p. 30).

† As to strangers, compare Exod. xx. 10 (p. 11); Deut. xxix. 11, 14, 15; Josh. viii. 33, 35. "The whole Jewish state was consi-

LORD your God, as long as ye live in the land whither ye go over Jordan to possess it."* . . .

And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end 24
of writing the words of this law in a book, until they
were finished; that Moses commanded the Levites 25
which bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD, say-
ing, "Take this book of the law, and put it in the side 26
of the ark of the covenant of the LORD your God, that
it may be there for a witness against thee."

JOSHUA.

CHAP. VI.

And the LORD said unto Joshua, "See, I have given 2
into thine hand Jericho, and the king thereof, *and* the
mighty men of valour. And ye shall compass the city, 3
all *ye* men of war, *and* go round about the city once;
thus shalt thou do six days. And seven priests shall 4
bear before the ark seven trumpets of rams' horns; and
the seventh day ye shall compass the city seven times,
and the priests shall blow with the trumpets.

"And it shall come to pass, that when they make a 5
long *blast* with the rams' horn, *and* when ye hear the
sound of the trumpet, all the people shall shout with a
great shout; and the wall of the city shall fall down
flat, and the people shall ascend up every man straight
before him."

dered as composed of the two classes—Jews, and strangers within their gates, or proselytes."—Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*.—Art. PROSELYTE.

* Dr Geddes, in his version, transposes the above five verses to the end of chap. xxx., to which he thinks they evidently belong, and where they come in much more naturally than in their present order. He quotes the remark of Rosenmüller on verses 10 and 11, that the "law" there enjoined to be read every seventh year before the people, at the feast of tabernacles, must be restricted to the Deuteronomy; for how, in the space of seven days, could the whole Pentateuch be read? Geddes thinks it ought to be restricted to still narrower bounds; namely, from chap. iv. verse 44 to the end of chap. xxx. See his *Critical Remarks*, vol. i., p. 455.

CHAP. VIII.

30 Then Joshua built an altar unto the LORD God of
31 Israel in mount Ebal; as Moses, the servant of the LORD, commanded the children of Israel, as it is written in the book of the law of Moses, an altar of whole stones, over which no man hath lift up *any* iron; and they offered thereon burnt-offerings unto the LORD, and sacrificed peace-offerings,
32 And he wrote there, upon the stones, a copy of the law of Moses, which he wrote in the presence of the children of Israel.*

JUDGES.

CHAP. XIV.

12 And Samson said unto them, "I will now put forth a riddle unto you: if ye can certainly declare it me within the seven days of the feast,† and find *it* out, then I will give you thirty sheets, and thirty change of garments."

1 KINGS.

CHAP. VIII.

1 Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel, and all the heads of the tribes, the chief of the fathers of the children of Israel, unto king Solomon in Jerusalem, that they might bring up the ark of the covenant of the LORD out of the city of David, which *is* Zion. . . . .
6 And the priests brought in the ark of the covenant of the LORD unto his place, into the oracle of the house, to the most holy *place, even* under the wings of the cherubims. . . . .
9 *There was* nothing in the ark save the two tables of

* Compare Deut. xxvii. verses 1–8 (p. 27).
† Compare Gen. xxix. 27 (p. 5).

stone, which Moses put there at Horeb, when the LORD made *a covenant* with the children of Israel, when they came out of the land of Egypt.*

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2 KINGS.

CHAP. IV.

And the woman called unto her husband, and said, 22
"Send me, I pray thee, one of the young men, and one of the asses, that I may run to the man of God, and come again." And he said, "Wherefore wilt thou go 23
to him to-day? *it is* neither new-moon nor sabbath." And she said, "*It shall be* well."

CHAP. XI.

And he† commanded them, saying, "This *is* the thing 5
that ye shall do; a third part of you that enter in on the sabbath, shall even be keepers of the watch of the king's house; and a third part *shall be* at the gate of 6
Sur; and a third part at the gate behind the guard: so shall ye keep the watch of the house, that it be not broken down. And two parts of all you that go forth 7
on the sabbath, *even* they shall keep the watch of the house of the LORD about the king."‡

CHAP. XXII.

And Hilkiah the high priest said unto Shaphan the 8
scribe, "I have found the book of the law in the house of the LORD:" and Hilkiah gave the book to Shaphan, and he read it. . . . And Shaphan the scribe shewed 10
the king [Josiah], saying, "Hilkiah the priest hath delivered me a book:" and Shaphan read it before the king. And it came to pass when the king had heard the words 11

* Compare Deut. x. 4, 5 (p. 27).

† Jehoiada the priest.

‡ The sabbath is similarly mentioned in 2 Kings xvi. 18, and 2 Chron. xxiii. 8.

12 of the book of the law, that he rent his clothes. And the king commanded Hilkiah the priest, and Ahikam the son of Shaphan, and Achbor the son of Michaiah, and Shaphan the scribe, and Asahiah a servant of the
13 king's, saying, "Go ye, enquire of the LORD for me, and for the people, and for all Judah, concerning the words of this book *that is* found: for great *is* the wrath of the LORD that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book, to do according unto all *that which is* written concerning us."

CHAP. XXIII.

1 And the king sent, and they gathered unto him all
2 the elders of Judah, and of Jerusalem. And the king went up into the house of the LORD, and all the men of Judah, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the people both small and great; and he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant *which was* found in the house of the LORD.

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1 CHRONICLES.

CHAP. IX.

32 And *other* of their brethren of the sons of the Kohathites, *were* over the shew-bread, to prepare *it* every sabbath.

CHAP. XXIII.

28 Because their [the Levites'] office was . . . . to offer
31 all burnt-sacrifices unto the LORD in the sabbaths, in the new-moons, and on the set feasts, by number, according to the order commanded unto them, continually before the LORD.

2 CHRONICLES.

CHAP. II.

And Solomon sent to Huram the king of Tyre, say- 3
ing, . . . "Behold, I build an house to the name of the 4
LORD my God, to dedicate *it* to him, *and* to burn before
him sweet incense, and for the continual shew-bread, and
for the burnt-offerings morning and evening, on the
sabbaths, and on the new-moons, and on the solemn
feasts of the LORD our God. This *is an ordinance* for
ever to Israel."

CHAP. VIII.

Then Solomon offered burnt-offerings unto the LORD 12
on the altar of the LORD, which he had built before the
porch; even after a certain rate every day, offering 13
according to the commandment of Moses, on the sab-
baths, and on the new-moons, and on the solemn feasts,
three times in the year, *even* in the feast of unleavened
bread, and in the feast of weeks, and in the feast of
tabernacles.

CHAP. XVII.

Also in the third year of his reign he [Jehoshaphat] 7
sent to his princes, *even* to Ben-hail, and to Obadiah, and
to Zechariah, and to Nethaneel, and to Michaiah, to teach
in the cities of Judah. And with them *he sent* Levites, 8
even Shemaiah, and Nethaniah, and Zebadiah, and Asa-
hel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehonathan, and Adonijah,
and Tobijah, and Tob-adonijah, Levites; and with them
Elishama and Jehoram, priests. And they taught in Ju- 9
dah, and *had* the book of the law of the LORD with them,
and went about throughout all the cities of Judah, and
taught the people.

CHAP. XXXVI.

And them that had escaped from the sword, carried 20
he away to Babylon; where they were servants to him
and his sons, until the reign of the kingdom of Persia;
to fulfil the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jere- 21
miah, until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths: *for* as

long as she lay desolate, she kept sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years.*

NEHEMIAH.

CHAP. VIII.

9 And Nehemiah, which *is* the Tirshatha,† and Ezra the priest the scribe, and the Levites that taught the people, said unto all the people, "This day *is* holy unto the LORD your God;‡ mourn not, nor weep:" for all the people wept, when they heard the words of the law.

10 Then he said unto them, "Go your way, eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and send portions unto them for whom nothing is prepared; for *this* day *is* holy unto our LORD: neither be ye sorry; for the joy of the LORD is your strength."

11 So the Levites stilled all the people, saying, "Hold your peace, for the day *is* holy; neither be ye grieved."

12 And all the people went their way to eat, and to drink, and to send portions, and to make great mirth, because they had understood the words that were declared unto them.§

17 And all the congregation of them that were come again out of the captivity, made booths, and sat under the booths: for since the days of Joshua the son of Nun, unto that day, had not the children of Israel done

18 so: and there was very great gladness. Also day by day, from the first day until the last day, he read in the book of the law of God: and they kept the feast seven days, and on the eighth day was a solemn assembly,‖ according to the manner.

* Compare Levit. xxv. 2–7 (p. 29), and xxvi. 33–35 (p. 22).

† Or, "the governor."—*Marg.*

‡ See the note on Exod. xx. 11 (p. 12). Ezra had just finished reading to the people the book of the law of Moses.

§ See also Exod. xv. 20, 21; Deut. xiv. 23–26; 2 Chron. xxx. 21–26; Psal. xcii. 3 (p. 38); xcviii. 4–8; c.; cl.; Isaiah xxx. 29; Jer. xxxi. 12–14; Hos. ii. 11 (p. 46).

‖ Heb. "a restraint."

CHAP. IX.

Then the Levites, Jeshua and Kadmiel, Bani, Hash- 5
abniah, Sherebiah, Hodijah, Shebaniah, *and* Pethahiah,
said, "Stand up *and* bless the LORD your God for ever
and ever; and blessed be thy glorious name, which is
exalted above all blessing and praise. Thou, *even* thou 6
art LORD alone; thou hast made heaven, the heaven of
heavens, with all their host, the earth, and all *things* that
are therein, the seas, and all that *is* therein, and thou
preservest them all, and the host of heaven worshippeth
thee. . . . Thou camest down also upon mount 13
Sinai, and spakest with them [our fathers] from heaven,
and gavest them right judgments, and true laws, good
statutes and commandments: and madest known unto 14
them thy holy sabbath,* and commandedst them pre-
cepts, statutes, and laws, by the hand of Moses thy
servant."

CHAP. X.

And the rest of the people, the priests, the Levites, 28
the porters, the singers, the Nethinims, and all they
that had separated themselves from the people of the
lands unto the law of God, their wives, their sons and
their daughters, every one having knowledge, and hav-
ing understanding; they clave to their brethren, their 29
nobles, and entered into a curse, and into an oath, to
walk in God's law, which was given by Moses the ser-
vant of God, and to observe and do all the command-
ments of the LORD our Lord, and his judgments and his
statutes: And that we would not give our daughters 30
unto the people of the land, nor take their daughters
for our sons: And *if* the people of the land bring ware 31
or any victuals on the sabbath-day, to sell, *that* we would
not buy it of them on the sabbath, or on the holy-day;
and *that* we would leave the seventh year, and the ex-
action of every debt.

Also we made ordinances for us, to charge ourselves 32
yearly with the third part of a shekel, for the service of

*Psal. ciii. 7; "He made known his ways unto Moses, his acts unto the children of Israel."

33 the house of our God; for the shew-bread, and for the continual meat-offering, and for the continual burnt-offering, of the sabbaths, of the new moons, for the set feasts, and for the holy *things*, and for the sin-offerings, to make an atonement for Israel, and *for* all the work of the house of our God.

CHAP. XIII.

15 In those days saw I in Judah *some* treading wine-presses on the sabbath, and bringing in sheaves, and lading asses; as also wine, grapes, and figs, and all *manner of* burdens, which they brought into Jerusalem on the sabbath-day: and I testified *against them* in the
16 day wherein they sold victuals. There dwelt men of Tyre also therein, which brought fish and all manner of ware, and sold on the sabbath unto the children of Judah,
17 and in Jerusalem. Then I contended with the nobles
18 of Judah, and said unto them, "What evil thing *is* this that ye do, and profane the sabbath-day? Did not your fathers thus, and did not our God bring all this evil upon us, and upon this city? yet ye bring more wrath upon Israel by profaning the sabbath."

19 And it came to pass, that when the gates of Jerusalem began to be dark before the sabbath, I commanded that the gates should be shut, and charged that they should not be opened till after the sabbath: and *some* of my servants set I at the gates, *that* there should no
20 burden be brought in on the sabbath-day. So the merchants, and sellers of all kind of ware, lodged without
21 Jerusalem once or twice. Then I testified against them, and said unto them, "Why lodge ye about the wall? if ye do *so* again, I will lay hands on you." From that time forth came they no *more* on the sabbath.

22 And I commanded the Levites, that they should cleanse themselves, and *that* they should come *and* keep the gates, to sanctify the sabbath-day. Remember me, O my God, *concerning* this also, and spare me according to the greatness of thy mercy.

JOB.

CHAP. I.

There was a man in the land of Uz, whose name *was* 1
Job, and that man was perfect and upright, and one
that feared God, and eschewed evil. And there were 2
born unto him seven sons, and three daughters. . .
And his sons went and feasted in *their* houses, every 4
one his day; and sent and called for their three sisters,
to eat and to drink with them. And it was so, when 5
the days of *their* feasting were gone about, that Job
sent and sanctified them, and rose up early in the morn-
ing, and offered burnt-offerings *according* to the number
of them all: for Job said, "It may be that my sons have
sinned, and cursed God in their hearts." Thus did Job
continually.*

Now there was a day† when the sons of God came 6
to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came
also among them.

CHAP. II.

Again there was a day‡ when the sons of God came 1
to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came
also among them to present himself before the Lord. . . .

So Job's three friends sat down with him upon the 13
ground seven days and seven nights, and none spake a

* Heb. "all the days."—*Marg.*

† The correct translation is "*the* day," as Dr Kennicott observes in his *Two Dissertations on the Tree of Life, &c.*, p. 178. The literal rendering is, "And the day was, and the sons of God came," &c. He supposes "the sons of God" to mean "persons professing the true worship of God." But others argue from chap. xxxviii. verse 7, that the angels are signified; and conceive that the coming of Satan to present himself among the sons of God is inconsistent with any other interpretation.

‡ "*The* day" is again the true translation; whence the inference has been drawn that it was one of a *series* of *fixed* days—probably a sabbath-day.

As the date of the Book of Job is unknown, and modern scholars are disposed to regard it as a poem produced at a period much later than the time of Moses, but little weight can justly be given to inferences drawn from expressions in it, as to a Patriarchal sabbath.

word unto him, for they saw that his grief was very great.*

PSALMS.

PSAL. LXXIV.

7 Thine enemies have cast fire into thy sanctuary; they have defiled *by casting down* the dwelling-place of thy
8 name to the ground. They said in their hearts, "Let us destroy them together:" they have burnt up all the synagogues of God in the land.†

PSAL. XCII.

¶ A psalm *or* song for the sabbath-day.

1 *It is a* good *thing* to give thanks unto the LORD, and
2 to sing praises unto thy name, O most High: to shew forth thy loving-kindness in the morning, and thy faith-
3 fulness every night, upon an instrument of ten strings, and upon the psaltery; upon the harp with a solemn
4 sound. For thou, LORD, hast made me glad through thy work: I will triumph in the works of thy hands, &c.

* Compare Gen. 1.10 (p. 6).

† "Ewald refers this Psalm to the time of Nehemiah (B.C. 445). Tholuck gives for its date the year B.C. 588, when the kingdom of Judah was overrun by the Chaldeans, and the temple plundered and burnt down. The Hebrew words, however, do not necessarily denote synagogues. 'Houses of God' is a general term, and may refer to any sacred place. There may be here a reference to the schools of the prophets, preserved by the principle of reverence long after the spirit of prophecy and the pursuits of learning had ceased to fill them with eager pupils. If we might, from 2 Kings iv. 23, suppose that at least on festival occasions pious Israelites resorted to the prophets for prayer and advice, we could easily understand how such a practice would spontaneously convert the places where they abode into a species of synagogue; and not improbably we may here find the germ out of which the proper synagogue worship arose."—*Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, art. SYNAGOGUE.

Prideaux translates the Hebrew words (*Col moadhe El*), "all the assemblies of God;" which he allows to mean, "the places where the people assembled to worship God." He however infers from a variety of considerations the probability that those places were not

PSAL. CXVIII.

Open to me the gates of righteousness: I will go in 19
to them, *and* I will praise the LORD: This gate of the 20
LORD, into which the righteous shall enter.

I will praise thee; for thou hast heard me, and art 21
become my salvation. The stone *which* the builders 22
refused is become the head *stone* of the corner. This is 23
the LORD'S doing; it *is* marvellous in our eyes. This *is* 24
the day *which* the LORD hath made; we will rejoice and
be glad in it.* Save now, I beseech thee, O LORD: O 25
LORD, I beseech thee, send now prosperity. Blessed *be* 26
he that cometh in the name of the LORD: we have
blessed you out of the house of the LORD.

PSAL. CXLVII.

He sheweth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his 19
judgments unto Israel. He hath not dealt so with any 20
nation; and *as for his* judgments, they have not known
them. Praise ye the LORD.

ISAIAH.

CHAP. I.

Hear the word of the LORD, ye rulers of Sodom; give 10
ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah.
To what purpose *is* the multitude of your sacrifices unto 11
me? saith the LORD: I am full of the burnt-offerings
of rams, and the fat of fed beasts, and I delight not in
the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. When 12
ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at
your hand to tread my courts?

Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomi- 13

synagogues, or houses for the reading of the law, but prayer-places, afterwards called *proseuchæ*, which were used by Israelites living at a distance from the temple. See his *Connection of the Old and New Testament*, Part I., Book vi.

That synagogues were not used in the time of King Josiah seems evident from 2 Kings xxii. 8–13 (p. 31).

* Compare Matt. xxi. 42; Mark xii. 10; Luke xx. 17; Acts iv. 11 (p. 77); Eph. ii. 20; 1 Pet. ii. 4, 7.

nation unto me; the new-moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; *it is* iniquity, even
14 the solemn meeting. Your new-moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto
15 me; I am weary to bear *them*. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood.
16 Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your
17 doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment; relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow.*

CHAP. XXX.

29 Ye shall have a song, as in the night, *when* a holy solemnity is kept; and gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to come into the mountain of the LORD, to the mighty One of Israel.

CHAP. LVI.

1 Thus saith the LORD, Keep ye judgment, and do justice; for my salvation *is* near to come, and my right-
2 eousness to be revealed. Blessed *is* the man *that* doeth this, and the son of man *that* layeth hold on it; that keepeth the sabbath from polluting it, and keepeth his hand from doing any evil.
3 Neither let the son of the stranger, that hath joined himself to the LORD, speak, saying, The LORD hath utterly separated me from his people: neither let the eunuch say,
4 Behold, I *am* a dry tree. For thus saith the LORD unto the eunuchs that keep my sabbaths, and choose *the things*
5 that please me, and take hold of my covenant: Even unto them will I give in mine house, and within my walls, a place and a name better than of sons and of daughters; I will give them an everlasting name, that shall not be cut off.
6 Also the sons of the stranger, that join themselves to the LORD, to serve him, and to love the name of the

* Compare Psal. l. 8–14; li. 15–7; Jer. vi. 19, 20; vii. 21–23 (p. 42); and Matt. ix. 13; xii. 7 (p. 49); xxiii. 23 (p. 53).

LORD, to be his servants, every one that keepeth the sabbath from polluting it, and taketh hold of my covenant; even them will I bring to my holy mountain, 7
and make them joyful in my house of prayer: their burnt-offerings and their sacrifices *shall be* accepted upon mine altar; for mine house shall be called an house of prayer for all people. The Lord GOD, which gathereth 8
the outcasts of Israel, saith, Yet will I gather *others* to him, besides those that are gathered unto him.

CHAP. LVIII.

If thou turn away thy foot from the sabbath, *from* 13
doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and call the sabbath a delight, the holy of the LORD, honourable; and shalt honour him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking *thine own* words: Then shalt 14
thou delight thyself in the LORD; and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father: for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it.

CHAP. LXV.

For, behold, I create new heavens, and a new earth; 17
and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind. But be ye glad and rejoice for ever *in that* 18
which I create: for, behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy. And I will rejoice in 19
Jerusalem, and joy in my people; and the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying, &c.

CHAP. LXVI.

It shall come, that I will gather all nations and 18
tongues; and they shall come and see my glory. And 19
I will set a sign among them, and I will send those that escape of them unto the nations, *to* Tarshish, Pul, and Lud, that draw the bow, *to* Tubal and Javan, *to* the isles afar off, that have not heard my fame, neither have seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the Gentiles. And they shall bring all your brethren *for* 20

an offering unto the LORD, out of all nations, upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, saith the LORD, as the children of Israel bring an offer-
21 ing in a clean vessel into the house of the LORD. And I will also take of them for priests, *and* for Levites, saith the LORD.
22 For as the new heavens, and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me, saith the LORD, so shall your seed and your name remain.
23 And it shall come to pass, *that* from one new-moon to another, and from one sabbath to another, shall all
24 flesh come to worship before me, saith the LORD. And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh.

JEREMIAH.

CHAP. VII.

21 Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Put your burnt-offerings unto your sacrifices, and eat flesh.
22 For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt,
23 concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices: But this thing commanded I them, saying, "Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people; and walk ye in all the ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well unto you."*

CHAP. XVII.

20 And say unto them, Hear ye the word of the LORD, ye kings of Judah, and all Judah, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, that enter in by these gates.

* Compare Isa. i. 10–17 (p. 40), and the passages there referred to.

Thus saith the LORD, Take heed to yourselves, and 21
bear no burden on the sabbath-day, nor bring *it* in by
the gates of Jerusalem; neither carry forth a burden 22
out of your houses on the sabbath-day, neither do ye
any work; but hallow ye the sabbath-day, as I com-
manded your fathers. But they obeyed not, neither 23
inclined their ear, but made their neck stiff, that they
might not hear nor receive instruction.

And it shall come to pass, if ye diligently hearken 24
unto me, saith the LORD, to bring in no burden through
the gates of this city on the sabbath-day, but hallow the
sabbath-day, to do no work therein; then shall there 25
enter into the gates of this city, kings and princes sitting
upon the throne of David, riding in chariots, and on
horses, they and their princes, the men of Judah, and
the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and this city shall remain
for ever. And they shall come from the cities of Judah, 26
and from the places about Jerusalem, and from the land
of Benjamin, and from the plain, and from the moun-
tains, and from the south, bringing burnt-offerings, and
sacrifices, and meat-offerings, and incense, and bringing
sacrifices of praise unto the house of the LORD.

But if ye will not hearken unto me, to hallow the 27
sabbath-day, and not to bear a burden, even entering in
at the gates of Jerusalem on the sabbath-day; then will
I kindle a fire in the gates thereof, and it shall devour
the palaces of Jerusalem, and it shall not be quenched.

LAMENTATIONS.

CHAP. I.

Jerusalem remembered in the days of her affliction, 7
and of her miseries, all her pleasant things that she
had in the days of old, when her people fell into the
hand of the enemy, and none did help her: the adver-
saries saw her, *and* did mock at her sabbaths.

CHAP. II.

6 The LORD hath caused the solemn feasts and sabbaths to be forgotten in Zion, and hath despised, in the indignation of his anger, the king and the priest.

EZEKIEL.

CHAP. XX.

10 Wherefore I caused them to go forth out of the land
11 of Egypt, and brought them into the wilderness; and I gave them my statutes, and shewed them* my judgments, which *if* a man do, he shall even live in them.
12 Moreover also, I gave them my sabbaths,† to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I *am* the LORD that sanctify them.
13 But the house of Israel rebelled against me in the wilderness: they walked not in my statutes, and they despised my judgments, which *if* a man do, he shall even live in them; and my sabbaths they greatly polluted.‡
18 . . . . But I said unto their children in the wilderness,
19 "I *am* the LORD your God; walk in my statutes, and
20 keep my judgments, and do them: and hallow my sabbaths; and they shall be a sign between me and you, that ye may know that I *am* the LORD your God."

CHAP. XXII.

8 Thou hast despised mine holy things, and hast profaned
26 my sabbaths. . . . . Her priests have violated my law, and have profaned mine holy things: they have put no difference between the holy and profane, neither have they shewed *difference* between the unclean and the clean, and have hid their eyes from my sabbaths, and I am profaned among them.

* Heb. "made them to know."—*Marg.*

† The Hebrew word here translated "gave," is the same which is used in Exod. xvi. 29 (p. 8).

‡ This charge is repeated in verses 16 and 24 of the chapter.

CHAP. XXIII.

The LORD said moreover unto me, "Son of man, wilt 36
thou judge Aholah and Aholibah? yea, declare unto
them their abominations; that they have committed 37
adultery, and blood *is* in their hands, and with their
idols have they committed adultery, and have also
caused their sons whom they bare unto me, to pass for
them through *the fire* to devour *them*. Moreover, this 38
they have done unto me: they have defiled my sanctuary
in the same day, and have profaned my sabbaths. For 39
when they had slain their children to their idols, then
they came the same day into my sanctuary to profane
it; and lo, thus have they done in the midst of mine
house."

CHAP. XLIV.

And they [the priests] shall teach my people *the differ-* 23
ence between the holy and profane, and cause them to
discern between the unclean and the clean. And in 24
the controversy they shall stand in judgment, *and* they
shall judge it according to my judgments: and they
shall keep my laws and my statutes in all mine assem-
blies; and they shall hallow my sabbaths.

CHAP. XLV.

And it shall be the prince's part *to give* burnt-offer- 17
ings, and meat-offerings, and drink-offerings, in the
feasts, and in the new-moons, and in the sabbaths, in
all solemnities of the house of Israel: he shall prepare
the sin-offering, and the meat-offering, and the burnt-
offering, and the peace-offerings, to make reconciliation
for the house of Israel.

CHAP. XLVI.

Thus saith the LORD God, The gate of the inner 1
court* that looketh toward the east, shall be shut the six
working-days; but on the sabbath it shall be opened,
and in the day of the new-moon it shall be opened.
And the prince shall enter by the way of the porch of 2

* Of the sanctuary.

that gate without, and shall stand by the post of the gate, and the priest shall prepare his burnt-offering, and his peace-offerings, and he shall worship at the threshold of the gate: then he shall go forth; but the
3 gate shall not be shut until the evening. Likewise the people of the land shall worship at the door of the gate before the LORD, in the sabbaths, and in the new-moons.
4 And the burnt-offering that the prince shall offer unto the LORD in the sabbath-day *shall be* six lambs
5 without blemish, and a ram without blemish.* And the meat-offering *shall be* an ephah for a ram, and the meat-offering for the lambs as he shall be able to give, and
6 an hin of oil to an ephah. And in the day of the new-moon *it shall be* a young bullock without blemish, and six lambs, and a ram; they shall be without blemish.

DANIEL.

CHAP. VII.

23 Thus he said, The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall
24 tread it down, and break it in pieces. And the ten horns out of this kingdom *are* ten kings *that* shall arise: and another shall rise after them; and he shall be diverse
25 from the first, and he shall subdue three kings. And he shall speak *great* words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand, until a time and times and the dividing of time.

HOSEA.

CHAP. II.

11 I will also cause all her mirth to cease, her feast-days, her new-moons, and her sabbaths, and all her solemn feasts.

* Compare Numb. xxviii. 9 (p. 23).

AMOS.

CHAP. VIII.

Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to 4
make the poor of the land to fail, saying, "When will the 5
new-moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the
sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the
ephah small, and the shekel great, and falsifying the
balances by deceit? that we may buy the poor for sil- 6
ver, and the needy for a pair of shoes; *yea*, and sell the
refuse of the wheat?"

The LORD hath sworn by the excellency of Jacob, 7
Surely I will never forget any of their works. Shall 8
not the land tremble for this, and every one mourn that
dwelleth therein? and it shall rise up wholly as a flood;
and it shall be cast out and drowned, as *by* the flood of
Egypt.

IV.—THE PERIOD OF CHRIST AND THE CHRISTIANS EXCLUSIVELY JEWISH.

MATTHEW.

CHAP. III.

Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan unto John, 13
to be baptized of him. But John forbade him, saying, 14
"I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to
me?" And Jesus answering, said unto him, "Suffer 15
it to be so now; for thus it becometh us to fulfil all
righteousness." Then he suffered him.

CHAP. V.

17 Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the
prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.
18 For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass,
one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law,
19 till all be fulfilled.* Whosoever therefore shall break
one of these least commandments, and shall teach men
so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven;
but whosoever shall do and teach *them*, the same shall
20 be called great in the kingdom of heaven. For I say
unto you, That except your righteousness shall exceed
the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall
in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.

CHAP. VI.

5 And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the
hypocrites *are:* for they love to pray standing in the
synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, that they
may be seen of men. Verily, I say unto you, they have
6 their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into
thy closet; and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to
thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father, which
seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.
7 But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the
heathen do: for they think that they shall be heard for
8 their much speaking. Be not ye therefore like unto
them: for your Father knoweth what things ye have
9 need of, before ye ask him. After this manner there-
fore pray ye: "Our Father, which art in heaven," &c.

* Compare Luke xvi. 17 (p. 65). Dr Campbell translates the passage thus: "Think not that I am come to subvert the law or the prophets. I am come not to subvert, but to ratify. For verily I say unto you, Heaven and earth shall sooner perish, than one iota or one tittle of the law shall perish without attaining its end." But his substitution of "ratify" for "fulfil," here and in iii. 15 (p. 47), is unsupported by good authority. As to what is here meant by "the law," see Matt. xxii. 35–40 (p. 52), and Luke x. 26–28 (p. 63). The following texts also, ought to be considered in reference to the above declaration of Jesus: Matt. v. 38, 39 (compared with Exod. xxi. 24, Lev. xxiv. 20, and Deut. xix. 21); Matt. v. 31, 32; xix. 3–9 (compared with Deut. xxiv. 1).

Moreover, when ye fast, be not as the hypocrites, of 16
a sad countenance: for they disfigure their faces, that
they may appear unto men to fast. Verily I say unto
you, they have their reward. But thou, when thou 17
fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face; that thou 18
appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which
is in secret: and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall
reward thee openly.

CHAP. IX.

Then came to him the disciples of John, saying, 14
"Why do we and the Pharisees fast oft, but thy disciples
fast not?" And Jesus said unto them, "Can the chil- 15
dren of the bride-chamber mourn, as long as the bride-
groom is with them? but the days will come, when the
bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall
they fast."*

CHAP. XII.

At that time Jesus went on the sabbath-day through 1
the corn; and his disciples were an hungered, and began
to pluck the ears of corn, and to eat.†

But when the Pharisees saw *it*, they said unto him, 2
"Behold, thy disciples do that which is not lawful to
do upon the sabbath-day."

But he said unto them, "Have ye not read what 3
David did, when he was an hungered, and they that
were with him,‡ how he entered into the house of God, 4
and did eat the shew-bread,§ which was not lawful for
him to eat, neither for them which were with him, but
only for the priests? ‖ Or have ye not read in the law, 5
how that on the sabbath-days the priests in the temple
profane the sabbath, and are blameless? ¶ But I say 6
unto you, that in this place is *one* greater than the
temple.** But if ye had known what this meaneth, 'I 7

* See parallel passages in Mark ii. 18, and Luke v. 33.
† See Deut. xxiii. 25.
‡ See 1 Sam. xxi. 6.
§ See Exod. xxv. 30; Levit. xxiv. 6.
‖ See Exod. xxix. 32, 33; Levit. viii. 31; xxiv. 9.
¶ See Numb. xxviii. 9 (p. 23).
** The word "one," here supplied by the translators, accords

will have mercy and not sacrifice,'* ye would not have
8 condemned the guiltless. For the Son of man is Lord
even of the sabbath-day."†
9 And when he was departed thence, he went into their
10 synagogue. And, behold, there was a man which had
his hand withered. And they asked him, saying, "Is it
lawful to heal on the sabbath-days?" that they might
accuse him.
11 And he said unto them, "What man shall there be
among you that shall have one sheep, and if it fall into
a pit on the sabbath-day, will he not lay hold on it,
12 and lift *it* out? How much then is a man better than
a sheep? Wherefore it is lawful to do well on the sab-
bath-days."
13 Then saith he to the man, "Stretch forth thine hand."
And he stretched *it* forth; and *it* was restored whole,
14 like as the other. Then the Pharisees went out, and
held a council against him, how they might destroy
him.‡

CHAP. XV.

1 Then came to Jesus scribes and Pharisees, which were
2 of Jerusalem, saying, "Why do thy disciples transgress
the tradition of the elders? for they wash not their
3 hands when they eat bread." But he answered and

with the gender of μείζων, "greater," in the original. But Dr Campbell remarks that very many MSS. and some ancient expositors read μεῖζον, which, being neuter, must have the word "something" supplied. He therefore translates the clause—"something greater than the temple is here." This, he observes, is also more conformable to the style in similar cases; as Matt. xi. 9, xii. 41, 42, where the Greek adjectives translated "more" and "a greater" are neuter. In verse 8 of this chapter, his version is, "For the Son of man is master of the sabbath;", the καὶ, translated "even" in the common version, being absent "in a very great number of MSS., in some early editions, and in the Syriac and Coptic versions. It seems not to have been read by several ancient writers, and is rejected by Mill, Wetstein, and other critics."

* "For I desired mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God, more than burnt-offerings." Hosea vi. 6.—Compare Isa. i. 10–17 (p. 39), and the passages there referred to.

† Compare Mark ii. 23–28 (p. 57), and Luke vi. 1–5 (p. 61).

‡ Compare Mark iii. 1–6 (p. 58), and Luke vi. 6–11 (p. 62).

said unto them, "Why do ye also transgress the commandment of God by your tradition? For God commanded, saying, 'Honour thy father and mother;'* and, 'He that curseth father or mother, let him die the death.'† But ye say, Whosoever shall say to *his* father or *his* mother, '*It is* a gift by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me,' and honour not his father or his mother, *he shall be free.* Thus have ye made the commandment of God of none effect by your tradition.

"Ye hypocrites, well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying,‡ 'This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me. But in vain they do worship me, teaching *for doctrines* the commandments of men.'"§

CHAP. XVIII.

Again I say unto you, That if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.

CHAP. XIX.

He saith unto them, Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so.‖ . . .

And, behold, one came and said unto him, "Good Master, what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life?"

And he said unto him, "Why callest thou me good? *there is* none good but one, *that is* God: but if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments."

He saith unto him, "Which?" Jesus said, "Thou shalt do no murder; Thou shalt not commit adultery;

* Exod. xx. 12; Deut. v. 16.
† Exod. xxi. 17; Levit. xx. 9.
‡ Isaiah xxix. 13.
§ See parallel passage in Mark vii. 1–13.
‖ See parallel passage in Mark x. 6.

Thou shalt not steal; Thou shalt not bear false witness;
19 Honour thy father and *thy* mother; and, Thou shalt love
thy neighbour as thyself."
20 The young man saith unto him, "All these things have
I kept from my youth up: what lack I yet?"
21 Jesus said unto him, "If thou wilt be perfect, go *and*
sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt
have treasure in heaven; and come *and* follow me."
22 But when the young man heard that saying, he went
away sorrowful: for he had great possessions.*

CHAP. XXII.

34 But when the Pharisees had heard that he had put
the Sadducees to silence, they were gathered together.
35 Then one of them, *which was* a lawyer, asked *him* a
36 question, tempting him, and saying, "Master, which is
the great commandment in the law?"
37 Jesus said unto him, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy
God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with
38 all thy mind; this is the first and great commandment.
39 And the second *is* like unto it, Thou shalt love thy
40 neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments
hang all the law and the prophets."†

CHAP. XXIII.

1 Then spake Jesus to the multitude, and to his dis-
2 ciples, saying, The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses'
3 seat: All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe,
that observe and do; but do not ye after their works:
4 for they say, and do not. For they bind heavy burdens,
and grievous to be borne, and lay *them* on men's shoul-
ders; but they themselves will not move them with one
5 of their fingers. But all their works they do for to be seen
of men: they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge

* Compare Mark x. 17–22, and Luke xviii. 18–22 (p. 65).

† Compare Luke x. 25–28 (p. 63). The two commandments here quoted from "the law," occur, not in the Decalogue, but in Deut. vi. 5, and Levit. xix. 18. This is important in reference to Matt. v. 17, 18 (p. 48).

the borders of their garments, and love the uppermost 6
rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues,
and greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, 7
Rabbi, Rabbi.

But be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your Master, 8
even Christ; and all ye are brethren. And call no man 9
your father upon the earth: for one is your Father, which
is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters: for one is 10
your Master, *even* Christ. But he that is greatest among 11
you shall be your servant. And whosoever shall exalt 12
himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble him-
self shall be exalted.

But wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! 13
for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for
ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that
are entering to go in. Wo unto you, scribes and Phari- 14
sees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses, and for
a pretence make long prayer: therefore ye shall receive
the greater damnation. Wo unto you, scribes and Phari- 15
sees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to
make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him
twofold more the child of hell than yourselves. . . .

Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for 23
ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, and have
omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment,
mercy, and faith: these ought ye to have done, and not
to leave the other undone.* Ye blind guides, which 24
strain at a gnat,† and swallow a camel.

Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for 25
ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter,
but within they are full of extortion and excess. Thou 26
blind Pharisee, cleanse first that *which is* within the cup
and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also.

* So in Matt. *iv.* 23, 24: "If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." See Isa. i. 10–17 (p. 39), and the places there referred to.

† "Who strain your liquor to avoid swallowing a gnat."—*Campbell's Transl.*

27 Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for
ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear
beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's
28 bones, and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also out-
wardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are
full of hypocrisy and iniquity.
29 Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!
because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish
30 the sepulchres of the righteous, and say, "If we had
been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been
partakers with them in the blood of the prophets."
31 Wherefore ye be witnesses unto yourselves, that ye are
are the children of them which killed the prophets.
32 Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers.
33 Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye
escape the damnation of hell?*

CHAP. XXIV.

14 And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in
all the world, for a witness unto all nations; and then
15 shall the end come. When ye therefore shall see the
abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the pro-
phet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him
16 understand,) then let them which be in Judea flee into
the mountains. . . .
20 But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter,
21 neither on the sabbath-day:† For then shall be great
tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the
world to this time, no, nor ever shall be.

CHAP. XXVIII.

1 In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn to-
ward the first *day* of the week, came Mary Magdalene,
2 and the other Mary, to see the sepulchre. And, behold,
there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the
Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back

* See parallel passages in Mark xii. 38–40, and Luke xi. 39–44 (p. 39).

† Mark (xiii. 18) and Luke (xxi. 21) omit "neither on the sabbath-day."

the stone from the door, and sat upon it. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow. And for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men.

And the angel answered and said unto the women, "Fear not ye; for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified. He is not here; for he is risen, as he said: come, see the place where the Lord lay. And go quickly, and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead; and, behold, he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him: lo, I have told you."

And they departed quickly from the sepulchre, with fear and great joy, and did run to bring his disciples word. And as they went to tell his disciples, behold Jesus met them, saying, "All hail." And they came, and held him by the feet, and worshipped him. Then said Jesus unto them, "Be not afraid: go tell my brethren that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me."

Now, when they were going, behold, some of the watch came into the city, and shewed unto the chief priests all the things that were done. And when they were assembled with the elders, and had taken counsel, they gave large money unto the soldiers, saying, "Say ye, 'His disciples came by night, and stole him away, while we slept:' And if this come to the governor's ears, we will persuade him, and secure you." So they took the money, and did as they were taught: and this saying is commonly reported among the Jews until this day.

Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw him, they worshipped him: but some doubted.

And Jesus came, and spake unto them, saying, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations,* baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy

* Or "make disciples" or "Christians of all nations."—*Mary.*

20 Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Amen.*

MARK.

CHAP. I.

21 And they went into Capernaum; and straightway on the sabbath-day he entered into the synagogue, and taught.
22 And they were astonished at his doctrine: for he taught them as one that had authority, and not as the scribes.
23 And there was in their synagogue a man with an
24 unclean spirit; and he cried out, saying, "Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou
25 art, the holy One of God." And Jesus rebuked him,
26 saying, "Hold thy peace, and come out of him." And when the unclean spirit had torn him, and cried with a loud voice, he came out of him.
27 And they were all amazed, insomuch that they questioned among themselves, saying, "What thing is this? what new doctrine *is* this? for with authority commandeth he even the unclean spirits, and they do obey
28 him." And immediately his fame spread abroad throughout all the region round about Galilee.
29 And forthwith, when they were come out of the synagogue, they entered into the house of Simon and
30 Andrew, with James and John. But Simon's wife's mother lay sick of a fever; and anon they tell him of
31 her. And he came and took her by the hand, and lifted her up; and immediately the fever left her, and she ministered unto them.
32 And at even, when the sun did set,† they brought

* Compare Mark xvi. (p. 59); Luke xxiv. (p. 66); John xx. xxi. (p. 73–75).

† "After sunset."—*Campbell's Transl.*

unto him all that were diseased, and them that were possessed with devils. And all the city was gathered 33
together at the door. And he healed many that were 34
sick of divers diseases, and cast out many devils; and suffered not the devils to speak, because they knew him.*

CHAP. II.

And it came to pass, that he went through the corn- 23
fields on the sabbath-day; and his disciples began, as they went, to pluck the ears of corn. And the Phari- 24
sees said unto him, "Behold, why do they on the sabbath-day that which is not lawful?"

And he said unto them, "Have ye never read what 25
David did, when he had need, and was an hungered, he, and they that were with him? how he went into the 26
house of God, in the days of Abiathar the high priest, and did eat the shew-bread, which is not lawful to eat, but for the priests, and gave also to them which were with him?"

And he said unto them, "The sabbath was made for 27
man, and not man for the sabbath:† therefore the Son 28
of man is Lord also of the sabbath."‡

* See parallel passage in Luke iv. 33–40 (p. 61).

It has been thought that Jesus, by healing the diseased persons who were brought to him on this occasion, signified his approval of their being *carried* to him on the sabbath-day. But as the fact that the sun had set is particularly mentioned, we are made aware by the evangelist that the sabbath was ended before the work of bringing them was done. See Gen. i. 5, &c. (p. 1); Levit. xxiii. 32 (p. 21); Neh. xiii. 19 (p. 36).

† Τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο, οὐχ ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τὸ σάββατον; literally, "The sabbath was made for the man, and not the man for the sabbath." Those who understand "the man" to signify here "the Jew," prefer this translation, which is equally admissible with the other; and the fact that it is so, they think, deprives of all support (if such it would otherwise receive) from this passage, the doctrine that the sabbath was instituted at the beginning for the whole human race.

‡ Compare Matt. xii. 1–8 (p. 49), and Luke vi. 1–5 (p. 61). Dr Campbell here renders, "Therefore the Son of man is master even of the sabbath."

Le Clerc, Dr Campbell, Archdeacon Stopford, and others, maintain that the phrase, "Son of man," cannot rationally be inter-

CHAP. III.

1 And he entered again into the synagogue: and there
2 was a man there which had a withered hand. And they watched him, whether he would heal him on the sabbath-day; that they might accuse him.
3 And he saith unto the man which had the withered hand, "Stand forth."
4 And he saith unto them, "Is it lawful to do good on the sabbath-days, or to do evil? to save life, or to kill?" but they held their peace.
5 And when he had looked round about on them with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts, he saith unto the man, "Stretch forth thine hand." And he stretched *it* out: and his hand was restored
6 whole as the other. And the Pharisees went forth, and straightway took counsel with the Herodians against him, how they might destroy him.*

CHAP. VI.

1 And he went out from thence, and came into his own
2 country; and his disciples follow him. And when the sabbath-day was come, he began to teach in the synagogue: and many hearing *him* were astonished, saying, "From whence hath this man these things? and what wisdom *is* this which is given unto him, that even such
3 mighty works are wrought by his hands? Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James and Joses, and of Juda, and Simon? and are not his

preted here of Jesus, though everywhere else in the Gospel history he applies it only to himself. But in the Old Testament the words are often used synonymously with "man." For instance, Psal. viii. 4: "What *is* man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him?" Isa. lvi. 2: "Blessed *is* the man *that* doeth this, and the son of man *that* layeth hold on it; that keepeth the sabbath from polluting it," &c. Other examples may be found in Numb. xxiii. 19; Job xxv. 6; Jer. xlix. 18; and Ezek. *passim*.

See Le Clerc's notes on Matt. xii. 8, and Mark ii. 28; Campbell's note on the latter text; and Archdeacon Stopford's *Scripture Account of the Sabbath*, p. 154.

* Compare Matt. xii. 9–14 (p. 50), and Luke vi. 6-11 (p. 62).

sisters here with us?" And they were offended at him.
But Jesus said unto them, "A prophet is not without 4
honour, but in his own country, and among his own
kin, and in his own house." And he could there do 5
no mighty work, save that he laid his hands upon a few
sick folk, and healed *them*.

CHAP. XVI.

And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, 1
and Mary *the mother* of James, and Salome, had bought
sweet spices, that they might come and anoint him.
And very early in the morning, the first *day* of the 2
week, they came unto the sepulchre at the rising of the
sun. . . . . And entering into the sepulchre, they 5
saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a
long white garment; and they were affrighted.

And he saith unto them, "Be not affrighted. Ye seek 6
Jesus of Nazareth, which was crucified: he is risen; he
is not here: behold the place where they laid him.
But go your way, tell his disciples and Peter, that he 7
goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him,
as he said unto you." And they went out quickly, and 8
fled from the sepulchre; for they trembled, and were
amazed: neither said they anything to any man; for
they were afraid.

Now when *Jesus* was risen early, the first *day* of the 9
week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom
he had cast seven devils. *And* she went and told them 10
that had been with him, as they mourned and wept.
And they, when they had heard that he was alive, and 11
had been seen of her, believed not.

After that he appeared in another form unto two of 12
them, as they walked, and went into the country. And 13
they went and told *it* unto the residue; neither believed
they them.

Afterward he appeared unto the eleven, as they sat 14
at meat,* and upbraided them with their unbelief, and

* Or, "together."—*Marg.*

hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen.

15 And he said unto them, "Go ye into all the world,
16 and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that
17 believeth not, shall be damned. And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name shall they cast
18 out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover."

19 So then, after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand
20 of God. And they went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following. Amen.*

LUKE.

CHAP. IV.

15 And Jesus taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all.

16 And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up; and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sabbath-day, and stood up for to read.† . . . .

31 And [he] came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee,
32 and taught them on the sabbath-days.‡ And they were astonished at his doctrine: for his word was with power.

33 And in the synagogue there was a man which had a

* Compare Matt. xxviii. (p. 54); Luke xxiv. (p. 66); John xx., xxi. (p. 73–75). Matthew is silent as to Christ's appearance to the eleven as they sat at meat.

† That Jesus not only expounded the law, but held discussions with the Jews, in the synagogues, appears from John vi. 59, and other places. He taught also in the temple; see Luke xxi. 37, 38 (p. 65); John vii. 14 (p. 71); viii. 20; xviii. 20: as did afterwards his disciples; Acts iii.; iv. 1; v. 42.

‡ "On the sabbath."—*Campbell's Transl.*

spirit of an unclean devil, and cried out with a loud voice, saying, "Let us alone; what have we to do with 34
thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art; the holy One of God."
And Jesus rebuked him, saying, "Hold thy peace, and 35
come out of him." And when the devil had thrown him in the midst he came out of him, and hurt him not. . . .

And he arose out of the synagogue, and entered into 38
Simon's house: and Simon's wife's mother was taken with a great fever; and they besought him for her.
And he stood over her, and rebuked the fever; and it 39
left her: and immediately she arose and ministered unto them.

Now, when the sun was setting,* all they that had any 40
sick with divers diseases, brought them unto him: and he laid his hands on every one of them, and healed them.
And devils also came out of many, crying out, and 41
saying, "Thou art Christ the Son of God." And he, rebuking them, suffered them not to speak: for they knew that he was Christ.

And when it was day, he departed and went into a 42
desert place; and the people sought him, and came unto him, and stayed him, that he should not depart from them. And he said unto them, "I must preach the 43
kingdom of God to other cities also; for therefore am I sent. And he preached in the synagogues of Galilee. 44

CHAP. VI.

And it came to pass, on the second sabbath after the 1
first,† that he went through the corn-fields: and his disciples plucked the ears of corn, and did eat, rubbing

* "After sunset."—*Campbell's Transl.* See note on the parallel passage in Mark i. 21–34 (p. 57).

† This phrase, ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ, which nowhere else occurs, has given rise to no small amount of discussion and conjecture. Dr Campbell translates it, "on the sabbath called second-prime;" conformably to the Vulgate, which has "*sabbato secundo primo.*" He says in a note: "Among the different explanations which are given of the term δευτεροπρώτος, I find nothing but conjecture, and

2 *them* in *their* hands. And certain of the Pharisees said unto them, "Why do ye that which is not lawful to do on the sabbath-days?"

3 And Jesus, answering them, said, "Have ye not read so much as this, what David did, when himself was
4 an hungered, and they which were with him: how he went into the house of God, and did take and eat the shew-bread, and gave also to them that were with him, which is not lawful to eat but for the priests alone?"
5 And he said unto them, That the Son of man is Lord also of the sabbath.*

6 And it came to pass also on another sabbath, that he entered into the synagogue, and taught: and there
7 was a man whose right hand was withered. And the scribes and Pharisees watched him, whether he would heal on the sabbath-day; that they might find an accu-
8 sation against him. But he knew their thoughts, and said to the man which had the withered hand, "Rise up, and stand forth in the midst." And he arose, and stood forth.

9 Then said Jesus unto them, "I will ask you one thing; Is it lawful on the sabbath-days to do good, or to do evil? to save life, or to destroy *it*?"
10 And looking round about upon them all, he said unto the man, "Stretch forth thy hand." And he did so;

therefore think it the safest way to render the word by one similarly formed in our own language. This is what all the best translators have done in Latin. In the Syriac there is no word answering to it. The common version has, in this instance, neither followed the letter, nor given us words which convey any determinate sense." In the parallel passage in Mark ii. 23 (p. 57), the word is absent. A writer in Kitto's *Journal of Sacred Literature*, vol. iv., p. 140, has lately argued that not the weekly sabbath is meant, but "a sabbath of second rank," *i.e.*, "one of the minor high-feastdays," on which the censured act was permitted; Exod. xii. 16. But this notion is irreconcilable with the manner in which the argument against the Pharisees is here conducted. The ordinary conjectures on the subject may be seen in Robinson's *Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament*, article Δευτεροπρώτος.

* Compare Matt. xii. 1-5 (p. 49), and Mark ii. 23-28 (p. 57). "The Son of man is master even of the sabbath."—*Campbell's Transl.*

and his hand was restored whole as the other. And 11
they were filled with madness; and communed one with
another, what they might do to Jesus.*

CHAP. X.

And, behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted 25
him, saying, "Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal
life?"

He said unto him, "What is written in the law? how 26
readest thou?"

And he answering said, "Thou shalt love the Lord 27
thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and
with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy
neighbour as thyself."

And he said unto him, "Thou hast answered right: 28
this do, and thou shalt live." †

CHAP. XI.

And as he spake, a certain Pharisee besought him to 37
dine with him: and he went in and sat down to meat.
And when the Pharisee saw *it*, he marvelled that he had 38
not first washed before dinner.

And the Lord said unto him, "Now do ye Pharisees 39
make clean the outside of the cup and the platter; but
your inward part is full of ravening and wickedness.
Ye fools, did not he that made that which is without, 40
make that which is within also? But rather give alms 41
of such things as ye have; and, behold, all things are
clean unto you.

"But wo unto you, Pharisees! for ye tithe mint and 42
rue, and all manner of herbs, and pass over judgment
and the love of God: these ought ye to have done, and
not to leave the other undone. Wo unto you, Pharisees! 43
for ye love the uppermost seats in the synagogues, and
greetings in the markets. Wo unto you, scribes and 44
Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are as graves which appear

* Compare Matt. xii. 9–14 (p. 50), and Mark iii. 1–6 (p. 58).

† Compare Matt. xix. 16–22 (p. 51), and xxii. 35–40 (p. 52); and see the note on the latter passage.

not, and the men that walk over *them* are not aware of *them*."*

CHAP. XIII.

10 And he was teaching in one of the synagogues on the
11 sabbath. And, behold, there was a woman which had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and was bowed to-
12 gether, and could in nowise lift up *herself*. And when Jesus saw her, he called *her* to him, and said unto her, "Woman, thou art loosed from thine infirmity."
13 And he laid his hands on *her;* and immediately she was made straight, and glorified God.
14 And the ruler of the synagogue answered with indignation, because that Jesus had healed on the sabbath-day; and said unto the people, "There are six days in which men ought to work: in them therefore come and be healed, and not on the sabbath-day."
15 The Lord then answered him, and said, "Thou hypocrite, doth not each one of you on the sabbath loose his ox or *his* ass from the stall, and lead *him* away to
16 watering? And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo, these eighteen years, be loosed from this bond on the sabbath-
17 day?" And when he said these things, all his adversaries were ashamed; and all the people rejoiced for all the glorious things that were done by him.

CHAP. XIV.

1 And it came to pass, as he went into the house of one of the chief Pharisees* to eat bread on the sabbath-day,
2 that they watched him. And, behold, there was a cer-
3 tain man before him which had the dropsy. And Jesus, answering, spake unto the lawyers and Pharisees,
4 saying, "Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath-day?" And they held their peace.

And he took *him* and healed him, and let *him* go;
5 and answered them, saying, "Which of you shall have

* See parallel passages in Matt. xxiii. 1–33 (p. 52), and Mark xiii. 38–40.

† "One of the rulers, who was a Pharisee."—*Campbell's Transl.*

an ass or an ox fallen into a pit, and will not straightway pull him out on the sabbath-day?" And they could not answer him again to these things. 6

And he put forth a parable to those which were bidden, when he marked how they chose out the chief rooms;* saying unto them, "When thou art bidden of any *man* to a wedding, sit not down in the highest room," &c. 7 8

Then said he also to him that bade him, "When thou makest a dinner or a supper," &c. 12

CHAP. XVI.

The law and the prophets *were* until John: since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it. And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass than one tittle of the law to fail.† 16 17

CHAP. XVIII.

And a certain ruler asked him, saying, "Good Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?" 18

And Jesus said unto him, "Why callest thou me good? none *is* good save one, *that is* God. Thou knowest the commandments; Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Honour thy father and thy mother." 19 20

And he said, "All these have I kept from my youth up." 21

Now when Jesus heard these things, he said unto him, "Yet lackest thou one thing: sell all that thou hast, and distribute unto the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me.‡" 22

CHAP. XXI.

And in the day-time he was teaching in the temple, and at night he went out, and abode in the mount that is called *the mount* of Olives. And all the people came 37 38

* "The higher places."—*Campbell's Transl.*

† Compare Matt. v. 18 (p. 48).

‡ Compare Matt. xix. 16–22 (p. 51), and Mark x. 17–22.

early in the morning to him in the temple, for to hear him.*

CHAP. XXIII.

50 And, behold, *there was* a man named Joseph, a coun-
52 sellor; *and he was* a good man, and a just: . . . this
man went unto Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus.
53 And he took it down, and wrapped it in linen, and laid
it in a sepulchre that was hewn in stone, wherein never
54 man before was laid. And that day was the prepara-
tion, and the sabbath drew on.
55 And the women also which came with him from Gali-
lee, followed after, and beheld the sepulchre, and how
56 his body was laid. And they returned, and prepared
spices and ointments; and rested the sabbath-day,
according to the commandment.

CHAP. XXIV.

1 Now upon the first *day* of the week, very early in the
morning, they came unto the sepulchre, bringing the
spices which they had prepared, and certain *others*
2 with them. And they found the stone rolled away
3 from the sepulchre. And they entered in, and found
4 not the body of the Lord Jesus. And it came to pass,
as they were much perplexed thereabout, behold, two
5 men stood by them in shining garments. And as they
were afraid, and bowed down *their* faces to the earth,
they said unto them, "Why seek ye the living among
6 the dead? He is not here, but is risen: remember
how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee,
7 saying, 'The Son of man must be delivered into the
hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day
8 rise again.'" And they remembered his words, and
9 returned from the sepulchre, and told all these things
10 unto the eleven, and to all the rest. It was Mary Mag-
dalene, and Joanna, and Mary *the mother* of James,
and other *women that were* with them, which told these

* "And every morning the people resorted early to the temple to hear him."—*Campbell's Transl.*

things unto the apostles. And their words seemed to 11
them as idle tales, and they believed them not.

Then arose Peter, and ran unto the sepulchre, and, 12
stooping down, he beheld the linen clothes laid by
themselves, and departed, wondering in himself at that
which was come to pass.

And, behold, two of them went that same day to 13
a village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem
about threescore furlongs. And they talked together 14
of all these things which had happened. And it came 15
to pass, that while they communed *together*, and rea-
soned, Jesus himself drew near, and went with them:
but their eyes were holden, that they should not know 16
him. And he said unto them, "What manner of commu- 17
nications are these that ye have one to another, as ye
walk, and are sad?" And the one of them whose name 18
was Cleopas, answering, said unto him, "Art thou only
a stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the things
which are come to pass there in these days?" And he 19
said unto them, "What things?" And they said unto
him, "Concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a pro-
phet mighty in deed and word, before God and all the
people; and how the chief priests and our rulers de- 20
livered him to be condemned to death, and have cruci-
fied him. But we trusted that it had been he which 21
should have redeemed Israel: and besides all this,
to-day is the third day since these things were done.
Yea, and certain women also of our company made 22
us astonished, which were early at the sepulchre;
and when they found not his body, they came, 23
saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels,
which said that he was alive. And certain of them 24
which were with us went to the sepulchre, and found
it even so as the women had said; but him they saw
not."

Then he said unto them, "O fools, and slow of heart 25
to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Ought 26
not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter
into his glory?" And beginning at Moses and all the 27

prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself.

28 And they drew nigh unto the village, whither they went; and he made as though he would have gone fur-
29 ther. But they constrained him, saying, "Abide with us, for it is towards evening, and the day is far spent;"
30 and he went in to tarry with them. And it came to pass, as he sat at meat with them, he took bread and
31 blessed *it*, and brake, and gave to them. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanish-
32 ed out of their sight. And they said one to another, "Did not our heart burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the scriptures?"

33 And they rose up the same hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and
34 them that were with them, saying, "The Lord is risen
35 indeed, and hath appeared to Simon." And they told what things *were done* in the way, and how he was known of them in breaking of bread.

36 And as they thus spake, Jesus himself stood in the midst of them, and saith unto them, "Peace *be* unto
37 you." But they were terrified and affrighted, and sup-
38 posed that they had seen a spirit. And he said unto them, "Why are ye troubled, and why do thoughts
39 arise in your hearts? Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have."
40 And when he had thus spoken, he shewed them *his* hands and *his* feet.

41 And while they yet believed not for joy, and wondered, he said unto them, "Have ye here any meat?"
42 And they gave him a piece of a broiled fish, and of an
43 honey-comb. And he took *it*, and did eat before them.
44 And he said unto them, "These *are* the words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and *in* the Prophets, and *in* the Psalms, concerning me."

Then opened he their understanding, that they might 45
understand the scriptures; and said unto them, "Thus 46
it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to
rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and 47
remission of sins should be preached in his name
among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. And ye 48
are witnesses of these things. And, behold, I send the 49
promise of my Father upon you; but tarry ye in the
city of Jerusalem until ye be endued with power from
on high."

And he led them out as far as to Bethany: and he 50
lifted up his hands, and blessed them. And it came to 51
pass, while he blessed them, he was parted from them,
and carried up into heaven. And they worshipped 52
him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy; and 53
were continually in the temple, praising and blessing
God. Amen.*

JOHN.

CHAP. IV.

Then cometh he to a city of Samaria which is called 5
Sychar, near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to
his son Joseph. Now Jacob's well was there. Jesus 6
therefore being wearied with *his* journey, sat thus on
the well: and it was about the sixth hour.

There cometh a woman of Samaria to draw water: 7
Jesus saith unto her, "Give me to drink."

The woman saith unto him, "Sir, I perceive that thou 19
art a prophet. Our fathers worshipped in this moun- 20
tain; and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where
men ought to worship."

Jesus saith unto her, "Woman, believe me, the hour 21
cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet
at Jerusalem, worship the Father. Ye worship ye know 22
not what: we know what we worship: for salvation is

* Compare Matt. xxviii. (p. 54), Mark xvi. (p. 59), John xx. (p. 73).

23 of the Jews. But the hour cometh, and now is, when
the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit
and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship
24 him. God *is* a Spirit; and they that worship him, must
worship *him* in spirit and in truth."

CHAP. V.

1 After this there was a feast of the Jews; and Jesus
*2 went up to Jerusalem. Now there is at Jerusalem, by
the sheep-*market*, a pool, which is called in the Hebrew
3 tongue, Bethesda, having five porches. In these lay a
great multitude of impotent folk, of blind, halt, withered,
4 waiting for the moving of the water. For an angel
went down at a certain season into the pool, and
troubled the water: whosoever then first after the
troubling of the water stepped in, was made whole of
whatsoever disease he had.
5 And a certain man was there, which had an infirmity
6 thirty and eight years. When Jesus saw him lie, and
knew that he had been now a long time *in that case*,
7 he saith unto him, "Wilt thou be made whole?" The
impotent man answered him, "Sir, I have no man, when
the water is troubled, to put me into the pool; but while
8 I am coming, another steppeth down before me." Jesus
saith unto him, "Rise, take up thy bed, and walk."
9 And immediately the man was made whole, and took
up his bed,* and walked: and on the same day was the
sabbath.

* "Κράββατον. A small mean couch, something like those portable seats used by persons on shipboard or elsewhere, with only a skin, rug, or the like, for a covering."—Dr S. T. Bloomfield's *Greek Testament*, vol. i., p. 417, 6th ed.

"The manner of sleeping in warm Eastern climates was, and is, necessarily very different from that which is followed in our colder regions. The present usages appear to be the same as those of the ancient Jews, and sufficiently explain the passages of Scripture which bear on the subject. Beds of feathers are altogether unknown, and the Orientals lie exceedingly hard. Poor people who have no certain home, or when on a journey, or employed distant from their homes, sleep on mats or wrapped in their outer garment."—Kitto's *Cyclop. of Bib. Lit.*, article BEDS.

The Jews therefore said unto him that was cured, "It 10
is the sabbath-day; it is not lawful for thee to carry
thy bed." He answered them, "He that made me whole, 11
the same said unto me, Take up thy bed, and walk."
Then asked they him, "What man is that who said 12
unto thee, Take up thy bed, and walk?" And he that 13
was healed wist not who it was: for Jesus had conveyed
himself away, a multitude being in *that* place.
Afterward Jesus findeth him in the temple, and said 14
unto him, "Behold, thou art made whole: sin no more,
lest a worse thing come unto thee." The man departed, 15
and told the Jews that it was Jesus which had made him
whole. And therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, 16
and sought to slay him, because he had done these
things on the sabbath-day. But Jesus answered them, 17
"My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." Therefore 18
the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not
only had broken the sabbath, but said also that God was
his Father, making himself equal with God.

CHAP. VII.

Now about the midst of the feast, Jesus went up into 14
the temple, and taught. . . .
"Did not Moses give you the law, and *yet* none of 19
you keepeth the law? Why go ye about to kill me?"
The people answered and said, "Thou hast a devil: 20
who goeth about to kill thee?" Jesus answered and 21
said unto them, "I have done one work, and ye all
marvel. Moses therefore gave unto you circumcision 22
(not because it is of Moses, but of the fathers), and ye
on the sabbath-day circumcise a man.* If a man on 23
the sabbath-day receive circumcision, that the law of
Moses should not be broken;† are ye angry at me, be-
cause I have made a man every whit whole on the sab-
bath-day? Judge not according to the appearance, but 24
judge righteous judgment."‡

* See Gen. xvii. 12; Lev. xii. 3; Luke ii. 21.

† Or, "without breaking the law of Moses."—*Marg.*

‡ Verses 23 and 24: "If on the sabbath a child receive circumci-

CHAP. IX.

1 And as *Jesus* passed by, he saw a man which was
2 blind from his birth. And his disciples asked him, saying, "*Master*, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?"
3 Jesus answered, "Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents: but that the works of God should be
4 made manifest in him. I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day; the night cometh when
5 no man can work. As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world."
6 When he had thus spoken, he spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and he anointed the eyes
7 of the blind man with the clay, and said unto him, "Go, wash in the pool of Siloam," (which is, by interpretation, Sent.) He went his way therefore, and washed, and came seeing.
8 The neighbours therefore, and they which before had seen him, that he was blind, said, "Is not this he that
9 sat and begged?" Some said, "This is he;" others
10 *said*, "He is like him;" *but* he said, "I am *he*." Therefore said they unto him, "How were thine eyes opened?"
11 He answered and said, "A man that is called Jesus, made clay, and anointed mine eyes, and said unto me, 'Go to the pool of Siloam, and wash:' and I went and
12 washed, and I received sight." Then said they unto him, "Where is he?" He said, "I know not."
13 They brought to the Pharisees him that aforetime
14 was blind. And it was the sabbath-day when Jesus
15 made the clay and opened his eyes. Then again the Pharisees also asked him how he had received his sight. He said unto them, "He put clay upon mine eyes, and
16 I washed, and do see." Therefore said some of the Pharisees, "This man is not of God, because he keepeth not the sabbath-day." Others said, "How can a man

sion, that the law of Moses may not be violated; are ye incensed against me because I have, on the sabbath, cured a man whose whole body was diseased? Judge not from personal regards, but judge according to justice."—*Campbell's Transl.*

that is a sinner do such miracles?' And there was a division among them.

CHAP. XX.

The first *day* of the week cometh Mary Magdalene 1
early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre, and
seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre. Then 2
she runneth and cometh to Simon Peter, and to the
other disciple whom Jesus loved, and saith unto them,
"They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre,
and we know not where they have laid him." . . . .

Then the same day at evening, being the first *day* of 19
the week,* when the doors were shut where the disci-
ples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus,
and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, "Peace
be unto you." † And when he had so said, he shewed 20
unto them *his* hands and his side. Then were the dis-
ciples glad when they saw the Lord.

Then said Jesus to them again, "Peace *be* unto you: 21
as *my* Father hath sent me, even so send I you." And 22
when he had said this, he breathed on *them*, and saith
unto them, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose soever
sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; *and* whose
soever *sins* ye retain, they are retained."

But Thomas one of the twelve, called Didymus, was 24
not with them when Jesus came. The other disciples 25
therefore said unto him, "We have seen the Lord."
But he said unto them, "Except I shall see in his hands
the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print
of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will
not believe."

And after eight days,‡ again his disciples were within, 26

* Compare Acts xx. 7 (p. 85); 1 Cor. xvi. 2 (p. 93).

† "In the evening of that day, the first of the week, Jesus came where the disciples were convened (the doors having been shut for fear of the Jews), and stood in the midst, and said to them, 'Peace be unto you.'"—*Campbell's Transl.*

‡ Those who contend that the phrase μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀκτώ, here literally translated "after eight days," means "on the eighth day after," or "eight days after," quote Matt. xxvii. 63, "We remem-

and Thomas with them. *Then* came Jesus, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said, "Peace *be*
27 unto you." Then saith he to Thomas, "Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side: and be not faithless,
28 but believing." And Thomas answered and said unto
29 him, "My Lord and my God." Jesus saith unto him, "Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed *are* they that have not seen, and *yet* have believed."

30 And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book:
31 but these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name.*

CHAP. XXI.

1 After these things Jesus shewed himself again to the disciples at the sea of Tiberias; and on this wise
2 shewed he *himself:* There were together Simon Peter, and Thomas called Didymus, and Nathanael of Cana in

ber that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again;" compared with Matt. xvi. 21, "From that time forth began Jesus to show unto his disciples, how that he must . . . be killed, and be raised again the third day." They observe also that circumcision, ordained in Levit. xii. 3 to be performed "in the eighth day," is prescribed in Gen. xvii. 12 as a rite that should take place when the child was "eight days old;" and that whereas in Luke ii. 21 Jesus is said to have been circumcised "when eight days were accomplished," in chap. i. verse 59 the rite is said to have been performed upon John the Baptist "on the eighth day." Some scholars look upon the phraseology in the text as a Hebraism; but others dissent from this, and say that the same form of expression is employed by the best Greek and Latin authors. As a remarkable exemplification of the usage, a passage from Theophrastus has been quoted, along with a corresponding one from Pliny. Speaking of the Egyptian Thorn, the former says, ὅταν δὲ κοπῇ, μετὰ τρίτον ἔτος, ἰδίως ἀναβιβλάστησιν (*Hist.*, lib. iv. c. 3); which the latter renders by "cæsa, *anno tertio* resurgit" (*Nat. Hist.*, xiii. 9.) See the Rev. T. S. Hughes's *Letter to Godfrey Higgins, Esq., on the subject of his "Horæ Sabbaticæ,"* Lond. 1826; reprinted in *The Pamphleteer*, vol. xxvii. p. 214.

* Compare Matt. xxviii. (p. 54), Mark xvi. (p. 59), Luke xxiv. (p. 66).

Galilee, and the *sons* of Zebedee, and two other of his disciples. Simon Peter saith unto them, "I go a fishing." They say unto him, "We also go with thee." They went forth, and entered into a ship immediately; and that night they caught nothing. But when the morning was now come, Jesus stood on the shore; but the disciples knew not that it was Jesus. Then Jesus saith unto them, "Children, have ye any meat?" They answered him, "No." . . . This is now the third time that Jesus shewed himself to his disciples, after that he was risen from the dead.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

CHAP. I.

The former treatise have I made, O Theophilus, of all that Jesus began both to do and to teach, until the day in which he was taken up, after that he through the Holy Ghost had given commandment unto the apostles whom he had chosen. To whom also he shewed himself alive after his passion, by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God: And being assembled together with them,* commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, "which," *saith he*, "ye have heard of me. For John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence."

When they therefore were come together, they asked of him, saying, "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?"

And he said unto them, "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power. But ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you; and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Ju-

* Or, "eating together with them."—*Marg.*

dea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.

9 And when he had spoken these things, while they beheld, he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight.

CHAP. II.

1 And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they
2 were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting.
3 And there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like
4 as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance. . . .
41 Then they that gladly received Peter's word, were baptized; and the same day there were added *unto*
42 *them* about three thousand souls. And they continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and
43 in breaking of bread, and in prayers. And fear came upon every soul: and many wonders and signs were done by the apostles.
44 And all that believed were together, and had all
45 things common, and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need.
46 And they, continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house,* did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart,
47 praising God, and having favour with all the people.

CHAP. III.

1 Now Peter and John went up together into the temple, at the hour of prayer, *being* the ninth *hour*.

CHAP. IV.

8 Then Peter, filled with the Holy Ghost, said unto
9 them, "Ye rulers of the people, and elders of Israel, if we this day be examined of the good deed done to the
10 impotent man, by what means he is made whole; be it

* Or, "at home."—*Marg.*

known unto you all, and to all the people of Israel, that by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even by him doth this man stand here before you whole. This is the 11
stone which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the head of the corner." *

CHAP. VI.

And Stephen, full of faith and power, did great won- 8
ders and miracles among the people.

Then there arose certain of the synagogue, which is 9
called *the synagogue* of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia, and of Asia, disputing with Stephen. And they were not able to re- 10
sist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake.

Then they suborned men which said, "We have 11
heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses, and *against* God." And they stirred up the people, and the 12
elders, and the scribes, and came upon *him*, and caught him, and brought *him* to the council, and set up false 13
witnesses, which said, "This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place, and the law. For we have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth 14
shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs† which Moses delivered us."

And all that sat in the council, looking stedfastly on 15
him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel.

CHAP. VII.

Then said the high priest, "Are these things so?" 1
And he said, "Men, brethren, and fathers, hearken. 2

. . . .

"This is that Moses which said unto the children of 37
Israel, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear.' This is he that was in the church in the wilder- 38
ness, with the angel‡ which spake to him in the mount

* Compare Psalm cxviii. (p. 39), and the places there referred to.
† Or, "rites."—*Marg.* ‡ Compare Exod. xix. 3 (p. 9).

Sina, and *with* our fathers: who received the lively oracles to give unto us. . . .

46 "David found favour before God, and desired to find
47 a tabernacle for the God of Jacob. But Solomon built him an house.

48 "Howbeit the most High dwelleth not in temples
49 made with hands;* as saith the prophet, 'Heaven *is* my throne, and earth *is* my footstool: what house will ye build me? saith the Lord; or what *is* the place of my
50 rest? Hath not my hand made all these things?'"†

CHAP. IX.

19 Then was Saul certain days with the disciples which
20 were at Damascus. And straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God.

V.—PERIOD OF THE JEWISH AND GENTILE CHRISTIANS.

ACTS—*Continued.*

CHAP. X.

25 And as Peter was coming in, Cornelius met him,‡
26 and fell down at his feet, and worshipped *him*. But Peter took him up, saying, "Stand up; I myself also am a man."

27 And as he talked with him, he went in, and found
28 many that were come together. And he said unto them, "Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company, or come unto one of another nation; but God hath shewed me,§ that I

* 1 Kings viii. 27. † Isa. lxvi. 1, 2.

‡ Cornelius was a Roman centurion, resident in Cæsarea, who, though a Gentile, was (as we read in verse 2) a "devout man, and one that feared God with all his house; which gave much alms to the people, and prayed to God alway."

§ By the vision related in verses 9–16.

should not call any man common or unclean.* There- 29
fore came I *unto you* without gainsaying, as soon as I
was sent for: I ask therefore for what intent ye have
sent for me?" . . .

Then Peter opened *his* mouth, and said, "Of a truth 34
I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in 35
every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteous-
ness, is accepted with him." †

CHAP. XI.

And the apostles and brethren that were in Judea, 1
heard that the Gentiles had also received the word of
God. And when Peter was come up to Jerusalem, they 2
that were of the circumcision contended with him, say-

* Compare Exod. xix. 6 (p. 9); xxxi. 13 (p. 15); Lev. xx. 26 (p. 19); Deut. vii. 6 (p. 26).

† The Rev. Baden Powell observes: "The first great step [in deviating from the Mosaic law] was the announcement of the *abolition of the separation* between Jew and Gentile; commenced in the commission to Peter to convert Cornelius. Yet in fact Christianity was long confined chiefly to Jews or proselytes, or Gentile converts from among those who had previously in some degree conformed to the law. In addressing such parties the appeal would be naturally made to the Old Testament as furnishing proofs of Christianity. . . . . When purely Gentiles, or heathens, were addressed, there is no evidence or instance of any reference being made to Old Testament authority; *to the law as preliminary to the Gospel*, or to any supposed *primitive religion*, as to a sort of prior, but forgotten, obligation. The appeal was (in all the few cases recorded) to the *natural* evidences of one God, to the moral law of *conscience*, and then directly to the fact of Christ's resurrection and its consequences. Such was the tenor of St Paul's discourse at Lystra and at Athens (Acts xvii. 22; xiv. 17), and such the purport of his whole elaborate argument in the beginning of the Epistle to the Romans (Rom. i. 18; ii. 14, &c.), where he positively and pointedly makes his appeal to the Gentiles *not* on the ground of the *revealed law*, but solely on that of *natural* reason and conscience. And just as he referred the Jews to their scriptures, so, to enforce his argument with authorities to the heathen, he quotes their own poets (Acts xvii. 28; 1 Cor. xv. 33; Tit. i. 12)."—Kitto's *Journal of Sacred Literature*, vol. i., p. 339, art. "The Law and the Gospel." See also pp. 340, 342, 343, 346 of the same volume.

It is therefore essential to a right understanding of the following extracts, that the reader should observe *to which class of converts* they are addressed.

ing, "Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst
eat with them." But Peter rehearsed *the matter* from
the beginning, and expounded *it* by order unto them,
saying, &c. . . .
When they heard these things, they held their peace,
and glorified God, saying, "Then hath God also to the
Gentiles granted repentance unto life."

CHAP. XIII.

And when they* were at Salamis, they preached the
word of God in the synagogues of the Jews: and they
had also John to *their* minister. . . . .
But when they departed from Perga, they came to
Antioch in Pisidia, and went into the synagogue on the
sabbath-day, and sat down. And after the reading of
the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue
sent unto them, saying, "Ye men *and* brethren, if ye
have any word of exhortation for the people, say on."
Then Paul stood up, and, beckoning with *his* hand,
said, "Men of Israel, and ye that fear God, give au-
dience. . . .
"Men *and* brethren, children of the stock of Abra-
ham, and whosoever among you feareth God, to you is
the word of this salvation sent. For they that dwell at
Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not,
nor yet the voices of the prophets which are read every
sabbath-day, they have fulfilled *them* in condemning
him. . . .
"But God raised him from the dead: And he was
seen many days of them which came up with him from
Galilee to Jerusalem, who are his witnesses unto the
people." . . . .
And when the Jews were gone out of the synagogue,
the Gentiles besought that these words might be preached
to them the next sabbath.†
Now, when the congregation was broken up, many of

* Barnabas and Saul.

† Gr. "in the week between," or, "on the sabbath between."—*Marg.*

the Jews and religious proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas; who, speaking to them, persuaded them to continue in the grace of God.

And the next sabbath-day came almost the whole 44
city together to hear the word of God. But when the 45
Jews saw the multitudes, they were filled with envy, and spake against those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming.

Then Paul and Barnabas waxed bold, and said, "It 46
was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you: but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles. For so hath the Lord commanded us, 47
saying, 'I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the ends of the earth.' "*

And when the Gentiles heard this, they were glad, 48
and glorified the word of the Lord: and as many as were ordained to eternal life, believed.

CHAP. XIV.

And it came to pass in Iconium, that they went both 1
together into the synagogue of the Jews, and so spake, that a great multitude both of the Jews, and also of the Greeks, believed.

CHAP. XV.

And certain men which came down from Judea, 1
taught the brethren, *and said*, "Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved."

When therefore Paul and Barnabas had no small dis- 2
sension and disputation with them, they determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question. And being brought on their way by the 3
church, they passed through Phenice, and Samaria, declaring the conversion of the Gentiles: and they caused great joy unto all the brethren.

* Isaiah xlix. 6.

4 And when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received of the church, and *of* the apostles and elders, and they declared all things that God had done with
5 them. But there rose up certain of the sect of the Pharisees which believed, saying, "That it was needful to circumcise them, and to command *them* to keep the
6 law of Moses." And the apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter.
7 And when there had been much disputing, Peter rose up and said unto them, "Men *and* brethren, ye know how that a good while ago God made choice among us, that the Gentiles by my mouth should hear the word of
8 the gospel, and believe. And God, which knoweth the hearts, bare them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost,
9 even as *he did* unto us; and put no difference between
10 us and them, purifying their hearts by faith. Now therefore why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were
11 able to bear? But we believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved, even as they."
12 Then all the multitude kept silence, and gave audience to Barnabas and Paul, declaring what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them.
13 And after they had held their peace, James answered,
14 saying, "Men *and* brethren, hearken unto me. Simeon hath declared how God at the first did visit the Gentiles,
15 to take out of them a people for his name. And to this
16 agree the words of the prophets; as it is written, 'After this I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will build again
17 the ruins thereof, and I will set it up: that the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles, upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord, who doth
18 all these things.'* Known unto God are all his works
19 from the beginning of the world. Wherefore my sentence is, that we trouble not them which from among

* Amos ix. 11, 12.

the Gentiles are turned to God: But that we write unto 20
them, that they abstain from pollutions of idols, and *from*
fornication, and *from* things strangled, and *from* blood. 21
For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach
him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath-day."

Then pleased it the apostles and elders, with the 22
whole church, to send chosen men of their own company
to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas; *namely*, Judas sur-
named Barsabas, and Silas, chief men among the breth-
ren: and they wrote letters by them after this manner: 23
"The apostles, and elders, and brethren, send greeting,
unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch,
and Syria, and Cilicia. Forasmuch as we have heard 24
that certain which went out from us have troubled you
with words, subverting your souls, saying, 'Ye *must* be
circumcised, and keep the law;' to whom we gave no
such commandment: it seemed good unto us, being as- 25
sembled with one accord, to send chosen men unto you
with our beloved Barnabas and Paul; men that have 26
hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus
Christ. We have sent therefore Judas and Silas, who 27
shall also tell *you* the same things by mouth. For 28
it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay
upon you no greater burden than these necessary things;
that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from 29
blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication:
from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well. Fare
ye well."

So when they were dismissed, they came to Antioch; 30
and when they had gathered the multitude together, they
delivered the epistle. *Which* when they had read, they 31
rejoiced for the consolation.*

CHAP. XVI.

Then came he [Paul] to Derbe and Lystra: and, be- 1
hold, a certain disciple was there, named Timotheus, the
son of a certain woman, which was a Jewess, and believed;
but his father *was* a Greek, which was well reported of 2

* Or, "exhortation."—*Marg.*

3 by the brethren that were at Lystra and Iconium. Him would Paul have to go forth with him; and took and circumcised him, because of the Jews which were in those quarters: for they knew all that his father was a Greek.

4 And as they went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem. . . .

13 And on the sabbath* we went out of the city [Philippi] by a river side, where prayer was wont to be made; and we sat down, and spake unto the women which resorted *thither*.

CHAP. XVII.

1 Now, when they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, they came to Thessalonica, where was a sy-
2 nagogue of the Jews. And Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three sabbath-days reasoned
3 with them out of the scriptures; opening and alleging that Christ must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead; and that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is Christ. . . .

16 Now, while Paul waited for them at Athens, his spirit was stirred in him, when he saw the city wholly
17 given to idolatry. Therefore disputed he in the synagogue with the Jews, and with the devout persons, and in the market daily with them that met with him. . . .

22 Then Paul stood in the midst of Mars-hill, and said: "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye
23 are too superstitious. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye
24 ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you. God, that made the world, and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples
25 made with hands; neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things," &c.

* Gr. "sabbath-day."—*Marg.*

CHAP. XVIII.

And [at Corinth] Paul reasoned in the synagogue 4
every sabbath, and persuaded the Jews and the Greeks.
. . . . And he continued *there* a year and six months, 11
teaching the word of God among them. . . . . And 18
Paul *after this* tarried *there* yet a good while, and then
took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence into
Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquilla; having shorn
his head in Cenchrea: for he had a vow.

And he came to Ephesus, and left them there: but 19
he himself entered into the synagogue, and reasoned
with the Jews. When they desired *him* to tarry longer 20
time with them, he consented not; but bade them fare- 21
well, saying, "I must by all means keep this feast that
cometh in Jerusalem: but I will return again unto you,
if God will." And he sailed from Ephesus.

CHAP. XIX.

And he [Paul] went into the synagogue, and spake 8
boldly for the space of three months, disputing and per-
suading the things concerning the kingdom of God.

CHAP. XX.

And there accompanied him into Asia, Sopater of Be- 4
rea; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secun-
dus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timotheus; and of Asia,
Tychicus and Trophimus. These, going before, tarried 5
for us at Troas.

And we sailed away from Philippi, after the days of un- 6
leavened bread, and came unto them to Troas in five days;
where we abode seven days. And upon the first *day* of 7
the week,* when the disciples came together to break

* Ἐν δὲ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, συνηγμένων τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ κλάσαι ἄρτον; literally, "And on the first of the week, the disciples being come together to break bread." The words in the authorised version, "when the disciples came together," are equivocal, and have sometimes been erroneously understood to signify "when the disciples used to come together." Beza correctly renders them "congregatis discipulis." Moreover, in the critical editions of the New Testament, the words συνηγμένων τῶν μαθητῶν, "the disciples being come together," are corrected to συνηγμένων ἡμῶν, "we being come

bread,* Paul preached† unto them, ready to depart on
the morrow; and continued his speech until midnight.
8 And there were many lights in the upper chamber,
where they were gathered together.
9 And there sat in a window a certain young man
named Eutychus, being fallen into a deep sleep; and
as Paul was long preaching, he sunk down with sleep,
and fell down from the third loft, and was taken up
10 dead. And Paul went down, and fell on him, and, em-
bracing *him*, said, "Trouble not yourselves; for his
11 life is in him." When he therefore was come up again,
and had broken bread, and eaten, and talked a long
12 while, even till break of day, so he departed.‡ And
they brought the young man alive, and were not a
little comforted.
13 And we went before to ship, and sailed unto Assos,
there intending to take in Paul; for so had he appoint-
14 ed, minding himself to go afoot. And when he met

together; *i.e.*, Luke and the other companions of Paul. Probably some transcriber thought fit to substitute "the disciples" for "we," in order to make the expression agree better with "them" in the following clause.

Compare John xx. 19 (p. 73); 1 Cor. xvi. 2 (p. 93).

* This phrase occurs in Luke xxiv. 30, 35; Acts ii. 42, 46; xx. 11; and, with reference to the Lord's supper, in 1 Cor. x. 16.

† Διελέγετο. On the translation of this verb in verses 7 and 9, Dr Campbell says: "Διαλεγομαι is properly *dissero, disputo*. It occurs frequently in the Acts; but, except in this passage, is always rendered *to reason*, or *to dispute*. I own that neither of these words suits the context here, as it appears that all present were disciples. The word, however, implies not only *to dispute*, but *to discourse* on any subject. But what I take the freedom to censure in our translators, is not their rendering διαλεγομαι in this place *preach*, which, considered by itself, might be justified; but it is their confounding it with so many words not synonymous, particularly with κηρυσσω, whose meaning in this book, as well as in the Gospels, is totally different;" being to *cry, publish*, or *proclaim* authoritatively, or by commission from another.—Dissertation VI., Part V., prefixed to Campbell's *Transl. of the Gospels*.

‡ As the first day of the week began at sunset on Saturday, it is thought by some that Paul's discourse, which lasted so long, probably began in the evening at the beginning of the first day, and that, on the same day, after daybreak, he resumed his journey. See Mark i. 32–34, and the note, p. 57.

with us at Assos, we took him in, and came to Mitylene. And we sailed thence. and came the next *day* 15
over against Chios; and the next *day* we arrived at Samos, and tarried at Trogyllium; and the next *day* we came to Miletus. For Paul had determined to sail 16
by Ephesus, because he would not spend the time in Asia; for he hasted, if it were possible for him, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost.

CHAP. XXI.

And finding disciples [at Tyre], we tarried there seven 4
days; who said to Paul through the Spirit, that he should not go up to Jerusalem. And when we had 5
accomplished those days, we departed, and went our way; and they all brought us on our way, with wives and children, till *we were* out of the city: and we kneeled down on the shore, and prayed. . . . .

And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren 17
received us gladly. And the *day* following, Paul went 18
in with us unto James; and all the elders were present. And when he had saluted them, he declared par- 19
ticularly what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry. And when they heard *it*, 20
they glorified the Lord, and said unto him, "Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe; and they are all zealous of the law. And 21
they are informed of thee that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying, that they ought not to circumcise *their* children, neither to walk after the customs. What is it therefore? the 22
multitude must needs come together; for they will hear that thou art come. Do therefore this that we say to 23
thee: we have four men which have a vow on them; them take, and purify thyself with them, and be at 24
charges with them, that they may shave *their* heads: and all may know that those things, whereof they were informed concerning thee, are nothing; but *that* thou thyself also walkest orderly, and keepest the law. As touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written 25

and concluded that they observe no such thing, save only that they keep themselves from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from strangled, and from fornication."

26 Then Paul took the men, and the next day purifying himself with them entered into the temple, to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification, until that an offering should be offered for every one of them.

27 And when the seven days were almost ended, the Jews which were of Asia, when they saw him in the temple, stirred up all the people, and laid hands on
28 him, crying out, "Men of Israel, help: this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people, and the law, and this place; and farther, brought Greeks also into the temple, and hath polluted this
29 holy place." (For they had seen before with him in the city, Trophimus an Ephesian, whom they sup-
30 posed that Paul had brought into the temple.) And all the city was moved, and the people ran together; and they took Paul, and drew him out of the temple: and forthwith the doors were shut.

CHAP. XXV.

4 But Festus answered, that Paul should be kept at Cesarea, and that he himself would depart shortly
5 *thither*. "Let them therefore," said he, "which among you are able, go down with *me*, and accuse this man, if there be any wickedness in him."

6 And when he had tarried among them more than ten days, he went down unto Cesarea; and the next day, sitting on the judgment-seat, commanded Paul to be brought.
7 And when he was come, the Jews which came down from Jerusalem stood round about, and laid many and grievous complaints against Paul, which they could not
8 prove; while he answered for himself, "Neither against the law of the Jews, neither against the temple, nor yet against Cesar, have I offended any thing at all."

CHAP. XXVIII.

And it came to pass, that, after three days, Paul 17
called the chief of the Jews together: and when they
were come together, he said unto them, "Men *and*
brethren, though I have committed nothing against the
people or customs of our fathers, yet was I delivered
prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans;
who, when they had examined me, would have let *me* 18
go, because there was no cause of death in me."

PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.*

CHAP. II.

For not the hearers of the law *are* just before God, 13
but the doers of the law shall be justified. For when 14
the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the
things contained in the law, these, having not the law,
are a law unto themselves; which shew the work of 15
the law written in their hearts, their conscience also
bearing witness,† and *their* thoughts the meanwhile
accusing or else excusing one another.

CHAP. VII.

But now we are delivered from the law, that being 6
dead‡ wherein we were held; that we should serve in
newness of spirit, and not *in* the oldness of the letter.

* We learn from ch. i. verses 7 and 13, ch. ii. verse 17, that the Christian converts at Rome, addressed by Paul in this Epistle, were both Jews and Gentiles; and ch. xiv. is understood by the commentators to have reference to disputes between these two classes of Christians, one of which not only continued to obey the Mosaic law, but blamed the other for neglecting its observances; while the Gentile Christians, on their side, contemned their Jewish brethren as superstitious. It is recommended that the *whole* of the Epistle be perused, although the passages here extracted give a sufficient view of the apostle's doctrine as to the law of Moses.

† Or, "the conscience witnessing with them."—*Marg.*

‡ Or, "being dead to that."—*Marg.*

7 What shall we say then? *Is* the law sin? God forbid. Nay, I had not known sin but by the law: for I had not known lust,* except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet, &c.

CHAP. XIII.

8 Owe no man anything, but to love one another: for
9 he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law. For this, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not covet; and if *there be* any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as
10 thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: therefore love *is* the fulfilling of the law.

CHAP. XIV.

1 Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, *but* not to
2 doubtful disputations. For one believeth that he may
3 eat all things: another, who is weak, eateth herbs. Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not, judge him that eateth:
4 for God hath received him. Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth; yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand.

5 One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day *alike*. Let every man be fully
6 persuaded† in his own mind. He that regardeth‡ the day, regardeth *it* unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard *it*.§ He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks.

7 For none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth

* Or, "concupiscence."—*Marg.*
† Or, "fully assured."—*Marg.*
‡ Or, "observeth."—*Marg.*
Compare Gal. iv. 10, 11 (p. 97), and Col. ii. 16, 17 (p. 101).

to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the 8
Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord:
whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's.
For to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, 9
that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.

But why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost 10
thou set at nought thy brother? for we shall all stand
before the judgment-seat of Christ. For it is written, 11
"*As* I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me,
and every tongue shall confess to God." * So then every 12
one of us shall give account of himself to God.

Let us not therefore judge one another any more; 13
but judge this rather, that no man put a stumbling-
block, or an occasion to fall, in *his* brother's way.

I know, and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that 14
there is nothing unclean† of itself: but to him that
esteemeth any thing to be unclean,‡ to him *it is* un-
clean. But if thy brother be grieved with *thy* meat, 15
now walkest thou not charitably. Destroy not him
with thy meat for whom Christ died. Let not then 16
your good be evil spoken of: for the kingdom of God 17
is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace,
and joy in the Holy Ghost. For he that in these things 18
serveth Christ *is* acceptable to God, and approved of men.

Let us therefore follow after the things which make 19
for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another.
For meat destroy not the work of God. All things 20
indeed *are* pure; but *it is* evil for that man who eateth
with offence. *It is* good neither to eat flesh, nor to 21
drink wine, nor *any thing* whereby thy brother stum-
bleth, or is offended, or is made weak. Hast thou faith? 22
have it to thyself before God. Happy *is* he that con-
demneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth.
And he that doubteth§ is damned if he eat, because *he* 23
eateth not of faith: for whatsoever *is* not of faith is sin.

* Isa. xlv. 23.

† Gr. "common."—*Marg.*

‡ Gr. "common."—*Marg.*

§ Gr. "discerneth and putteth a difference between meats."—*Marg.*

PAUL'S FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.*

CHAP. VII.

18 Is any man called being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised: is any called in uncircumci-
19 sion? let him not be circumcised. Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God.

CHAP. IX.

19 For though I be free from all *men*, yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more.
20 And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the
21 law, that I might gain them that are under the law; to them that are without law, as without law (being not without law to God, but under the law† to Christ), that

* The church at Corinth consisted of Jewish and Gentile converts, as we learn from Acts xviii. 1–11.

† "Under law," is the correct translation of ἔννομος. Dr Macknight thus renders the verse: "To those without law, as without law, (yet not being without law to God, but under law to Christ,) that I might gain those who are without law." Of which he gives the following paraphrase:—"To persons not subject to the law of Moses, I became as not subject to that law, by not enforcing it on them (yet not being without the law of God written on my heart, but under the law enjoined by Christ), that I might gain the Gentiles who are without the law, and averse to its rites." The more ample paraphrase of Doddridge is as follows:—"On the other hand, to those who were without the law of Moses, and either unacquainted with it, or apprehended themselves under no obligation to conform to its peculiar institutions, I behaved as if I had myself also been without the law, neglecting its ceremonial precepts, which I well knew to be superseded and abolished. Yet still taking care that it might appear both from my word and actions that I was not without law to God, but apprehended myself under a law of the most affectionate duty and gratitude to Christ, who came by new bonds to engage us to the strictest obedience. But these freedoms I used, and this moderation I manifested, not by any means for my own indulgence, but that I might gain those who are without the law, and make my ministry more agreeable and useful to such as were educated among the Gentiles."

I might gain them that are without law. To the weak 22
became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am
made all things to all *men*, that I might by all means
save some. And this I do for the gospel's sake, that I 23
might be partaker thereof with *you*.

CHAP. X.

Whether therefore ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye 31
do, do all to the glory of God.

CHAP. XV.

For I delivered unto you first of all, that which I also 3
received, how that Christ died for our sins according to
the scriptures; and that he was buried, and that he rose 4
again the third day according to the scriptures; and 5
that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve: After 6
that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at
once; of whom the greater part remain unto this pre-
sent, but some are fallen asleep. After that he was 7
seen of James; then of all the apostles. And last of 8
all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due
time.

CHAP. XVI.

Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I 1
have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do
ye. Upon the first *day* of the week* let every one of 2
you lay by him in store, as *God* hath prospered him,
that there be no gatherings when I come.† And when 3
I come, whomsoever you shall approve by *your* letters,
them will I send to bring your liberality unto Jerusa-
lem. And if it be meet that I go also, they shall go 4
with me.

* Compare John xx. 19 (p. 73); Acts xx. 7 (p. 85).
† See 2 Cor. viii. and ix.

PAUL'S SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

CHAP. III.

1 Do we begin again to commend ourselves? or need
we, as some *others*, epistles of commendation to you, or
2 *letters* of commendation from you? Ye are our epistle
3 written in our hearts, known and read of all men: *for*
as much as ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle
of Christ ministered by us, written not with ink, but
with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone,
4 but in fleshly tables of the heart. And such trust have
5 we through Christ to God-ward: not that we are suffi-
cient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves;
6 but our sufficiency *is* of God: who also hath made us
able ministers of the new testament; not of the letter,
but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit
7 giveth life. But if the ministration of death written
and engraven in stones, was glorious, so that the chil-
dren of Israel could not stedfastly behold the face of
Moses for the glory of his countenance; which *glory*
8 was to be done away; how shall not the ministration of
9 the Spirit be rather glorious? For if the ministration
of condemnation *be* glory, much more doth the mini-
10 stration of righteousness exceed in glory. For even that
which was made glorious had no glory in this respect,
11 by reason of the glory that excelleth. For if that which
was done away *was* glorious, much more that which re-
maineth *is* glorious.

12 Seeing then that we have such hope, we use great
13 plainness of speech; and not as Moses, *which* put a
vail over his face, that the children of Israel could not
stedfastly look to the end of that which is abolished:
14 But their minds were blinded: for until this day re-
maineth the same vail untaken away in the reading of
the old testament; which *vail* is done away in Christ.
15 But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the vail is
16 upon their heart. Nevertheless, when it shall turn to

the Lord, the vail shall be taken away. Now the Lord 17
is that Spirit; and where the Spirit of the Lord *is*,
there *is* liberty. But we all with open face, beholding 18
as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into
the same image, from glory to glory, *even* as by the
Spirit of the Lord.

PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.*

CHAP. II.

Then, fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusa- 1
lem with Barnabas, and took Titus with *me* also. And 2
I went up by revelation, and communicated unto them
that gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but
privately† to them which were of reputation, lest by any
means I should run, or had run, in vain. But neither 3
Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled
to be circumcised; and that because of false brethren 4
unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out
our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they
might bring us into bondage: To whom we gave place 5
by subjection, no, not for an hour; that the truth of the
gospel might continue with you. But of those who 6
seemed to be somewhat, (whatsoever they were, it mak-
eth no matter to me: God accepteth no man's person);
for they who seemed *to be somewhat* in conference added
nothing to me: but contrariwise, when they saw that 7
the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto
me, as *the gospel* of the circumcision was unto Peter;
(for he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostle- 8

* The churches of Galatia, who had heard the gospel from Paul, and to whom, after an interval of absence, he wrote this Epistle, are addressed in it as converted Gentiles, who, after his departure from them, had been misled by his opponents among the Christian Jews into the notion that obedience to the law of Moses was incumbent upon the Gentile brethren, and that he who had taught them otherwise was no true apostle. The whole Epistle may be read with advantage in reference to this point.

† Or, "severally."—*Marg.*

ship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me
9 towards the Gentiles:) and when James, Cephas, and
John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that
was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the
right hands of fellowship; that we *should go* unto the
10 heathen, and they unto the circumcision. Only *they*
would that we should remember the poor; the same
11 which I also was forward to do. But when Peter was
come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because
12 he was to be blamed. For before that certain came
from James, he did eat with the Gentiles; but when
they were come, he withdrew, and separated himself,
13 fearing them which were of the circumcision. And the
other Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that
Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation.
14 But when I saw that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter
before *them* all, "If thou, being a Jew, livest after the
manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why
compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?"
15 We *who are* Jews by nature, and not sinners of the
16 Gentiles, knowing that a man is not justified by the
works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even
we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of
the law: for by the works of the law shall no flesh be
17 justified. But if while we seek to be justified by Christ,
we ourselves also are found sinners, *is* therefore Christ
18 the minister of sin? God forbid. For if I build again
the things which I destroyed, I make myself a trans-
19 gressor. For I through the law am dead to the law,
20 that I might live unto God. I am crucified with Christ:
Nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me:
and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the
faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave him-
21 self for me. I do not frustrate the grace of God: for
if righteousness *come* by the law, then Christ is dead in
vain.

CHAP. III.

But before faith came, we were kept under the law, 23
shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be re-
vealed. Wherefore the law was our schoolmaster *to* 24
bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith.
But after that faith is come, we are no longer under a 25
schoolmaster. For ye are all the children of God by 26
faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been 27
baptized into Christ, have put on Christ. There is nei- 28
ther Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there
is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ
Jesus. And if ye *be* Christ's, then are ye Abraham's 29
seed, and heirs according to the promise.

CHAP. IV.

Now I say, *That* the heir, as long as he is a child, dif- 1
fereth nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all;
but is under tutors and governors, until the time ap- 2
pointed of the father. Even so we, when we were chil- 3
dren, were in bondage, under the elements* of the world:
but when the fulness of the time was come, God sent 4
forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law,
to redeem them that were under the law, that we might 5
receive the adoption of sons. And because ye are sons, 6
God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts,
crying, "Abba, Father." Wherefore thou art no more 7
a servant, but a son; and if a son, then an heir of God
through Christ.

Howbeit then, when ye knew not God, ye did service 8
unto them which by nature are no gods. But now, after 9
that ye have known God, or rather are known of God,
how turn ye again† to the weak and beggarly elements,‡
whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage? Ye observe 10
days, and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, 11
lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain.§ . . .

* Or, "rudiments."—*Marg.*
† Or, "back."—*Marg.*
‡ Or, "rudiments."—*Marg.*
§ Compare Rom. xiv. 5, 6 (p. 90), and Col. ii. 16, 17 (p. 101).

21 Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye
22 not hear the law? For it is written, that Abraham had
two sons; the one by a bond-maid, the other by a free
23 woman. But he *who was* of the bond-woman was born
after the flesh; but he of the free-woman *was* by pro-
24 mise. Which things are an allegory: for these are the
two covenants; the one from the mount Sinai, which
25 gendereth to bondage, which is Agar. For this Agar
is mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth* to Jeru-
salem which now is, and is in bondage with her chil-
26 dren. But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is
27 the mother of us all. For it is written, "Rejoice, *thou*
barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that
travailest not: for the desolate hath many more chil-
28 dren than she which hath an husband." Now we, breth-
29 ren, as Isaac was, are the children of promise. But as
then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him
30 *that was born* after the Spirit, even so *it is* now. Ne-
vertheless, what saith the scripture? Cast out the bond-
woman and her son: for the son of the bond-woman
31 shall not be heir with the son of the free-woman. So
then, brethren, we are not children of the bond-woman,
but of the free.

CHAP. V.

1 Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ
hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the
2 yoke of bondage. Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if
3 ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For
I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he
4 is a debtor to do the whole law. Christ is become of
no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by
5 the law; ye are fallen from grace. For we through the
6 Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith. For
in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing,
nor uncircumcision; but faith which worketh by love.

* Or, "is in the same rank with."—*Marg.*

PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.*

CHAP. II.

Wherefore remember, that ye *being* in time past Gen- 11
tiles in the flesh, who are called uncircumcision by that
which is called the circumcision in the flesh made by
hands; that at that time ye were without Christ, being 12
aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers
from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and with-
out God in the world: but now, in Christ Jesus, ye who 13
sometimes were afar off are made nigh by the blood of
Christ.

For he is our peace, who hath made both one, and 14
hath broken down the middle wall of partition *between
us;* having abolished in his flesh the enmity, *even* the 15
law of commandments *contained* in ordinances; for to
make in himself of twain one new man, *so* making
peace; and that he might reconcile both unto God in 16
one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby:
and came and preached peace to you which were afar 17
off, and to them that were nigh. For through him we 18
both have access by one Spirit unto the Father. Now 19
therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but
fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of
God; and are built upon the foundation of the apostles 20
and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cor-
ner-*stone;* in whom all the building, fitly framed toge- 21
ther, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord: in whom 22
ye also are builded together for an habitation of God
through the Spirit.

CHAP. VI.

Children, obey your parents in the Lord; for this is 1
right. Honour thy father and mother, (which is the 2

* That the Church at Ephesus consisted, as usual, of Jews and Gentiles, we learn from Acts xix. 1, 5–10, 17–20. It is to the Gentile converts that the first of the passages here extracted is addressed.

3 first commandment with promise,) that it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth.*

PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.†

CHAP. II.

8 Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the

* Doddridge, in his *Family Expositor*, has the following note on this passage:—"It is observed by Dr Whitby and others that the apostle does not say 'upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee,' that he might not encourage a vain hope in the Jews of continuing in the land of Canaan. But when it is considered that those to whom he was writing were chiefly Gentile converts, the clause would very properly be omitted in this view, as it must better suit the case of the whole church to express the promise in a general way." As, however, it is the practice of the apostle to direct his arguments sometimes to one class of converts and sometimes to the other (without always expressly indicating which he has in his eye), the opinion of Dr Whitby is probably the more correct. Besides, what Doddridge here suggests is inconsistent with his own doctrine in *Lectures on Pneumatology, &c.*, Lect. 209, where he observes that "no one is by the Christian dispensation obliged to obey any part of the Mosaic law, as such, any more than he would have been if that law had never been given:" in accordance with which, he elsewhere says of the Sabbath,—"We allow that the observation of the Sabbath is not to be urged as of universal obligation, merely because it is to be found in the Jewish decalogue, and that its place there only obliged the Jews, since in the preface to those ten commandments their deliverance from Egypt is urged as a reason for observing them; *and the fifth commandment*," he adds, "*is enforced by promises peculiar to the Jews.*"—(Lect. 199.)

† In this Epistle, Gentile Christians appear to be solely or principally addressed. Dr Doddridge observes: "The Colossians appear, from several passages in this Epistle, to have borne an honourable character for their piety, and the zeal they discovered for the gospel; but we find, from the cautions the apostle gives them in the second chapter, that they were in some danger of being drawn aside by the subtilties of the heathen philosophers, and the insinuations of some Jewish zealots, who insisted upon the necessity of conforming to the ceremonies of the Mosaic law. Accordingly, the grand design of this Epistle is to excite the Colossians, by the most persuasive arguments, to a temper and behaviour worthy their sacred character, and to secure them from the influence of those Pagan sophists, or Jewish bigots, who would seduce them from the purity of the Christian faith."

rudiments of the world, and not after Christ: for in him 9
dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. And 10
ye are complete in him, which is the head of all principality and power: in whom also ye are circumcised 11
with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ; buried with him in baptism, where- 12
in also you are risen with *him* through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead.

And you, being dead in your sins, and the uncircum- 13
cision of your flesh, hath he quickened together with him, having forgiven you all trespasses; blotting out 14
the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross; *and*, having spoiled principa- 15
lities and powers, he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in it.

Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, 16
or in respect of an holy-day, or of the new-moon, or of the sabbath-*days*;* which are a shadow of things to 17
come; but the body *is* of Christ.† . . . .

Wherefore, if ye be dead with Christ from the rudi- 20
ments‡ of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances, (touch not, taste not, 21
handle not; which all are to perish with the using), 22
after the commandments and doctrines of men? Which 23
things have indeed a shew of wisdom in will-worship, and humility, and neglecting of the body; not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh.

* ἢ σαββάτων; literally, "or of sabbaths."
† Compare Rom. xiv. 5, 6 (p. 90), and Gal. iv. 10, 11 (p. 97).
‡ Or, "elements."—*Marg.*

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PAUL'S SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.*

CHAP. III.

15 From a child thou hast known the holy scriptures,† which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through
16 faith which is in Christ Jesus. All scripture *is* given by inspiration of God, and *is* profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness;
17 that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.‡

CHAP. III.

12 Take heed, brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God.
13 But exhort one another daily, while it is called To-day; lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin.

CHAP. IV.

1 Let us therefore fear, lest, a promise being left *us* of entering into his rest, any of you should seem to come
2 short of it. For unto us was the gospel preached, as well as unto them:§ but the word preached did not profit them, not being mixed with faith in them that
3 heard *it*. For we which have believed do enter into rest; as he said, "As I have sworn in my wrath, If they shall enter into my rest:"‖ although the works were

* Timothy was the son of a Jewess, and was circumcised by Paul himself. See Acts xvi. 1–3 (p. 83).

† That is, the Hebrew scriptures.

‡ This Epistle to converted Jews bears evidence of having been written before the destruction of the Temple. The approach of that event seems to be pointed at in ch. viii. ver. 13.

§ That is, the Israelites who came out of Egypt, but who could not enter into the rest of Canaan because of unbelief.

‖ Psal. xcv. 11.

finished from the foundation of the world. For he spake 4
in a certain place of the *seventh* day on this wise, "And
God did rest the seventh day from all his works."*
And in this *place* again, "If they shall enter my rest." 5
Seeing therefore it remaineth that some must enter 6
therein, and they to whom it was first preached entered
not in because of unbelief: again, he limiteth a certain 7
day, saying in David, "To-day, after so long a time; as
it is said, To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not
your hearts."† For if Jesus‡ had given them rest, 8
then would he not afterward have spoken of another day.
There remaineth therefore a rest§ to the people of God. 9
For he that is entered into his rest, he also hath ceased 10
from his own works, as God *did* from his.
Let us labour therefore to enter into that rest, lest 11
any man fall after the same example of unbelief.

CHAP. VII.

For the priesthood being changed, there is made of 12
necessity a change also of the law.

CHAP. VIII.

But now hath he‖ obtained a more excellent ministry, 6
by how much also he is the mediator of a better covenant,
which was established upon better promises. For if that 7
first *covenant*¶ had been faultless, then should no place
have been sought for the second. . . .
In that he saith, "A new *covenant*," he hath made 13
the first old. Now that which decayeth and waxeth
old, is ready to vanish away.

* Gen. ii. 2 (p. 3); and Exod. xx. 11 (p. 11); xxxi. 17 (p. 15).
† Psal. xcv. 7, 8.
‡ That is, "Joshua."—*Marg.*
§ Or, "keeping of a sabbath."—*Marg.* Σαββατισμὸς. The words translated "rest" in verses 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, and 10, are κατάπαυσις, and other forms of the same expression.
‖ That is, Jesus, our high priest.
¶ See Exod. xix. 3–6 (p. 9); xxxiv. 28 (p. 18); Deut. v. 3–22 (p. 25).

CHAP. X.

24 And let us consider one another to provoke unto love,
25 and to good works: Not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some *is;* but exhorting *one another:* and so much the more, as ye see the day approaching.*

CHAP. XII.

18 For ye are not come unto the mount that might be touched, and that burned with fire, nor unto blackness,
19 and darkness, and tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and the *voice* of words;† which voice they that heard, entreated that the word should not be spoken to them
20 any more:‡ (for they could not endure that which was commanded, "And if so much as a beast touch the mountain, it shall be stoned, or thrust through with a dart:"
21 and so terrible was the sight, *that* Moses said, "I ex-
22 ceedingly fear and quake;") but ye are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of
23 angels, to the general assembly and church of the first born, which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect,
24 and to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than *that of* Abel.

THE EPISTLE OF JAMES.§

CHAP. I.

26 If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart,
27 this man's religion *is* vain. Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless

* Compare Heb. iii. 13 (p. 102).
† See Exod. xix. 18, 19 (p. 10); Deut. v. 4 (p. 25).
‡ See Exod. xx. 19 (p. 12); Deut. v. 5 (p. 25).
§ Addressed "to the twelve tribes, which are scattered abroad."

and widows in their affliction, *and* to keep himself unspotted from the world.

CHAP. II.

If ye fulfil the royal law according to the scripture, 8
"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," ye do well:
but if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are 9
convinced of the law as transgressors. For whosoever 10
shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one *point*, he
is guilty of all. For he that said, "Do not commit 11
adultery," said also, "Do not kill." Now, if thou commit no adultery, yet if thou kill, thou art become a transgressor of the law.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN.*

CHAP. V.

By this we know that we love the children of God, 2
when we love God and keep his commandments. For 3
this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments:
and his commandments are not grievous.

REVELATION.

CHAP. I.

I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day,† and heard be- 10
hind me a great voice, as of a trumpet; saying, "I am 11

* It is not known to what particular Christians this Epistle was written.

† Ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ; literally, "I was in spirit on the lordly day:" by which most understand, "I was in the Spirit (*i.e.* under the influence of the Holy Spirit) on the first day the week;"—while others think the meaning to be, "In spirit (*i.e.* in imagination) I was present at the day of judgment;" "I had a vision of the day of the Lord." The advocates of the latter opinion refer to several passages in the New Testament where the day

Alpha and Omega, the first and the last;" and, "What thou seest, write in a book, and send *it* unto the seven churches which are in Asia," &c.

of judgment is so denominated. "The day of the Lord—ἡ ἡμέρα κυρίου—will come as a thief in the night, in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat," &c. (2 Pet. iii. 10). "Waiting for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall also confirm you unto the end, *that ye may be* blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ;" ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (1 Cor. i. 7, 8). "That the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus;" the Greek phrase being that just quoted (1 Cor. v. 5). "And this I pray, . . . that ye may be sincere, and without offence till the day of Christ" (Phil. i. 9, 10). "Holding forth the word of life; that I may rejoice in the day of Christ, that I have not run in vain, neither laboured in vain" (Phil. ii. 16). "For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord (ἡ ἡμέρα κυρίου) so cometh as a thief in the night" (1 Thess. v. 2). "Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and *by* our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Christ (ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ) is at hand" (2 Thess. ii. 1, 2). Griesbach's reading is here ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου, "the day of the Lord."

A third class of interpreters understand the words τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ to mean *the gospel era*. These refer to John viii. 56, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day;" and Psal. cxviii. 24, "This is the day which the Lord hath made," &c. (p. 39).

Others maintain that as the only day called in Scripture "the Lord's holy day" is *the seventh day of the week*, which was the sabbath-day observed by the Jews (including Jesus and his apostles), that day is most probably meant in the text. Reference is made by them to Gen. ii. 3; Exod. xx. 11; Deut. v. 12–14; Neh. ix. 14; Isa. lviii. 13; and Matt. xii. 8 (p. 50).

Although this title, "the Lord's-day," is nowhere in Scripture applied to the first day of the week, we know from the *Apology* of Justin Martyr, which was written between A.D. 139 and A.D. 150, that by that time the observance of the "Sunday," at least as a stated day of public prayer and religious instruction, had become usual among the Christians of whom he speaks: and, about A.D. 170, the expression "the Lord's holy day" is met with (for the first time out of Scripture) in a letter from Dionysius bishop of Corinth, to Soter bishop of Rome (Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, B. iv. ch. 23). From these circumstances it has been inferred, that the title now universally given by Christians to the first day of the week, was, by the year 170, in use both at Corinth and Rome, and in all likelihood had come to be thus applied habitually throughout Christendom.

ADDITIONAL PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE,

OMITTED IN THEIR PROPER PLACES.

GENESIS XXVI.

"Because that Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws." 5

EXODUS VII.

And seven days were fulfilled, after that the Lord had smitten the river [of Egypt]. 25

EXODUS XII.

Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread. . . . 15

EXODUS XVI.

And Moses said unto Aaron, "Take a pot, and put an omer full of manna therein, and lay it up before the Lord, to be kept for your generations." 33 As the Lord commanded Moses, so Aaron laid it up before the Testimony, to be kept.* 34

PSALM XLII.

When I remember these *things*, I pour out my soul 4

* As affording a notable instance of an event recorded proleptically or by anticipation, this passage is adduced by those who understand Gen. ii. 3 to mean, not that God sanctified the seventh day *at the creation*, but only that the seventh day, when sanctified (as they believe it to have first been) in the time of Moses, was so *for the reason* that God had rested on the seventh day after his six days' work. As Moses wrote the history in Gen. i. and ii. *for the Israelites* after the giving of the law, it was natural, they think, that he should advert in it to the day which his nation observed in commemoration or imitation of the rest of Jehovah. Allowing that a proleptical interpretation is not to be given to the passage in Genesis without valid grounds adduced, these reasoners argue *here* against nothing more than the *necessity* of interpreting it otherwise; which necessity, they hold, is no greater than in the above-quoted case of the pot of manna, where only a proleptical interpretation can be admitted. For it was absolutely impossible, they observe, for Aaron to lay up a pot of manna to be kept before the Testimony, when as yet there was neither ark nor tabernacle, and thus no Testimony before which to keep it.

in me: for I had gone with the multitude; I went with them to the house of God, with the voice of joy and praise, with a multitude that kept holy-day.

MARK XV.

42 And now, when the even was come (because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath*),
43 Joseph of Arimathea . . . . came, and went in boldly unto Pilate, and craved the body of Jesus.

JOHN I.

17 The law was given by Moses, *but* grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.

PHILIPPIANS III.

2 Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers, beware of the
3 concision. For we are the circumcision, which worship God in the spirit, and rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have
4 no confidence in the flesh: Though I might also have confidence in the flesh. If any other man thinketh that he hath whereof he might trust in the flesh, I more:
5 Circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, *of* the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touch-
6 ing the law, a Pharisee; concerning zeal, persecuting the church; touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless.†

1 TIMOTHY IV.

8 Bodily exercise profiteth little: but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.

2 PETER II.

5 God . . . saved Noe, the eighth *person*, a preacher of righteousness.

* Compare Matt. xxvii. 62, and Luke xxiii. 54 (p. 66).
† Compare Acts xxv. 8; xxviii. 17 (pp. 88, 89).

TABLE

OF

THE PRINCIPAL QUESTIONS RESPECTING THE SABBATH, WITH REFERENCES TO THE TEXTS RELIED ON BY THE DIFFERENT PARTIES.

I.—*Is the Sabbath a primeval, universal, and perpetual, or only a Mosaic, Institution?*

PRIMEVAL, &c.:—Gen. ii. 2, 3, p. 3 (but see Exod. xvi. 33, 34, p. 107, and John v. 17, p. 71); iv. 3, 4, p. 4; vii. 4, 10, p. 4; viii. 10-12, p. 4; xxvi. 5, p. 107; xxix. 27, 28, p. 5; l. 10, p. 6; texts cited in note † p. 5; Exod. vii. 25, p. 107; xii., 15, p. 107; xvi. 1, 2, 4-7, 14-30, p. 6-9; xx. 11, p. 11 (but see Deut. v. 15, p. 25*); Job i. 6, p. 37; ii. 1, p. 37; Psal. cxviii. 19-26, p. 39; Isa. lvi. 6-8, p. 40; Matt. xix. 8, p. 51; Mark ii. 27, p. 57; Heb. iv. 4, p. 103; 2 Pet. ii. 5, p. 108; Rev. i. 10, p. 105. See also p. 57, note †, and p. 113.

MOSAIC:—Gen. ii. 4 to Exod. xvi. 30, p. 3-9 (where the sabbath is unmentioned), and notes p. 8; Exod. xvi. 1, p. 6[1]; xix. 3-8, p. 9; xx. 2, 8-11, p. 11; xxiii. 12, p. 13; xxxi. 13, 14, 17, p. 15; xxxiv. 10, 11, 21, 27, 28, p. 16-18; xxxv. 1-3, p. 18; Lev. xix. 1-4, 30; p. 19; xxiii. 1-3, &c., p. 19, 20; Deut. iv. 1, 6, 8, 13, 14, p. 23, 24; v. 1, 6, 12-15, 22, p. 24-26; 1 Kings viii. 9, p. 30; 2 Chron. ii. 4, p. 33; Neh. ix. 13, 14, p. 35; Psal. cxlvii. 19, 20, p. 39; Ezek. xx. 10-13, 18-20, p. 44; xxii. 8, 26, p. 44; xliv. 23, 24, p. 45; xlv. 17, p. 45; xlvi. 1-3, p. 45; Amos viii. 5, p. 47; Rom. xiv. 5, 6, p. 90; 2 Cor. iii. 1-18, p. 94; Gal. iv. 8-11, p. 97; Col. ii. 16, 17, p. 101. See also p. 100, notes * and †; p. 107, note *; and p. 113.

II.—*Did the Patriarchs and early Gentiles observe the Sabbath?*

Gen. iv. 3, 4, p. 4; vii. 4, 10, p. 4; viii. 10-12, p. 4; xxix. 27, 28, p. 5; l. 10, p. 6; texts cited in note †, p. 5; Neh. x. 31, p. 35; xiii. 16-21, p. 36; Job i. 6, p. 37; ii. 1, p. 37; Lam. i. 7, p. 43; 2 Pet. ii. 5, p. 108. See also p. 28, note †; and p. 113.

III.—*Is the Fourth Commandment a moral* (i.e. *natural*), *or a positive* (i.e. *ceremonial*) *law?*[2]

MORAL.—Exod. xx. 1-18, p. 11 (but see Acts vii. 38, p. 77); xx.

[1] Some maintain that by comparing different parts of the narrative it is found that the journey from Elim was on a day which must have been the sabbath had the institution then existed. But Dr Stopford denies the necessity of the inference, and argues the point at great length in his *Scripture Account of the Sabbath*, Sect. X.

[2] The question, Which of the two copies of the Fourth Commandment has the better claim to be considered genuine? is thought by some to be settled by the late discovery of geologists, now universally admitted by competent judges, that the Creator occupied an immensely longer time

8-11, p. 11; xxiv. 12, p. 14; xxv. 16, p. 14; xxxi. 18, p. 15; xxxii. 16, p. 16; xxxiv. 1, 27, 28, p. 16, 18; xl. 20, p. 18 (but see Deut. xxxi. 24-26, p. 29); Deut. ix. 10, 11, p. 27; x. 1-5, p. 27 (but see Deut. xxvii. 1-8, p. 27, 28, and Josh. viii. 30-32, p. 30); Deut. xxxi. 24-26, p. 29; 1 Kings viii. 9, p. 30; Ezek. xxiii. 36-39, p. 45; 2 Cor. iii. 7, 8, p. 94 (but see Jer. xxxi. 33).

POSITIVE.—Josh. vi. 3-5, p. 29; Matt. xii. 3-8, p. 49, 50; Mark ii. 25-28, p. 57; Luke vi. 3-5, p. 62; John vii. 22, 23, p. 71. See also p. 57, notes † and ‡.

IV.—*For what purposes was the Sabbath instituted?*

Exod. xx. 11, p. 11; xxiii. 12, p. 13; xxxi. 13-17, p. 15; Ezek. xx. 12, p. 44; Matt. xii. 8, p. 50; Mark ii. 27, 28, p. 57; Luke vi. 5, p. 62; John v. 17, p. 71.

V.—*When did the Sabbath-day begin and end?*

Gen. i. 5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31, p. 1–3; Lev. xxiii. 32, p. 21; Neh. xiii. 19, p. 36; Mark i. 32, p. 56; Luke iv. 40, p. 61. See also p. 57, note *, and p. 86, note ‡.

VI.—*What is meant in Scripture by "keeping holy" and "profaning" the Sabbath-day?*

Exod. xvi. 23, 26–28, 30, p. 8; xx. 9, 10, p. 11; xxiii. 12, p. 13; xxxi. 13, 15, p. 15; xxxiv. 21, p. 17; xxxv. 2, 3, p. 18; Lev. xxiii. 3, 27–32, p. 19–21; xxv. 2–4, p. 21; xxvi. 33–35, p. 22; Numb. xv. 32, p. 22; xxviii. 25, p. 23; Deut. xxxi. 10–13, p. 28; Josh. xiv. 12, p. 30; 2 Kings iv. 22, 23, p. 31; xxii. 8, 10–13, p. 31, 32; xxiii. 1, 2, p. 32; 2 Chron. xvii. 7–9, p. 33; xxvi. 21, p. 33; Neh. viii. 9–12, 17, 18, p. 34; x. 31, p. 35; xiii. 15–22, p. 36; Job i, 2, 4–6, p. 37; ii. 1, 13, p. 37; Psal. xlii. 4, p. 107; lxxiv. 8, p. 38; xcii. p. 38; Isa. xxx. 29, p. 40; lviii. 13, 14, p. 41; Jer. xvii. 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, p. 43; Lam. ii. 6, p. 44; Hos. ii. 11, p. 46; Amos viii. 5, p. 47; Matt. xii. 1, 2, p. 49; Mark ii. 23, p. 57; Luke xiv. 1, 7, p. 64; xxiii. 56, p. 66; John v. 10, 17, 18, p. 71; ix. 6, 14, p. 72; Rev. i. 10, p. 105. See also p. 3, note †; p. 19, note †; and pp. 115, 118.

VII.—*Is the holding of Religious Assemblies a Sabbath Duty?*

Lev. xix. 30, p. 19; xxiii. 3, p. 19; 2 Kings iv. 22, 23, p. 31; Psal. xlii. 4, p. 107; Isa. lxvi. 23, p. 42; Ezek. xx. 12, 20, p. 44; Matt. xii. 9, p. 50; xviii. 19, 20, p. 51; Mark i. 21, p. 56; iii. 1, p. 58; vi. 2, p. 58; Luke iv. 15, 16, p. 60; vi. 6, p. 62; xiii. 10, p. 64; xxi. 37, 38, p. 65; Acts ii. 1, 46, p. 76; iii, 1; p. 76; ix. 20, p. 78; xiii. 5, 14, 15, 42–44, p. 80; xiv. 1, p.

than six days in making heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is. See the Rev. Baden Powell's *Connexion of Natural and Divine Truth*, pp. 250-260; his *Essays on the Spirit of the Inductive Philosophy*, &c., pp. 303, 457; Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, art. CREATION; and Cox's *Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties*, pp. 72-106.

81; xvi. 13, p. 84; xvii. 2, p. 84; xviii. 4, 11, 19, p. 85; xix. 8, p. 85; xx. 7, 11, p. 85, 86; xxi. 5, p. 87; Heb. iii. 12, 13, p. 102; x. 24, 25, p. 104. See also p. 19, note †; p. 38, note †; p. 60, note †; p. 85, note †; and p. 86, notes * and †.

VIII.—*Are Walking, Visiting, and other Recreations, forbidden in the Fourth Commandment?*

YES.—Exod. xvi. 25–29, p. 8; xx. 8, 10, p. 11; Deut. v. 12, p. 25; Neh. xiii. 15–22, p. 36; Psal. xcii. title, p. 38; Isa. lviii. 13, 14, p. 41; lxvi. 23, p. 42; Luke iv. 16, p. 60; Acts xx. 7, p. 85.

NO.—Exod. xx. 8–11, p. 11; Deut. v. 12–14, p. 25; Neh. viii. 9–12, p. 34; Hos. ii. 11, p. 46; Matt. xii. 1, p. 49; Mark ii. 23, 27, p. 57; Luke vi. 1, 9, p. 61, 62; xiv. 1, 7, 12, p. 64, 65; and texts referred to in note §, p. 34.

IX.—*What kind of Worship is acceptable to God?*

Isa. i. 10–17, p. 39, 40; Jer. vii. 21–23, p. 42; Matt. vi. 5–18, p. 48, 49; xii. 7, p. 49; xv. 7–9, p. 51; xxiii. 4–33, p. 52–54; Luke xi. 37–44, p. 63; John iv. 21–24, p. 69; Acts vii. 48-50, p. 78; xvii. 24, 25, p. 84; 1 Cor. x. 31, p. 93; James i. 26, 27, p. 104–5; 1 John v. 2, 3, p. 105.

X.—*What are Works of Necessity and Charity?*

Matt. xii. 1–14, p. 49, 50; Mark i. 21–34, p. 56, 57; ii. 23–28, p. 57; iii. 1–6, p. 58; vi. 2, 5, p. 58, 59; Luke iv. 31–35, 38, 39, p. 60, 61; vi. 1–11, p. 61–63; xiii. 10–17, p. 64; John v. 1–18, p. 70, 71; ix. 6–16, p. 72.

XI.—*Did Jesus abolish, or confirm, the Sabbath?*

Matt. iii. 15, p. 47; v. 17, 18, p. 48; xii. 1–14, p. 49, 50; xix. 17–19, p. 51; xxii. 35–40, p. 52; xxiii. 1–3, p. 52; xxiv. 20, p. 54; Mark i. 21, p. 56; ii. 23–28, p. 57; iii. 1–6, p. 58; vi. 2, p. 58; Luke iv. 15, 16, p. 60; vi. 1–11, p. 61–63; x. 25–28, p. 63; xiv. 1–6, p. 64; xvi. 16, 17, p. 65; xviii. 18–22, p 65; John v. 8, 9, p. 70; vii. 19–24, p. 71; ix. 6–16, p. 72; Rom. vii. 6, 7, p. 89; 2 Cor. iii. 1–18, p. 94.

XII.—*Was the Sabbath-day changed at the Resurrection of Jesus, from the seventh to the first day of the week?*[1]

Psal. cxviii. 22–24, p. 39; Isa. lxv. 17, 18, p. 41; Dan. vii. 25, p. 46; Matt. ix. 15, p. 49; xii. 8, p. 50; xxviii. 1–20, p. 54–56;

[1] With Paley, (who observes that "the opinion that Christ and his apostles meant to retain the duties of the Jewish sabbath, shifting only the day from the seventh to the first, seems to prevail without sufficient proof,") the question here is simply, "Whether the *assembling* upon the first day of the week for the purpose of public worship and religious instruction, is a law of Christianity, of Divine appointment?" (*Mor. Phil.* B. v. ch. vii.) The texts which he cites as bearing on this point are John xx. 19, 26; Acts xx. 6, 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2; and Rev. i. 10.

Mark ii. 28, p. 57; xvi. 1–20, p. 59, 60; Luke vi. 5, p. 62; xxiv. 1–53, p. 66–69; John xx. 1, 2, 19–29, p. 73; xxi. 1–5, 14, p. 74, 75; Acts i. 3, p. 75; ii. 1–4, 42, 46, p. 76; iv. 11, p. 77; xiii. 14, 15, 31, 42, 44, p. 80; xvi. 13, p. 84; xvii. 2, p. 84; xviii. 4, p. 85; xx. 4–11, p. 85, 86; 1 Cor. xv. 3–7, p. 93; xvi. 1–4, p. 93; Heb. iv. 9, 10, p. 103; Rev. i. 10, p. 105. See also p. 73, note ‡; p. 85, note *; and p. 105, note †.

XIII.—*Did the Apostles observe the Sabbath; and, if so, upon what day was it observed?*

Luke xxiv. 1–53, p. 66–69; John xx. 19–29, p. 73, 74; xxi. 1–5, 14, p. 74, 75; Acts ii. 1–4, 46, p. 76; vi. 11–14, p. 77; ix. 20, p. 78; xiii. 5, 14, 27, 42, 44, p. 80, 81; xiv. 1, p. 81; xvi. 1–3, 13, p. 83, 84; xvii. 2, p. 84; xviii. 18, 19, 21, p. 85; xx. 6–11, p. 85, 86; xx. 16, p. 87; xxi. 20–30, p. 87, 88; xxv. 8, p. 88; xxviii. 17, 18, p. 89; 1 Cor. ix. 19–23, p. 92; xvi. 1, 2, p. 93; Philip. iii. 6, p. 108. See also p. 86, note ‡.

XIV.—*Were the Gentile disciples bound to observe the Sabbath on either day; and what was their practice in this particular?*

Isa. lvi. 1–8, p. 40; lxvi. 18, 23, p. 41, 42; Matt. xv. 3–6, p. 51; xix. 17–19, p. 51; xxii. 34–40, p. 52; xxiii. 2, 3, p. 52; xxiv. 20, p. 54; John i. 17, p. 108; Acts xiii. 42, 44, p. 80, 81; xv. 1–31 (especially 23–29), p. 81–83; Rom. ii. 13–15, p. 89; vii. 6, 7, p. 89; xiii. 8–10, p. 90; xiv. 5, 6, p. 90; 1 Cor. vii. 18, 19, p. 92; ix. 21, 22, p. 92; Gal. ii. 1–21, p. 95, 96; iii. 23–29, p. 97; iv. 1–11, 21–31, p. 97, 98; v. 1–6, p. 98; Eph. ii. 11–22, p. 99; vi. 1–3, p. 99; Col. ii. 8–23, p. 100, 101; 1 Tim. iv. 8, p. 108; 2 Tim. iii. 15–17, p. 102; Heb. iv. 9, p. 103; vii. 12, p. 103; viii. 6, 7, 13, p. 103–4; xii. 18–24, p. 104; James ii. 8–11, p. 105; 1 John v. 2, 3, p. 105; Rev. i. 10, p. 105. See also p. 79, note †; p. 89, note *; p. 92, notes * and †; p. 95, note *; p. 99, note *; p. 100, notes * and †, and the second class of texts referred to under Question I., p. 109.

NOTE ON THE QUESTION WHETHER THE EARLY GENTILES OBSERVED THE SABBATH.

This question has been discussed chiefly upon non-scriptural grounds. Josephus, Philo, and some of the Greek poets, are often quoted for the affirmative (see, for example, Grotius *On the Truth of the Christian Religion*, Sect. xvi., Dr John Owen's 36th *Preliminary Exercitation to the Epistle to the Hebrews*, §§ 13-16, and the Rev. John Jordan's *Scriptural Views of the Sabbath of God*, chap. vi.); but others deny that the statements of Josephus and Philo have any bearing on the question, and hold that the passages quoted as from the Greek poets, not only are spurious or corrupt, but, even if genuine, would be insufficient to warrant a conclusion so completely at variance with the authentic history of ancient nations, including the Scriptures themselves (see Cox's *Sabbath Laws*, pp. 511-512; Hughes' *Letter to Godfrey Higgins*, pp. 14-17; *The Sabbath, or an Inquiry into the Supposed Obligation of the Sabbaths of the Old Testament*, by Sir W. Domville, Bart., p. 103; Calvin's remarks on Lam. i. 7, in his *Commentary on Jeremiah and Lamentations*, vol. v. p. 316, Edinb. 1855; and below, pp. 116, 117). Mr Oliver, in his *Defence of the Universality and Perpetuity of the Sabbath*, p. 17, dispenses with the support of the Greek verses, as being of doubtful genuineness.

To the common averment that the practice of dividing time into weeks of seven days can be accounted for only by supposing the traditional knowledge of a primeval sabbath, it is replied, that, just as the original month was the period of the moon's revolution, so the orginal week would be the fourth of that period, corresponding to the four obvious and familiar phases of the moon; and that the want of coincidence between the week as afterwards more conveniently adjusted, and the original lunar week, is no more an objection to this idea than the difference between the lunar and the calendar month, or between the solar and the civil year, is an objection to the universally received opinion that the lunar and solar revolutions were the origin of those periods. (See Dr W. C. Taylor's *Nat. Hist. of Society*, vol. i. p. 292; Hengstenberg on *The Lord's Day*, Part ii. ch. ii. p. 77; Sir W. Domville's *Inquiry into the Supposed Obligation*, &c., p. 100; and Cox's *Sabbath Laws*, p. 513.) Another explanation of the origin of the week is, that its seven days were fixed in correspondence with the number of the planets recognised in ancient astronomy, which were worshipped in the East, and which not only gave their names to the days of the week, but may have invested the number *seven* with the sacred character mentioned in the note on p. 5. This theory of the origin of the week seems to be favoured by Humboldt (*Researches concerning the Institutions, &c., of the Ancient Inhabitants of America*, translated by Maria Williams, vol. i. p. 284), and is elaborately maintained by Von Bohlen in his works on Ancient India and the Book of Genesis. (See his *Introd. to the Book of Genesis*, translation edited by James Heywood, M.P., vol. i. pp. 216, 323.) Of the two explanations the former seems the more probable; but if the phases of the moon originally suggested the week, the reputed number of the planets may have strengthened the tendency to follow the suggestion. Philo, who wrote at the beginning of the Christian era, connects

most distinctly the period of seven days with the phases of the moon. (*On the Creation of the World*, § 34; in his *Works*, translated by Yonge, vol. i. p. 30; Lond. 1854.)

The opinion, still frequently expressed, that the week is and ever has been a universal institution, appears to be now untenable. Although anciently employed by the Hindoos, Assyrians, and Egyptians, the week was unknown to the Greeks and Etrurians, and was adopted by the Romans only in the second century, when they borrowed it from Egypt (see Potter's *Archæologia Græca*, B. ii. ch. 26, Of the Greek Year; Mrs Hamilton Gray's *Hist. of Etruria*, Part I. ch. xi. p. 259; and Adam's *Roman Antiquities*, ed. 1819, p. 303, chapter on the Roman Year); while we learn from Humboldt that at the discovery of America none of the aborigines were acquainted with this cycle of seven days (*Researches*, vol. i. p. 283-6, and ii. 110, 123; see also Prescott's *Hist. of the Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i. p. 100, Lond. 1843). Humboldt quotes Thunberg's *Voyage au Japon*, p. 317, to prove that the Japanese are equally unacquainted with the week; adding, that this was the case also with the Persians, &c. The Polynesians are in the same predicament (see *Sabbaths; An Inquiry into the Origin of Septenary Institutions*, p. 19; reprinted from the *Westminster Review* for Oct. 1850); and in regard to the Chinese, though Du Halde (*Hist. of China*, vol. iii. p. 91, Lond. 1736), and Humboldt after him (*op. cit.* vol. i. p. 283), have stated that the week is used by that ancient people, the more accurate investigations of recent travellers have discovered this to be a mistake, occasioned probably by the Chinese practice of giving the names of the twenty-eight "lunar mansions" in the calendar to each day of the year successively in a perpetual rotation, without regard to the moon's changes; so that the same four out of the twenty-eight invariably fall on our Sunday, and constitute what to a European has the aspect of a perpetual *Sunday letter*. The Chinese, however, do not observe this day, nor even know its existence. (See Davis's *Chinese*, ch. xviii., vol. ii. p. 304, Lond. 1836; Gutzlaff's *China Opened*, vol. ii. p. 168, Lond. 1838; and the treatise on *Septenary Institutions* above referred to, p. 14.)

CATALOGUE

OF

BOOKS RELATING TO THE SABBATH.

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1. THE APOCRYPHA :—1 Esdr. i. 58 ; v. 52 ; Judith, x. 2; 1 Mac. i. 39, 43, 45 ; ii. 32-41 ; 2 Mac. v. 25, 26 ; vi. 6, 11 ; viii. 26-28 ; xii. 38 ; xv. 1-4.

2. JOSEPHUS (*died about* A.D. 93).—The Works of Flavius Josephus, the learned and authentic Jewish Historian. Translated by William Whiston, A.M. Edinb. 1826. 4 vols. 8vo.

In regard to the Sabbath, see his *Antiquities of the Jews*, B. I. ch. i. § 1, vol. i. p. 8; B. III. ch. v. § 5, p. 124; B. XII. ch. vi. § 1, vol. ii. p. 169; B. XIII. ch. i. § 3, p. 192, and ch. viii. § 4, p. 226; B. XIV. ch. iv. § 2, 3, p. 262; B. XVI. ch. ii. § 4, p. 384; B. XVIII. ch. ix. § 2, vol. iii. p. 98 : *Jewish War*, B. I. ch. vii. § 3, p. 269; B. II. ch. viii. § 9, p. 379; ch. xvi. § 16, p. 413 ; ch. xvii. § 10, p. 421 ; B. IV. ch. ii. § 3, vol. iv. p. 63, 64 ; ch. ix. § 12, p. 111 : *Against Apion*, B. II. § 18, 40, vol. iv. pp. 344, 359.

Those who hold that to "sanctify the sabbath" means in Scripture nothing more than to cease from labour, find a confirmation of their opinion in the summary given by Josephus of the Ten Commandments (*Antiq.* III. v. 5), where the Fourth is said to ordain "that we (the Jews) must keep the seventh day, by resting from all sort of work." Elsewhere he observes (*Ib.* I. i. 1) : "Moses says, that in just six days the world, and all that is therein, was made; and that the seventh day was a rest, and a release from the labour of such operations : whence it is that we celebrate a rest from our labours on that day, and call it the *Sabbath* ; which word denotes *rest* in the Hebrew tongue." But in his Second Book *Against Apion*, § 18, where he favourably compares Moses with the heathen legislators Josephus says that the Jewish

prophet "commanded us (ἐκέλευσε) once in every week, laying aside all other occupations, to assemble together to hear the law with attention, and to fix it in our mind: this is what all other legislators have neglected to require." For the word "commanded," Whiston here gives "permitted;" a rendering which Dr Jortin (whose translation of the whole passage we have preferred) rejects as inadmissible in itself, and evidently precluded by the finishing remark of Josephus. (Jortin's *Works*, vol. ix. p. 107, note to first sermon on Exod. xx. 8.) The question whether Moses does really enjoin the Israelites to assemble on the weekly sabbath to hear and study the law, is discussed in the same place by Dr Jortin, who decides it in the negative. Josephus himself indeed seems to abandon his assertion when he elsewhere writes: "The seventh day we set apart for labour; it is dedicated to the learning of our customs and laws; *we thinking it proper* to reflect on them, as well as on anything else, in order to our avoiding of sin." (*Antiq.* XVI. ii. 4.)

In the Second Book *Against Apion*, § 40, Josephus affirms (likewise to the honour of Moses), that heathen philosophers had followed this great legislator in their philosophic views; "nay farther," says he, "the multitude of mankind itself have had a great inclination for a long time to follow our religious observances—for *there is not any city of the Grecians, nor any of the barbarians, nor any nation whatsoever, whither our custom of resting on the seventh day hath not come* [or, as some translate it, "does not also prevail"], and by which our fasts, and lighting up lamps, and many of our prohibitions as to our food, are not observed." By innumerable writers, the part of this passage which is here printed in italics has been adduced in proof of the opinion that in all ancient times the Gentiles universally or generally observed the seventh day, in consequence of a tradition of the creation of the world in six. But Josephus is speaking only of his contemporaries; and even as to them, the context plainly shows his statement to be nothing more than that sabbath-keeping, *and other Jewish customs*, were observed by some persons in all heathen countries, *in imitation of the Jews*. To suppose that he means what is commonly ascribed to him, is to make him contradict the whole tenor of ancient history, which testifies that sabbath-observance at no time prevailed among the great body of any Gentile people before the coming of Christ. Even in what he affirms, Josephus may reasonably be suspected of exaggeration; one of his leading objects, not only in the passage before us, but throughout his writings, evidently being to glorify his nation in the eyes of the Gentiles for whom he wrote, and who were accustomed to ridicule the Jewish sabbath as a time for indulgence in sloth. (See Heylin's *Hist. of the Sabbath*, Part I. ch. iv., § 9, where Seneca, Tacitus, Juvenal, and others are quoted; as they are also by Selden, *De Jure Naturali et Gentium*, lib. iii. c. 15.)

In speaking of the Essenes, Josephus mentions that they were stricter than any other class of Jews in resting from work on the seventh day. (*Jewish War*, II. viii. 9.)

The only other passage requiring special notice occurs in the *Antiq.* XIV. iv. 2: "Though our law gives us leave on the seventh day to defend ourselves against those that begin to fight with us, and assault us, yet does it not permit us to meddle with our enemies while they do anything else." This rule was added to the law of Moses in the time of Mattathias (1 Mac. ii. 32-41).

3. PHILO JUDÆUS.—The Works of Philo Judæus, the Contemporary of Josephus, translated from the Greek by C. D. Yonge, B.A. Lond. 1855. 4 vols. post 8vo. (Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library.)

See in vol. i. "A Treatise on the Creation of the World:" and in vol. iii. "A Treatise on the Life of Moses;" "A Treatise concerning the Ten Commandments, which are the Heads of the Law;" "A Treatise on the Number Seven;" and "A Treatise on the Ten Festivals," including the Sabbath.

Like Josephus, Philo sounds the praises of the Mosaic law, which alone among all existing codes enjoyed, he affirms, the honour of being esteemed and embraced almost everywhere by the Gentiles. "Our laws," says he, "lead after them and influence all nations, barbarians and Greeks, the inhabitants of continents and islands, the eastern nations and the western, Europe and Asia; in short, the whole habitable globe from one extremity to the other. For what man is there who does not honour that sacred seventh day, granting in consequence a relief and relaxation from labour, for himself and for all those who are near to him, and that not to freemen only, but also to slaves, and even to beasts of burden? . . . Again, who is there who does not pay all due respect and honour to that which is called 'the fast,' and especially to that great yearly one which is of a more austere and venerable character than the ordinary solemnity at the full moon?" (*Life of Moses*, B. II. § 4; vol. iii. pp. 78, 79.) To the same effect he says: "But after the whole world had been completed according to the perfect nature of the number six, the Father hallowed the day following, the seventh, praising it, and calling it holy. For *that day is the festival, not of one city or one country, but of all the earth;* a day which alone it is right to call the day of festival for all people, and the birthday of the world." (*On the Creation of the World*, § 30; vol. i. p. 26.) The words in italics, like the parallel passage in Josephus, have often been quoted in favour of the notion that a primeval Sabbath, of which the Mosaic was but a re-institution, was observed by the ancient Gentiles. Not only, however, is this interpretation of Philo's words at variance with his own express ascription of the alleged Sabbath-observance of the Gentiles to their admiration of the Mosaic law, but, like Josephus, he speaks only of his contemporaries; and even of them he admits, in his *Treatise on the Ten Commandments*, § 20, that "some states keep the sacred seventh day only

once in the month, counting from the new moon, as a day sacred to God" (vol. iii. p. 158). For which modified assertion the only known ground is, that the Athenians dedicated the seventh day of every lunar month to Apollo, because he was believed to have been born on the seventh day of some month unknown.

With respect to the occupations of the Sabbath-day, Philo says that Moses commanded the Jews to devote the leisure which it afforded them "to the contemplation of the things of nature, and considering whether in the preceding six days they have done any thing which has not been holy, bringing their conduct before the judgment-seat of the soul, and subjecting it to a scrutiny, &c., the laws sitting by as assessors and joint inquirers, in order to the correcting of such errors as have been committed through carelessness, and to the guarding against any similar offences being hereafter repeated. . . . Moreover, the seventh day is also an example from which you may learn the propriety of studying philosophy; as on that day, it is said, God beheld the works which he had made; so that you also may yourself contemplate the works of nature, and all the separate circumstances which contribute towards happiness." (*Ib.* § 20, p. 158–9.) At p. 270, he mentions the public instruction of the people on the Sabbath; affirming that Moses "exhorts us then to apply ourselves to philosophy, improving our souls, and the dominant part of us, our minds." And, further to shew that the law is no encourager of idleness, he says: "It expressly commands us to labour diligently for six days."

The Fourth Commandment he regards as "a summary of all the laws relating to festivals, and of all the purificatory rites enjoined to be observed on each of them." (*Ib.* § 30, p. 170.)

He discusses copiously and fancifully the supposed pre-eminence and sacredness of the number seven. (*Creation of the World*, § 30–43; vol. i. pp. 26–37. *On the Ten Commandments*, § 21; vol. iii., p. 159. *On the Number Seven*, vol. iii. p. 264. *On the Ten Festivals*, vol. iii. pp. 272, 275.)

4. A Translation of the Epistles of Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and Ignatius, and of the Apologies of Justin Martyr and Tertullian: With an Introduction and Brief Notes illustrative of the Ecclesiastical History of the first two Centuries. By the Rev. Temple Chevallier, B.D. 2d edit. Lond. 1851. 8vo, pp. 385.

In the Appendix is given Melmoth's translation of the younger Pliny's Letter to Trajan respecting the Christians in Bithynia; as to the bearings of which on the Sabbath question, see Heylin, II. ii. 2; Domville, i. 251; Coleman, p. 528; Cox, p. 539.

None of the writers here translated by Mr Chevallier, nor indeed any of the Fathers except perhaps Athanasius, having left us treatises on the Sabbath, the opinions and practices of the ancient

post-apostolic Church respecting it must be gathered from what is incidentally said on the subject in their voluminous productions. To mention in detail the places where such passages occur, would inconveniently swell our catalogue, the design of which may be better served by giving, under the name of each of the Fathers introduced, references to the writers who have most diligently collected and discussed his opinions. This accordingly we shall proceed to do.

5. CLEMENT OF ROME (*died about the end of the first century*): Chevallier, 29; Holden, 293,; Domville, i. 123, 237, 284–90, 293, and Supp. 3.

6. BARNABAS (*lived in the first century*): Holden, 295; James, 115, 132, 265; Domville, i. 217–236, 278, 293, 308; ii. 131.

The Rev. Baden Powell, in quoting the passage cited by these writers, expresses the opinion that the so-called Epistle of Barnabas is probably a forgery of the second century. (Kitto's *Cyclop. of Bibl. Lit.*, ii. 269, 1st ed. See also the article BARNABAS in the same work; and Domville, i. 219.)

7. IGNATIUS (*put to death* A.D. 107): Chevallier, 65, 74; Heylin, Part II., ch. ii., § 2; Holden, 294, 323; James, 113–115, 157, 255, 267; Domville, i. 237–251, 293; Mellet, 71, 76.

The most noted passage in Ignatius is §§ 8 and 9 of his *Epistle to the Magnesians* (Chevallier, p. 74). As translated by Archbishop Wake, it is as follows: "If we still continue to live according to the Jewish law, we do confess ourselves not to have received grace: for even the most holy prophets lived according to Christ Jesus. . . . Wherefore, if they who were brought up in these ancient laws came nevertheless to newness of hope, no longer observing Sabbaths, but keeping the Lord's Day, in which also our life is sprung up by Him and through his death, . . . how shall we be able to live different from Him, whose disciples the very prophets themselves being, did by the Spirit expect him as their Master? . . . Wherefore, being become his disciples, let us learn to live according to the rules of Christianity." There is however in the original no word or phrase which corresponds to the phrase "the Lord's *Day*," or to the word "*keeping*:" the literal translation is, "No longer observing Sabbaths, but living according to the Lord's life (κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωὴν ζῶντες), in which also our life is sprung up." Indeed the Archbishop admits in a note, that this translation would be correct; while his own is by

many thought inconsistent, not only with the expressions in the original, but with the whole scope of the passage. (See Domville, i. 241–251; and Powell in Kitto's *Cyclop.* ii., 270, 1st ed.)

To such an extent have the Epistles of Ignatius been corrupted by interpolation (see Chevallier, Introd. 43–54), that even those considered genuine (among which is the one above quoted) were suspected by Lardner and Beausobre to have been tampered with (Domville, i. 241), and have recently been pronounced by Mr Cureton (with whom Lipsius agrees) to have been copiously interpolated for the same dogmatical purposes which prompted to the forgery of four of the seven, and by the same forging hand. (Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*, Lond. 1849; and Lipsius in *Jour. of the Historico-Theological Society of Germany* for 1856.) But not to insist upon this, it is more important to mention that a passage still frequently quoted in popular treatises from one of the Epistles as genuine, has for two centuries past been rejected by every *scholar* as spurious. The words are: "Let us therefore no longer observe Sabbaths after the manner of the Jews; . . . but let every one of you observe Sabbaths in a spiritual manner, rejoicing in the meditation of the law; . . . and after the Sabbath day, let every lover of Christ celebrate the Lord's Day, which is consecrated to our Lord's resurrection, and is the queen and chief of all days." (Domville, i. 245–6.)

8. JUSTIN MARTYR (*put to death* A.D. 164): Chevallier, 224; Heylin, Part II. ch. ii. §§ 6, 7; Holden, 42, 295, 324, 327, 330; Kaye (Bishop of Lincoln), 23, 94-96; James, 117, 142, 171, 264; Domville, i. 102, 124, 185, 273-7, 294-6, 308, 308, 310-313; ii. 133; Hengstenberg, 53; Mellet, 76, 80; Jacobson's *Patres Apostolici*, ii. 322-4 (Oxf. 1840); *British Critic*, vii. 183-5 (1830); Kitto's *Cyclop.*, ii. 269, 1st ed.; Coleman, 532, 536.

9. DIONYSIUS, *Bishop of Corinth* (*wrote about* A.D. 170): Holden, 296; James, 119; Kitto's *Cyclop.*, ii. 270, 1st ed.; Domville, i. 126; Mellet, 76.

10. IRENÆUS, *Bishop of Lyons* (*put to death* A.D. 202): Holden, 42, 297, 325, 332; James, 78, 118, 142, 172; Domville, i. 127-132, 297; ii. 136; Mellet, 71, 76, 81.

Dr Dwight (*Theology*, Serm. 106), and innumerable writers who have borrowed from him, quote Irenæus as saying, "On the Lord's

Day, every one of us Christians keeps the Sabbath; meditating on the law, and rejoicing in the works of God." He however gives no reference to the place where the passage occurs; and Sir W. Domville, after carefully searching all the extant works of Irenæus, reports that no such passage, or any one at all resembling it, can be found. But he has discovered, in the writings falsely ascribed to *Ignatius*, expressions so closely resembling those given by Dr Dwight, as to leave no doubt of the source from which the quotation was erroneously made. Paley also (*Mor. Philos.*, B. v. ch. 8) cites, as from Irenæus, a similar passage, which Sir William shows to be evidently derived from the pseudo-Ignatius. (Domville, i. 127–132.)

11. TERTULLIAN (*lived in the latter half of the second century*): Chevallier, 279, 329; Heylin, Part II. ch. ii. § 8, 11; Neander's *Hist. of the Christ. Church*, i. 407, 409, 410; Holden, 42, 298-301, 325, 328, 332, 417; James, 118, 119, 142, 163, 171, 247; Kitto's *Cyclop.* ii. 269, 270, 1st ed.; Domville, i. 298, and Supp. 5; ii. 136; Hengstenberg, 55; Coleman, 533, 537; Mellet, 72, 76, 82.

12. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*died about the beginning of the third century*): Heylin, Part II. ch. ii. § 6; Holden, 298, 327; James, 174–181; T. S. Hughes, 15; Coleman, 533; Domville, ii. 106; Mellet, 74.

13. ORIGEN (*died* A.D. 253): Heylin, Part II. ch. ii. § 9; Holden, 301-3, 328, 332; James, 181, &c., 264; Domville, i. Supp. 17, 23; Coleman, 537.

14. CYPRIAN, *Bishop of Carthage* (*suffered* A.D. 258): Heylin, Part II. ch. ii. §§ 10, 11; Holden, 304–5; James, 189.

15. CONSTANTINE, *Roman Emperor*.—Edict, A.D. 321, enjoining rest from labour in towns on Sunday. See the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, Cod. lib. iii. tit. xii. 3; also Heylin, Part II. ch. iii. §§ 1, 2; Morer, 257; Holden, 307; James, 120; Neander, *Hist. of the Christ. Church*, iii. 421; Higgins, 49, 97, 2d ed.; Domville,

i. 292; Hengstenberg, 58; Neale, 91; Cox, 283; Mellet, 79, 90.

16. EUSEBIUS, *Bishop of Cæsarea* (*died* A.D. 339): Holden, 42, 306; Domville, i. Supp. 10; ii. 138; Mellet, 88.

17. HILARY, *Bishop of Poictiers* (*died* A.D. 367): Holden, 317: James, 123.

18. ATHANASIUS, *Bishop of Alexandria* (*died* A.D. 373): Holden, 313, 332; James, 122, 193, 264; Coleman, 536; Domville, i. Supp. 9; Mellet, 77, 78.

Among the works of Athanasius is a treatise "De Sabbatis et Circumcisione." (*Opera*, tom. ii. p. 42. Patav. 1777.) Its genuineness is doubted by Holden.

19. BASIL, *Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia* (A.D. 370): Holden, 315.

20. CYRIL, *Bishop of Jerusalem* (*died about* A.D. 386): See his Catechetical Lectures, published in the Library of the Fathers, Oxford, 1838, p. 51, Lect. iv. § 37.

21. EPIPHANIUS, *Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus* (*died* A.D. 402): Holden, 314; Domville, i. Supp. 11; Mellet, 77, 78.

22. GREGORY OF NYSSA (*died about* A.D. 396): Holden, 315.

23. CHRYSOSTOM, *Patriarch of Constantinople* (*died* A.D. 407): Heylin, Part II. ch. iii. § 7; Holden, 316; Neander, *Hist. of the Christ. Church*, iii. 419; Domville, i. Supp. 28; Mellet, 83. See the translation of his Homilies on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, published at Oxford in 1839, p. 605–8, Hom. 43; Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, Oxf. 1840, p. 43; Homilies on the Statues, Oxf. 1842, p. 208-9; Homilies on the Epistles to Timothy, &c. Oxf. 1843, p. 45;

and Homilies on Matthew, Part II., Oxf. 1844, p. 557–8, 561–2.

24. THEOPHILUS, *Patriarch of Alexandria* (*died* A.D. 412): Holden, 316.

25. AMBROSE, *Bishop of Milan* (*died* A.D. 397): Holden, 317; Domville, i. Supp. 15; Mellet, 76, 78.

26. JEROME (*died* A.D. 422): Holden, 319, 328; Neander, *Hist. of the Christ. Church*, iii. 419; Domville, ii. 140; Hengstenberg, 56; Mellet, 84.

27. AUGUSTINE, *Bishop of Hippo* (*died* A.D. 430): Heylin, Part II. ch. iv. § 1; Holden, 320, 332; James, 224, 264; Domville, i. Supp. 12, 17, 30; Hengstenberg, 55, 56; Mellet, 76, 85.

See, in *The Library of the Fathers*, Seventeen Short Treatises of St Augustine, Oxf. 1847, p. 586; Homilies on John's Gospel, and First Epistle, vol. i., Oxf. 1848, pp. 44 and 269 (Hom. on John i. 15–18, and v. 1–18); and a note on p. 209 of the translation of Chrysostom's Homilies on the Statues. See also Augustine's Homilies on the Psalms, French transl., Paris, 1683, vol. v. p. 58; Ps. cxi.

The genuineness of the homily *De Tempore*, which holds a place among Augustine's works, (Cook, ii. 300–2; Holden, 321–2; Cox, 284,) and has been supposed to contain the germ of the Puritan doctrine that the Sabbath was transferred from Saturday to Sunday, is admitted by Holden to be doubted by some, and is positively denied by the Rev. Dr E. Burton, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford; who adds that the portion of it bearing on the question is from Alcuin (a pupil of Bede), in a treatise *De Div. Off.* c. 27, v. Augustin. *Op.* vol. v. Append. p. 467. (See Burton's third edition of *Pearson on the Creed*, ii. 231; Oxf. 1847.) The total inconsistency of the passage with what Augustine says in his unquestioned Treatises and Homilies above referred to, would make it easy to accept this decision, even were the fact less notorious that in the early ages of the Church the writings of the Fathers were corrupted without scruple to serve the purposes of contending sects. The truth is, that the practice of vitiating these early writings, and even of forging whole treatises and letters, detracts materially from the value of all that has come down to us as the productions of the Fathers. How extensively the Epistles of Ignatius were added to, has been already seen; and many other examples hardly less glaring might be adduced. Thus the MSS. of Tertullian are stated to be extremely faulty. (Rigalt.

de Tert., Præf., p. 2; quoted in the *Jour. of Sacred Lit.*, Jan. 1854, N. S., v. 378): while of Clement and Origen it is said that the copies were corrupted even in their lifetime; and of Cyprian, that the remarkable discrepancies between the different copies of his works prove how unscrupulously they also have been tampered with. (Rufin. *de Adult. Libror. Orig.*, p. 50, quoted in the same place.)

28. DAMASCENUS, *a Monk and Presbyter, who flourished about* A.D. 730: Domville, ii. 141.

29. BEDE, THE VENERABLE, *a learned Father of the English Church* (*died* A.D. 735).—Opera quotquot reperiri potuerunt omnia. Colon. Agrip. 1688. 8 vols. folio.

The index points to what he says of the Sabbath. There is a purged edition, in 12 vols. 8vo, by Dr J. A. Giles, Lond. 1843, which has no index. See, however, vol. vii., containing the Commentary on Genesis, &c.; and vol. x., containing the Exposition of Mark and Luke. Hengstenberg, p. 59, gives an extract.

Here ends our list of writers known as "Fathers." In regard to the Sabbath, the points on which their opinions have commonly been thought most worthy of investigation are the following:—

1. *Did they consider the Sabbath as abolished by Christ?*

It is universally admitted that they often speak of it as abolished with the other Jewish institutions, and that, if they ever recognise a primeval Sabbath at all, they nowhere allude to it as an institution *surviving in Christian times.* In the fact of this silence, Holden sees no adequate reason for concluding that they did not however *believe in* the continued existence of a Sabbath instituted at the Creation; while Domville maintains that the whole tenor of their teaching about the Sabbath is incompatible with the notion that they so believed. (See Heylin, Part I. ch. ii. iii. iv.; Holden, 42, 330; Domville, ii. 130-148; Cook, ii. 291-8; James, 142.) It was a prevailing opinion among them, as afterwards among the Reformers, that the Creator's rest on the seventh day, and likewise the Sabbath of the Jews, were typical of the Christian's rest in the present world from evil works, and in the next from sublunary toils and troubles. This "spiritual Sabbath" on earth they frequently contrast with the "carnal Sabbath" or bodily rest of the Jews (Neale, 88; Domville, i. 295-9; but see Holden, 323-330, and James, 123-6), which no writer before the promulgation of Constantine's Edict recommends to be observed by Christians on Sunday.

2. *Did the Fathers regard the Lord's Day as either the Sabbath shifted to the beginning of the week, or a substitute for the Sabbath?*

All who claim any knowledge of the works of the Fathers

say that these ancient writers usually, if not invariably, speak of the Lord's Day as an *independent institution*, of which neither the Fourth Commandment nor a primeval Sabbath is once referred to as the foundation (Heylin, Part II. ch. ii.; Taylor, *Life of Jesus*, Part II. Sect. xii. Disc. x. § 24, and *Duct. Dubit.*, B. II. ch. ii. Rule vi. §§ 49–53—*Works*, Heber's ed., iii. 29; xii. 415–421; Baxter, *Pract. Works*, xiii. 386; Cook, ii. 291–303; Holden, 334; Bannerman, 130; Neale, 90, 237; Domville, i. 291–9; Bunsen, *Hippolytus and his Age*, iii. 76). Certainly both institutions were long kept, each on its appropriate day, by the oriental Christians; but whether even the converts from Judaism observed the Saturday Sabbath so early as the first century is disputed by some, in spite of Acts xxv. 8 and xxviii. 17, Rom. xiv. 5, Gal. iv. 10, Philip. iii. 6, and Col. ii. 16, 17. (Bingham, *Antiq. of the Christ. Church*, B. xiii. ch. ix. § 3; Neander, *Hist. of the Christ. Church*, i. 410; iii. 421–2; Holden, 335; James, 157, 164, 169, 170, 179–181, 193–4, 255; Coleman, 533; Cox, 279–281, 527–9.) How the two institutions were respectively kept, is told by Bingham, B. xvi. ch. viii., and B. xx. ch. ii. and iii.

3. *Did the Fathers ascribe the observance of Sunday to the injunctions or example of Jesus or his Apostles?*

In regard to the Fathers who wrote before the reign of Constantine, and whose opinions are alone of importance, Domville, after elaborate inquiry, answers this question in the negative; nor can he discover that any of them has appealed to the Christian Scriptures in proof of a Christian Sabbath (vol. i. p. 302, and Supp.; see also Cox, 531, note). Equally unable is Mr Baden Powell to find that "these writers in any instance pretend to allege any Divine command, or even apostolic practice, in support of its observance." (Kitto's *Cyclop. of Bibl. Lit.*, ii. 270, 1st ed.) Two of them however, Barnabas and Justin Martyr, assign other reasons, of which those given by the one writer differ from those given by the other; each, as Domville shews, assigning as one of his reasons what is either too absurd or too improbable for belief. The credible reason alleged by Justin is, that on Sunday Jesus Christ our Saviour arose from the dead. (Domville, i. 307–9.)

30. AQUINAS, THOMAS, *a famous scholastic divine (died* 1274).—Opera, editio altera Veneta, ad plurima exempla comparata, et emendata. Accedunt vita ejus à J. Echardo, et B. M. de Rubeis in singula opera dissertationes præviæ. Venet. 1775. 28 vols. 4to.

See the index in the last two volumes. There is an Exposition of the Ten Commandments at the beginning of vol. viii. The opinions of Aquinas about the Lord's Day are noticed by Heylin, Part II. ch. vi. §§ 1, 2, 3; Hengstenberg, 60; and Mellet, 91.

31. TOSTATUS, *Bishop of Avila* (*died* 1454).—Alphonsi Tostati Hispani Abulensis Episcopi Opera Omnia quotquot in Scripturæ Sacræ Expositionem et alia, adhuc extare inventa sunt. Colon. Agrip. 1613. 12 vols. fol.

There is added a copious Index, in which see numerous references under the word SABBATHUM. This once famous writer teaches that the Sabbath was instituted for the first time by the law of Moses, and that the Fourth Commandment is ceremonial, not moral. He is quoted by Heylin, Part II., ch. vi. § 2.

32. LUTHER, MARTIN (*died* 1546).—Opera. Jenæ, 1564, &c. 4 vols. fol.

See, in vol. i. p. 130–4, his remarks on the Fourth Commandment, in a work originally published in 1518, viz., *Decem Præcepta prædicata Populo.* It is included in vol. xii. of an edition of his *Exegetica Opera Latina*, published at Erlangen in 1829, &c.

He treats of the Sabbath in his *Grosser Katechismus* (Larger Catechism), Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1827.

He wrote also a discourse entitled, "Quomodo et quo fructu libri Mosis Christianis legendi sint concio."

Some spoken remarks of his on the Sabbath are recorded in his *Mensalia*, or *Table-Talk*, translated by Captain Henry Bell, Lond. 1652, ch. 31, p. 357.

In the above-mentioned edition of his entire Works, vol. iv. p. 323–5, he comments on Matt. xii., and expresses the opinion (which is also Chrysostom's) that Jesus broke the Sabbath deliberately and even ostentatiously for a purpose.

He concurred with Melancthon in what the latter wrote of the Lord's day in the Augsburg Confession of 1540. See below, p. 129.

Several extracts from these works may be seen in Hengstenberg, 61–63; Cox, 121, 502–3; and Mellet, 92–95. One of them, from the *Larger Catechism*, is as follows:—"God set apart the seventh day, and appointed it to be observed, and commanded that it should be considered holy above all others; and this command, as far as the outward observance is concerned, was given to the Jews alone, that they should abstain from hard labour, and rest, in order that both man and beast might be refreshed, and not be worn out by constant work. Therefore this commandment, literally understood, does not apply to us Christians; for it is entirely outward, like other ordinances of the Old Testament, bound to modes, and persons, and times and customs, all of which are now left free by Christ. But in order that the simple may obtain a Christian view of that which God requires of us in this commandment, observe that we keep a festival, not for the sake of intelligent and advanced Christians, for these have no need of it; but

first for the sake of the body, because Nature teaches that the working-classes, servants and maids, who have spent the whole week in their work and occupation, absolutely require a day in which they can leave off work, and rest and refresh themselves; and, chiefly, in order that men may, on such a day of rest, have time and opportunity, such as they could not otherwise have, to attend to the worship of God, that so they may come in crowds, to hear the word of God and practise it, to praise God, and sing, and pray. But this is not bound to any particular time, as with the Jews, so that it must be this day or that; for no day is in itself better than any other, but it ought to be performed daily; only, because this would be impossible to the mass of the people, we must at least devote one day to this purpose. And because Sunday has been appointed from the earliest times, we ought to keep to this arrangement, that all things may be done in harmony and order, and no confusion be caused by unnecessary novelties."

As to the opinions of Luther about the Sabbath (in which the other Reformers agreed with him), see Heylin, Part II. ch. vi. §§ 4–10; James, 209–220; Hengstenberg, 61–65; Coleman, 538–40; Dr J. Pye Smith, *Script. Test. to the Messiah*, 3d ed., iii. 439; Hetherington, in *The Christian Sabbath considered in its Various Aspects*, 272–8, Edinb. 1850; and Cox, 58, 285–7, 290–1, note. The Reformers found more meaning than the Puritans and their followers have done, in Rom. xiv. 5, 6, Gal. iv. 10, 11, and Col. ii. 16, 17; while they failed to see in the New Testament any of those indications which the Puritans were the first to discover, of a transference of the Sabbath to the first day of the week by Jesus or his Apostles. Even Knox, though styled by Disraeli "the true father of the Sabbatarian doctrine in England" (*Life of Charles I.*, ed. 1851, ii. 15), appears from the Scottish Confession of 1560, of which he was the author, to have deduced from the First Table of the Decalogue no further Christian duties than "to have one God, to worship and honour him; to call upon him in all our troubles; to reverence his holy name; to hear his word; to believe the same; to communicate with his holy sacraments." (Knox's *Works*, by Laing, ii. 107; more fully quoted by Cox, 123.) Nor is there reason to believe that he, any more than the Continental Reformers, or than Parker and Aylmer in England, thought innocent recreation sinful on Sunday. (See Cox, 124, note †, 295; Hook, 35.)

33. CALVIN, JOHN (*died* 1564).—Institutes of the Christian Religion: a new Translation, by Henry Beveridge. Edinb., printed for the Calvin Translation Society, 1845, i. 459–466; B. II. ch. viii. §§ 28–34, on the Fourth Commandment. (There is another translation of the Institutes, by John Allen, 2 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1844; of which see vol. i. p. 309–14.)—Cate-

chism of the Church of Geneva; in Calvin's Tracts, translated by Henry Beveridge, ii. 61–63. Edinb., printed for the same Society, 1849.

See also Calvin's observations on the following texts of Scripture in his Commentaries:—Gen. ii. 23; Exod. xvi., xx. 8–11; Isa. lviii. 13, 14; Ezek. xx. 12; Matt. xii. 1–14; xxviii. 1; Luke xiii. 14; xiv. 4; xxiv. 1; John v. 9; ix. 14; Acts ii. 1; xv. 21; xx. 6–11; Rom. xiv. 5, 6; 1 Cor. xvi. 2; Gal. iv. 9, 10; Col. ii. 16, 17; Heb. iv. 6–10. These Commentaries are contained in the following volumes of the Latin edition of his Works, published at Geneva in 1617, &c. (seven vols. fol.):—VOL. I., Commentarii in quinque Libros Mosis; Genesis seorsim, reliqui quatuor in formam Harmoniæ digesti, cum triplici indice.—VOL. V., Commentarii in Isaiam prophetam.—VOL. VII., Prælectiones in Ezechielis prophetæ XX. capita priora.—VOL. X., Harmonia ex Evangelistis tribus composita, Matthæo, Marco, et Luca, Commentariis exposita; et in Johannem Evangelistam Commentarius.—VOL. XI., Commentarii in Acta Apostolorum.—VOL. XII., Commentarii in omnes Epistolas Pauli et in Epistolas Canonicas. Of these works, English versions of the following have been printed at Edinburgh in 8vo, for the Calvin Translation Society:—Comm. on Genesis, 2 vols., 1847–50.—Comm. on the four last Books of Moses, arranged in the form of a Harmony, 4 vols., 1852–5.—Comm. on Isaiah, 4 vols., 1850–3.—Comm. on a Harmony of the Evangelists Matthew, Mark, and Luke, 3 vols., 1845–6.—Comm. on John's Gospel, 2 vols., 1847.—Comm. on the Acts, 2 vols., 1844.—Comm. on Romans, old transl. by Rosdell, 1 vol., 1844; new transl. by Rev. J. Owen, 1 vol., 1848.—Comm. on Galatians and Ephesians, 1 vol., 1854.—Comm. on Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians, 1 vol., 1851.—Comm. on Hebrews, 1 vol., 1853. To each of these translated works an index is appended.

The whole passage in the *Institutes* about the Sabbath, in Latin and English, was separately printed at London in 1848; 8vo, pp. 16. The pamphlet is entitled, "Calvin on the Jewish Sabbath, or seventh Day of the Week; and Sunday, or first Day of the week."

The Geneva Catechism was used in Scotland till superseded by that of the Westminster Assembly. It is included in an edition of *The Psalms of David in Metre, &c.*, printed at Edinburgh in 1611; and will be found also in Dr H. A. Niemeyer's *Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis Publicatarum*, Leipsic, 1840, art. vii.

In the *Institutes*, Calvin thus sums up his doctrine of the Sabbath:—

"As the truth was delivered typically to the Jews, so it is imparted to us without figure; first, that during our whole lives we may aim at a constant rest from our own works, in order that the Lord may work in us by his Spirit; secondly, that every individual, as he has opportunity, may diligently exercise himself in private, in pious meditation on the works of God, and, at the

same time, that all may observe the legitimate order appointed by the Church, for the hearing of the word, the administration of the sacraments, and public prayer; and, thirdly, that we may avoid oppressing those who are subject to us. In this way, we get quit of the trifling of the false prophets, who in later times instilled Jewish ideas into the people, alleging that nothing was abrogated but what was ceremonial in the commandment (this they term, in their language, the taxation of the seventh day), while the moral part remains, viz., the observance of one day in seven. But this is nothing else than to insult the Jews, by changing the day, and yet mentally attributing to it the same sanctity; thus retaining the same typical distinction of days as had place among the Jews. And of a truth, we see what profit they have made by such a doctrine. Those who cling to their constitutions go thrice as far as the Jews in the gross and carnal superstition of sabbatism; so that the rebukes which we read in Isaiah (Isa. i. 13; viii. 13) apply as much to those of the present day, as to those to whom the prophet addressed them. We must be careful, however, to observe the general doctrine, viz., in order that religion may neither be lost nor languish among us, we must diligently attend on our religious assemblies, and duly avail ourselves of those external aids which tend to promote the worship of God."—(*Beveridge's transl.*, vol. i. p. 466.)

From his comment on Exod. xx. 11, it appears that Calvin was inclined to the opinion that the Sabbath was sanctified before the giving of the Law; the narrative in Exod. xvi. seeming, he says, to imply familiar knowledge and use of it, and there being a high probability that when God delivered the rite of sacrifice to the saints, the observance of the Sabbath was prescribed along with it. But having, he adds, sunk into utter neglect among the Gentiles, and become almost obsolete even with the race of Abraham, it was the subject of a new command in the Law, that thenceforth it might be honoured by holy and inviolable observance. In commenting on Gen. ii. 2, 3, he indicates, less clearly, the same opinion; but in neither place does he dogmatize on the subject, nor is it very easy to reconcile some of his expressions with what we find in the *Institutes*, and in the *Commentaries on Paul's Epistles*. As for the Lord's Day, he speaks of it as substituted, not by Christ or his Apostles, but by "the ancients," in the room of the Sabbath—and this merely on account of its utility as a season for religious exercises and instruction, such as those to which the Jews devoted a portion of their holy day (*Inst.* B. II. ch. viii. § 34). Neither in Acts ii. 1, and xx. 7, nor in 1 Cor. xvi. 2, does he find any indication that the first day of the week was religiously observed in the apostolic times.

As to his opinions, see the *Eclectic Review*, Nov. 1830, p. 408; Coleman, 540; Cox, 58, 122.

34. MELANCTHON, PHILIP, *one of the most learned of the Reformers* (*died* 1560).—Loci Communes Theolo-

gici, Basil., 1546. (See pp. 162–5. This treatise forms the 21st vol. of his Works in the Corpus Reformatorum, edited by Bindseil, Brunsw. 1854, 4to. There is another edition of them, edited by C. G. Bretschneider, Halle, 1834, &c., 4to; of which 21 vols. have been published.)—Catechesis Puerilis, (pp. 15–20.)—Corpus Doctrinæ Christianæ, Lips. 1561, (p. 404.)—Confessio Fidei exhibita invictiss. Imp. Carolo V. Cæsari Aug. in Comitiis Augustæ, anno 1530. Excusa Wittebergæ, anno 1540. (Included in Sylloge Confessionum sub Tempus Reformandæ Ecclesiæ editarum, Oxon. 1827; of which volume see pp. 229–30.)

To show the opinion of Melancthon about the Lord's Day, it will be enough to subjoin an extract from the Confession of Augsburg, last above mentioned, which expresses in well-considered language the views of the Reformers generally concerning it. The passage, being brief as well as important, is here presented both in the original Latin and in English.

"Quid igitur sentiendum est de die Dominico, et similibus ritibus templorum? Ad hæc respondent, quod liceat episcopis seu pastoribus facere ordinationes, ut res ordine gerantur in ecclesia, non ut per illas mereamur remissionem peccatorum, aut satisfaciamus pro peccatis, aut obligentur conscientiæ, ut judicent esse necessarios cultus, ac sentiant se peccare cum sine offensione aliorum violant. Sic Paulus ordinat, ut in congregatione mulieres velent capita, ut ordine audiantur in ecclesia interpretes, &c.

"Tales ordinationes convenit ecclesias propter charitatem et tranquillitatem servare eatenus, ne alius alium offendat, ut ordine et sine tumultu omnia fiant in ecclesiis. Verum ita, ne conscientiæ onerentur, ut ducant res esse necessarias ad salutem, ac judicent, se peccare cum violant eas sine aliorum offensione; sicut nemo dixerit peccare mulierem, quæ in publicum non velato capite procedit, sine offensione hominum.

"Talis est observatio diei Dominici, Paschatis, Pentecostes, et similium feriarum et rituum. Nam qui judicant ecclesiæ autoritate, pro sabbato institutam esse diei Dominici observationem, tanquam necessariam, longe errant. Scriptura concedit, ut observatio sabbati nunc sit libera. Docet enim ceremonias Mosaicas post revelatum evangelium non necessarias esse. Et tamen quia opus erat constituere certum diem, ut scirêt populus quando convenire deberet, apparet ecclesiam ei rei destinasse diem Dominicum, qui ob hanc quoque causam videtur magis placuisse, ut haberent homines exemplum Christianæ libertatis, et scirent nec sabbati nec alterius diei observationem necessariam esse." (Art. *De Potestate Ecclesiastica.*)

What then is to be thought of the Lord's Day, and the like formalities of public worship? To this it is replied, that bishops

or ministers have liberty to appoint forms of proceeding, that everything may go on regularly in the church; not that by means of them we may merit the remission of our sins, or give satisfaction therefor, or that our consciences may be bound to regard them as necessary acts of worship, and the neglect of them as sinful, when others are not thereby made to stumble. Thus Paul ordains that in the congregation women shall cover their heads, that interpreters be heard in succession in church, and so on.

"Such regulations it is expedient, for the sake of love and peace, that churches observe so far, that no man may be a stumbling-block to another, and to the end that all things may be done in order and without disturbance in churches; yet so that men's consciences may not be burdened with the notion that these are things necessary to salvation, and that the neglect of them without offence to others is sinful—as nobody will say that a woman sins, if, without offence to any, she goes about publicly with her head uncovered.

"Of this nature is the observation of the Lord's Day, of Easter, Whitsuntide, and the like holidays and ceremonies. For those who think that the observance of the Lord's Day has been appointed by the authority of the church instead of the Sabbath, as a thing necessary, greatly err. The Scripture allows that we are not bound to keep the Sabbath; for it teaches, that the ceremonies of the law of Moses are not necessary after the revelation of the Gospel. And yet, because it was requisite to appoint a certain day, that the people might know when to assemble together, it appears that the church appointed for this purpose the Lord's Day, which for this reason also seemed to have pleased the more, that men might have an example of Christian liberty, and might know that the observance, neither of the Sabbath, nor of any other day, is necessary."

35. ZUINGLIUS, ULRICUS, *a Swiss Reformer* (*killed in* 1531).—Opera, completa editio prima, curantibus M. Schulero et Jo. Schulthessio. Turici, 1828–1842. 8 vols. large 8vo.

See the word SABBATUM in the Index. A passage is quoted from him by Heylin, Part II. ch. vi. § 9, and repeated by Cox, 287.

36. MUSCULUS, WOLFGANG, *one of the Reformers, professor of Divinity at Berne* (*died* 1563).—Commentarii in Vetus et Novum Testamentum, et Loci Communes Theologici. Basil, 1544. 6 vols. fol.

He holds that the Sabbath began with the Law.

37. VIRET, PETER, *a Swiss Reformer* (*died* 1571).—Instruction Chrétienne on la Doctrine de la Loi et de l'Evangile. Genève, 1564. fol. (See pp. 409–444.)

38. MARTYR, PETER, *a Reformer, professor of Divinity at Oxford and Zurich* (*died* 1562).—The Common-places of the most famous and renowned Divine, Doctor Peter Martyr, translated and partly gathered by Anthony Marten. Lond. 1583. fol.

See Part II. ch. vii., on the Fourth Commandment.

39. BULLINGER, HENRY, *an eminent Swiss Reformer* (*died* 1575).—The Decades of Henry Bullinger, Minister of the Church at Zurich. Edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. Thomas Harding, A.M. Cambridge, 1849–50. 2 vols. 8vo. (Reprinted from the London edition of 1587.)

As to the Sabbath, see Sermon IV. of the Second Decade; vol. ii., pp. 253–267. He thinks it was given first of all to the patriarchs, and afterwards renewed at Sinai. The Scripture, he says, mentions two kinds of Sabbath: 1. The spiritual, or rest from sin; 2. The Sabbath which is the outward institution of religion. Both of these, Christians should keep; for "it is not to be doubted but that the good Lord's will is, that even in our churches at this day, as well as of the Jews of old, there should be kept an appointed order in all things, but especially in the exercising of outward religion. We know that the Sabbath is ceremonial, so far forth as it is joined to sacrifices and other Jewish ceremonies, and so far forth as it is tied to a certain time; but in respect that on the Sabbath-day religion and true godliness are exercised and published, that a just and seemly order is kept in the church, and that the love of our neighbour is thereby preserved, therein, I say, it is perpetual, and not ceremonial. . . . . They of the primitive church did change the Sabbath-day, lest, peradventure, they should have seemed to have imitated the Jews, and still to have retained their order and ceremonies; and made their assemblies and holy restings to be on the first day of sabbaths, which John calleth Sunday, or the Lord's Day, because of the Lord's glorious resurrection upon that day. And although we do not, in any of the apostles' writings, find any mention made that this Sunday was commanded us to be kept holy; yet, for because, in this fourth precept of the first table, we are commanded to have a care of religion and the exercising of outward godliness, it would be against all godliness and Christian charity if we should deny to sanctify the Sunday: especially, since the outward worship of God cannot consist without an appointed space and time of holy rest. I suppose also that we ought to think the same of those few feasts and holy days, which we keep holy to Christ our Lord, in memory of his nativity or incarnation, of his circumcision, of his passion, of the resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ our Lord into heaven, and of his

sending of the Holy Ghost upon his disciples. For Christian liberty is not a licentious power, and dissolving of godly ecclesiastical ordinances which advance and set forth the glory of God and love of our neighbour. But for because the Lord will have holy days to be solemnized and kept to himself alone, I do not therefore like of the festival days that are held in honour of any creatures." (Pp. 259-60.)

He proceeds to treat of the sanctification and abuses of the Sabbath-day; allowing on it no works but those of necessity and mercy, among which he includes the taking in of crops when the weather is much broken in harvest. Idleness is censured, and still more are dicing, drinking, dancing, and indulging in the vanities of the world. Nevertheless, in his Third Decade (vol. ii. p. 160), he says: "All holy days were invented for the health, profit, and recreation of mankind; for holy days are no burden, but the easing of our burdens. Profane works, I confess," (by which he means all kinds of secular labour,) "are profitable, but ease is also necessary; for without rest labour cannot continue. The Lord's will therefore is, to give man a time of recreation, and biddeth his servants to be merry on the holy days in holiness and modesty; so that their ease may be an honest recreation, and not reproachful sensuality."

He teaches also, "that it is the duty of a Christian magistrate, or at leastwise of a good householder, to compel to amendment the breakers and contemners of God's Sabbath and worship. The peers of Israel, and all the people of God, did stone to death (as the Lord commanded them) the man that disobediently did gather sticks on the Sabbath-day (Numb. xv.). Why then should it not be lawful for a Christian magistrate to punish by bodily imprisonment, by loss of goods, or by death, the despisers of religion, of the true and lawful worship done to God, and of the Sabbath-day? Verily, though the foolish and indiscreet magistrate in this corrupted age do slackly look to his office and duty; yet notwithstanding, let every householder do his endeavour to keep his several family from that ungodly naughtiness; let him punish them of his household by such means as he lawfully may." (Vol. i. pp. 261-2.)

40. URSINUS, ZACHARIAS, *a German Protestant Divine* (*died* 1583).—The Sum of Christian Religion, delivered in his Lectures upon the Catechism authorized by the Noble Prince Frederick throughout his Dominions: Translated into English by Henry Parry. Oxf. 1595. 8vo.

There is an Explication of the Fourth Commandment at p. 869. A better edition of this work, in folio, was published at London in 1645; of which see pp. 575-586. In 1584, there was published

at the same place, by John Stockwood, schoolmaster of Tunbridge, "A Very Profitable and Necessary Discourse concerning the Observation and Keeping of the Sabbath-Day, &c., by Zacharias Ursinus." This is extracted from the larger work.

41. BEZA, THEODORE, *a learned Reformer* (*died* 1605).—Novum Testamentum, cujus Græco Contextui respondent Interpretationes duæ; una, vetus, altera Theodori Bezæ. Ejusdem T. Bezæ annotationes, &c. Cantab. 1642. folio.—Confessio Christianæ Fidei, per T. Bezam. Vezel. 1560.

Beza infers from 1 Cor. xvi. 2, and Acts xx. 7, that "Christians were even then accustomed to hold their larger assemblies on the first day of the week, as the Jews did in the synagogue on the Sabbath." This, he supposes, they did in order to shew that the Fourth Commandment was ceremonial as far as it regarded the Sabbath-day and the legal services, but that, as regards the worship of God, it was a precept of the perpetual and unchanging moral law. For the Sabbath-day, which, he thinks, existed from the creation of the world to the resurrection of Christ, the Lord's-day, was by reason of this event ("undoubtedly," says he, "under the direction of the Holy Spirit,") substituted by the apostles. "Therefore," he adds, "the religious assemblies of the Lord's-day are of apostolical and truly divine tradition, yet so that a Judaical rest from all work is by no means to be observed; since this were plainly not to abolish Judaism, but only to change what respected the day. Afterwards, however, cessation from labour was introduced by the Emperor Constantine, as appears from Eusebius and the laws of the emperor in the Code, and was more and more strictly enforced by the succeeding emperors; until at last, what was at first instituted for a good purpose, and is still deservedly retained—namely, that the mind, freed from daily labours, should give itself wholly up to the hearing of the word of God—came to degenerate into mere Judaism, or rather the vainest will-worship, innumerable other holy-days having been added to it." (Note on Rev. i. 10.) See also his notes on Mark ii. 28, Rom. xiv. 5, and 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

In his Confession of Faith, ch. v. § 41, p. 222, he writes more vaguely about the origin of Sunday-observance. "We declare it superstitious," says he, "to believe that one day is more holy than another, and that resting from daily labours is in itself pleasing to God. Nevertheless we keep holy one day in seven, as the Lord has commanded; that is, we devote it entirely to the holding of assemblies and hearing the word of God, but without any Jewish ceremony or foolish superstition; on which account also we follow the custom of the ancient Church, in choosing for that purpose, not the Sabbath, but the Lord's-day."

42. ZANCHIUS, HIERONYMUS, *a German Reformer* (*died* 1590).—Opera Omnia Theologica. 1613. 8 vols. fol.

See vol. iii. p. 538, De Operibus Dei, Part II. B. i. ch. 1, § 30; vol. iv. pp. 647–856, In Quartum Præceptum; and, on the same subject, vol. viii. pp. 687–690, Compendium præcipuorum capitum Doctrinæ Christianæ.

43. CRANMER, THOMAS, *Archbishop of Canterbury, a leading English Reformer* (*burnt at Oxford* 1555).—Remains, collected and arranged by the Rev. H. Jenkins. Oxf. 1833. 4 vols. 8vo. (See his Confutation of Unwritten Verities, in vol. iv. pp. 232-4.)—Miscellaneous Writings and Letters, edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. John Edmund Cox, M.A. Camb. 1846. (See p. 60.)—A Short Instruction into Christian Religion, being a Catechism set forth by Archbishop Cranmer in 1548; together with the same in Latin, translated from the German by Justus Jonas in 1539. Oxf. 1829. 8vo.

In the Confutation of Unwritten Verities, he thus replies to the argument that since the Church has without challenge shifted the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday, thus altering the law of God, much more has it authority to make *new* laws for things necessary to salvation:—

"There be two parts of the Sabbath-day: one is the outward bodily rest from all manner of labour and work; this is mere ceremonial, and was taken away with other sacrifices and ceremonies by Christ at the preaching of the Gospel. The other part of the Sabbath-day is the inward rest, or ceasing from sin, from our own wills and lusts, and to do only God's will and commandments. . . . This spiritual Sabbath, that is, to abstain from sin, and to do good, are all men bound to keep all the days of their life, and not only on the Sabbath-day. And this spiritual Sabbath may no man alter nor change, no, not the whole Church.

"That the outer observance of the Sabbath is mere ceremonial, Saint Paul writeth plainly, as that the holy days of the new moon and of the sabbath-days are nothing but shadows of things to come.

"And that the outward bodily rest is a mere ceremonial precept Saint Austin also affirmeth, saying that among all the ten commandments this only that is spoken of the Sabbath is commanded figuratively, but all the other commandments we must observe plainly, as they be commanded, without any figure of speech. (To January, *Epist.* 119.)

"Jerome also, to the Galatians iv., according to the same, saith; 'Lest the congregation of the people without good order should

diminish the faith in Christ, therefore certain days were appointed, wherein we should come together: not that that day is holier than the others in which we come together, but that whatsoever day we assemble in, there might arise greater joy by the sight of one of us to another.'" (*Remains*, iv. 232-3.)

See pp. 39-45 of the Catechism, in regard to the Fourth Commandment. An extract will be found in James, 229; or Cox, 289.

The views of the English Reformers about the Sabbath are discussed by Heylin, Part II. ch. viii. §§ 1—6; Morer, 296-300; Coleman, 551; James, 220-243; Cox, 282, 287-292.

44. FRITH, JOHN; and TYNDALE, WILLIAM; *English Reformers* (*burnt in* 1533 *and* 1536).—The Works of Tyndale and Frith, edited by Thomas Russell, A.M. Lond. 1831. 3 vols. 8vo.

See Frith's Declaration of Baptism, near the end, in vol. iii. pp. 294-5; quoted by Heylin, Part II. ch. viii. § 1; James, 221; Cox, 287: Also Tyndale's Answer to Sir Thomas More, ch. 25, quoted by Heylin, *loc. cit.*; James, 220; Cox, 287. Tyndale's book has been edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. H. Walter. Camb. 1850; of which edition, see p. 97.

45. HOOPER, JOHN, *an eminent Reformer, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester* (*burnt in* 1554).—A Declaration of the Ten Holy Commandments of Almighty God. 1548.

Reprinted with additions in 1550, and again without date about 1588; and included in his Early Writings, edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. Samuel Carr, M.A., Camb. 1843, 8vo. The following is an extract:—

"That man and beast therefore might breathe and have repose, this Sabbath was instituted, not only that the body should be restored unto strength, and made able to sustain the travails of the week to come; but also that the soul and spirit of man, while the body is at rest, might upon the Sabbath learn and know so the blessed will of his Maker, that not only it cease from the labour and adversity of sin, but also by God's grace receive such strength and force in the contemplation of God's most merciful promise, that it may be able to sustain all the troubles of temptation in the week that followeth. For as the body, being always oppressed with labour, loseth his strength, and so perisheth; so doth the mind of man, oppressed with the cares and pleasures of this world, lose all her force, lust, and desire, that she had to the rest to come of eternal life, and so dieth not only the death of sin, but hasteth, what she can, to hate and abhor all virtue.

"Almighty God, therefore, not only in his commandments, but also at the first creation of the world, sanctified the seventh day, Gen. ii.; that is to say, appointed it to an holy use, or separated

it from other days, wherein men travail in the business of this world. So is the meaning of this Hebrew phrase, or manner of speech: as ye may read, Joshua, chap. xx. (ver. 7), 'Sanctificaverunt Kades in Galilea;' that is to say, 'They sanctified Kades in Galilea.' It is as much to say in English, they chose or appointed the city of Kades to be a refuge or sanctuary for murderers, to be safe there till the cause of the murderer might be known. Howbeit, ye may not think that God gave any more holiness to the Sabbath than to the other days: for if ye consider Friday and Saturday, Saturday or Sunday, inasmuch as they be days and the work of God, the one is no more holy than the other. Cod. lib. iii. tit. 12, *de Feriis*. But that day is always most holy in the which we most apply and give ourselves unto holy works. To that end he sanctified the Sabbath-day; not that we should give ourselves to idleness, or such ethnical pastime as is now used among Christian people; but, being free that day from the travails of this world, we might consider the works and benefits of God with thanksgiving; hear the word and law of God, honour him and fear him; then to learn who and where be the poor of Christ, our brothers in necessity, that wanteth our help.

"Thirdly, the Sabbath hitherunto from the beginning of the world was and is a type and figure of the eternal and everlasting rest that is to come, as St Paul diligently sheweth in the Epistle to the Hebrews, cap. 4; so doth St Augustine, lib. 2, cap. 31, *De Civit.* Such as believed the promise of God declared by Moses, were led by Joshua the prince into Palestina and rested in Canaan; such as hear the word of God and obeyeth it, shall be carried into the celestial heavens by Jesus Christ and rest in eternal joy." (*Early Writings*, p. 338–9.)

Again: "Although the ceremony of the Sabbath be taken away, Col. ii., which appertained only unto the people and commonwealth of the Hebrews, yet one day of the week to preserve and use the word of God and his sacraments is not abrogated." (P. 341.)

Hooper translates the Fourth Commandment thus: "The seventh day is rest unto God thy Lord," &c.; and he explains God's "blessing" the day to mean "made it honourable."

To the argument of the Roman Catholics, above noticed, he replies very differently from Cranmer:—

"This Sunday that we observe is not the commandment of man, as many say, that would, under the pretence of this one law, bind the Church of Christ to all other laws that men hath ungodly prescribed unto the Church; but it is by express words commanded that we should observe this day (the Sunday) for our Sabbath, as the words of St Paul declareth, 1 Cor. xvi. 2, commanding every man to appoint his alms for the poor in the Sunday. The text saith, 'In one of the sabbaths.' It is an Hebrew phrase, and is as much to say as 'in the Sunday,' as ye may read the same manner of speech, Luke xxiv. 1, and John xx. 1. Of the women that came to the sepulchre to anoint the dead body of Christ, Luke saith, 'In one of the sabbaths, early, they came to the sepulchre;' and so saith John by the same words: the which was the Sunday, as

no man doubteth. For it is our faith that Christ rose the third day." (P. 342.)

No other writer on the Sabbath has found in 1 Cor. xvi. 2, an express commandment that Christians should observe the Sunday as a Sabbath; and in truth, many see in it nothing more than an injunction to the members of the church at Corinth to lay by them in store at home, on the first day of the week, contributions for certain destitute Christians at Jerusalem; so that, at Paul's coming, each might have a gradually accumulated sum of money by him, ready to be delivered up at once—instead of waiting for his arrival, and then running about endeavouring to collect a sufficient sum from debtors who might not at the moment be able to pay. (Neander, *Hist. of the Planting of the Church*, i. 158; Domville, i. 101, 162, 184; Cox, 523.) By Chrysostom, in his homily on the passage, not only is there no mention of the Sabbath in connection with the apostle's injunction, but even the now prevalent notion that public collections at church-meetings were intended is strongly discountenanced. St Paul, he observes, bade each one of them "lay up in store by himself" on the first day of the week. "He said not, 'Let him bring it into the church,' lest they might feel ashamed of the smallness of the sum; but, 'having by gradual addition swelled his contribution, let him then produce it when I am come; but for the present lay it up,' saith he, 'at home, and make thine house a church, thy little box a treasury. Become a guardian of sacred wealth, a self-ordained steward of the poor. Thy benevolent mind assigns to thee this priesthood.'" The words, "that there be no gatherings when I come," Chrysostom expounds as meaning, "that ye may not, when the season is come for paying in contributions, just then be compelled to collect them." (*The Homilies of S. John Chrysostom on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp. 606, 608; Oxf. 1839.)

46. Becon, Thomas, *Chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer* (*died about* 1570).—The Catechism of Thomas Becon, &c., edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. John Ayre, M.A. Cambridge, 1844. (See pp. 80–83.)

47. Formularies of Faith put forth by Authority during the Reign of Henry VIII.: viz. Articles about Religion, 1536; The Institution of a Christian Man, 1537; A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, 1543. Oxf. 1825.

As to the Lord's Day, see pp. 142, 306, of this collection, and the remarks of Heylin in Part II. ch. vii. § 13.

48. The Liturgy of the Church of England. 1552.

The Fourth Commandment, with the people's response, "Incline

our hearts to keep this law," was now introduced. Regarding the sense in which it was intended to be understood, much discussion has taken place; the Evangelical party maintaining that by thus employing the commandment the Church proclaims the obligation of the Sabbath on Christians—while Arnold and others hold, "that, in using the Fourth Commandment in the Church service, the Reformers meant it to be understood as enforcing to us simply the duty of worshipping God, and devoting some portion of time to his honour; the particular portion so devoted, and the manner of observing it, being points to be fixed by the Church." (*Life of Arnold*, ii. 209, 5th ed.; quoted, with other observations of his on the subject, by Cox, 281–2, 221.) Dr Arnold lays much stress on the fact, that, in the Catechism of the Church of England, our "duty towards God," which is expressly given as a summary of the first four commandments to us *as Christians*, says not one word about the Sabbath, but mentions simply loving God, worshipping him, and serving him truly *all the days* of our life.

The view adopted by Arnold is maintained by Heylin, Part II. ch. viii. § 3 (quoted by Cox, 291); and opposed by James, 233, and by Conder in the *Eclect. Rev.*, June 1830, p. 489. See also Jortin's *Works*, xii. 419; Coleman, 551; Bannerman, 277.

49. Sermons or Homilies appointed to be read in Churches in the time of Queen Elizabeth of famous memory. (Originally published in 1562.)

The Homily of the Place and Time of Prayer will be found at pp. 285–295 of the Oxford edition of 1802. See, respecting it, Heylin, Part II. ch. viii. §§ 5–7; Bramhall, 931; James, 235–9; Domville, i. 61; Hook, 80. Concerning the Homilies generally, see Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, Lond. 1694, p. 148.

50. A Sermon preached at Paul's Cross on Sunday the ninth of December 1576. By T. W. Lond. 1578.

Mr J. Payne Collier, in his *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, Lond. 1831, i. 229, quotes a curious passage from this Puritan production, loudly complaining of the prevalent violation of the Sabbath, and making no distinction between innocent and demoralizing recreations. It is repeated by Cox, 294.

51. NORTHBROOKE, JOHN, *an English minister.*—A Treatise wherein Dicing, Dancing, vain Plays or Interludes, with other Pastimes commonly used upon the Sabbath-days, are by the Word of God and ancient writers reproved. Lond. 1579.

52. ROBARTES, HUMPHREY.—Complaint for Reformation of divers vain and wicked abused Exercises practised on the Sabbath-day, which tend to the Hindrance of the Gospel and Increase of many abominable Vices. Lond. 1580. 8vo.

53. FIELD, JOHN, *a Puritan minister* (*died* 1587).—God's Judgment shewed at Paris Garden, 13th Jan. 1583, being the Sabbath-day, at bear-baiting, at the meeting of above 1000 persons, whereof divers were slain, most maimed and hurt; set out with an Exhortation for the better observation of the Sabbath. Lond. 1583. 8vo.

See Cox, 293, 450–6. There is a biography of Field in Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, i. 318.

54. STUBBS, PHILIP.—The Anatomy of Abuses. Lond. 1583.

This severe censor of the vices and follies of his age, teaches that "we must not spend the seventh day in such vain exercises as please ourselves, but in such godly exercises as God in his holy word hath commanded." Among divers fearful examples of God's judgments, he narrates one which fell upon the profaners of the Sabbath. Theatrical entertainments, and even playing at foot-ball, are proscribed by him as "devilish pastimes." "Any exercise," says he, "which withdraweth us from godliness, either upon the Sabbath or any other days, is wicked, and to be forbidden. Now, who is so grossly blind that seeth not that these aforesaid exercises not only withdraw us from godliness and virtue, but also hail and allure us to wickedness and sin: for as concerning foot-ball playing, I protest unto you it may rather be called a friendly kind of fight than a play or recreation; a bloody and murdering practice, than a fellowly sport or pastime."

55. GREENHAM, RICHARD, *a celebrated Puritan minister* (*died* 1591).—A Treatise of the Sabbath; in his Works, pp. 158–201. Lond. 1601. fol.

A well-written treatise, less austere than the productions of some later Puritans on the Sabbath. He maintains that the Fourth Commandment is a moral law, binding on Christians; and replies to "the wicked heretics" of his time, who denied its obligation. To the objection that the changing of the day by the apostles proves it not to be moral, he answers: "It was never commanded nor appointed what one certain day should be kept among seven,

but that there should be observed a seventh day, which being kept, it is sufficient, and the law remaineth unviolated. And yet," he adds, "we permit not that any man at his pleasure should now change this day. For that which the apostles did, they did not as private men, but as men guided by the spirit of God; they did it for the avoiding of superstition, wherewith the Jews had infected it. Again, as the Jews used the other day, which is the last day of the week, because it was the day wherein the Lord made all things perfect; so the apostles changed it into the day of Christ's resurrection, who was the beginner of the new world, on which day we received a more full fruit and possession of all the benefits in Christ's conception, birth, life, and death. Besides, this was the first day of the creation of the world, wherein the Lord drew light out of darkness. Lastly, the Holy Ghost is said on this day to come down upon the holy apostles. So that this day doth fitly put us in mind of our creation, to be thankful to God the Father; of our redemption, to be thankful to God the Son; and of our sanctification, to be thankful to God the Holy Ghost. Now, if any can allege more effectual or equal reasons unto these, he may alter the day, so it be with the consent of the Church. Wherefore, the equity of the law remaining, it is not abrogated." (Pp. 185-6.) Though regarding Sunday harvest-work, on the ground of Exod. xxxiv. 21, as highly sinful, he permits "not only things needful to the life of man, but also things convenient to the use and comfort of man, as the dressing of convenient meats, whereby a man may be made more cheerful in the duties of sanctification; so that both in using them we refresh and not oppress ourselves, and in preparing them we use the times before, after, or between the public exercise." (P. 192.) He opposes recreations on the Sabbath-day, but allows it to be a fit time for marriage, "because on that day, as it is a day of rejoicing, there is a more lawful liberty of speech, and a more liberal use of cheerful behaviour. Howbeit, let them not on that day, if they marry, make their solemn cheer; but seeing they may have a convenient company some other day, let them either both marry and feast some other day, or marry on the Lord's day and feast another." (P. 198.)

Greenham treats of the Sabbath also in chap. 68 of his Godly Instructions for the Due Examination and Direction of all men to the attaining and retaining of Faith and a Good Conscience. (*Works*, pp. 432-6.)

56. HOOKER, RICHARD, *a very learned English divine, commonly styled "the judicious Hooker" (died* 1600).—Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. London, 1594.

This great work is well known as the ablest defence of the form, discipline, and ceremonies of the Church of England. The parts of it requiring notice are Book V., § 69, "Of festival days, and the natural causes of their convenient institution;"

§ 70, "The manner of celebrating festival days;" and § 71, "Exceptions against our keeping of other festival days besides the Sabbath." From these sections we shall extract the passages which bear particularly on the observance of the Lord's Day:—

"The sanctification of days and times is a token of that thankfulness, and a pattern of that public honour, which we owe to God for admirable benefits, whereof it doth not suffice that we keep a secret calendar, taking thereby our private occasions as we list ourselves to think how much God hath done for all men; but the days which are chosen out to serve as public memorials of such his mercies, ought to be clothed with those outward robes of holiness, whereby their difference from other days may be made sensible. But because time in itself, as hath been already proved, can receive no alteration; the hallowing of festival-days must consist in the shape or countenance which we put upon the affairs that are incident unto those days. 'This is the day which the Lord hath made (saith the prophet David); let us rejoice and be glad in it.' So that generally offices and duties of religious joy are that wherein the hallowing of festival times consisteth. The most natural testimonies of our rejoicing in God are, first, his praises set forth with cheerful alacrity of mind; secondly, our comfort and delight expressed by a charitable largeness of somewhat more than common bounty; thirdly, sequestration from ordinary labours, the toils and cares whereof are not meet to be companions of such gladness. Festival solemnity, therefore, is nothing but the due mixture, as it were, of these three elements, praise, bounty, and rest. . . . . Let us not here take rest for idleness. They are idle, whom the painfulness of action causeth to avoid those labours whereunto both God and nature bindeth them; they rest, which either cease from their work when they have brought it unto perfection, or else give over a meaner labour, because a worthier and better is to be undertaken. God hath created nothing to be idle or ill employed. As therefore man doth consist of different and distinct parts, every part endued with manifold abilities, which all have their several ends and actions thereunto referred; so there is in this great variety of duties which belong to men, that dependency and order, by means whereof the lower sustaining always the more excellent, and the higher perfecting the more base, they are in their times and seasons continued with most exquisite correspondence. Labours of bodily and daily toil, purchase freedom for actions of religious joy, which benefit these actions requite with the gift of desired rest; a thing most natural and fit to accompany the solemn festival duties of honour which are done to God. . . . . Even nature hath taught the heathens, and God the Jews, and Christ us, first, that festival solemnities are a part of the public exercise of religion; secondly, that praise, liberality, and rest, are as natural elements whereof solemnities consist. But these things the heathens converted to the honour of their false gods: and, as they failed in the end itself, so neither could they discern rightly what form and measure religion therein should observe. Whereupon, when the Israelites

impiously followed so corrupt example, they are in every degree noted to have done amiss; their hymns or songs of praise were idolatry; their bounty, excess; and their rest, wantonness. Therefore, the law of God, which appointed them days of solemnity, taught them likewise in what manner the same should be celebrated. . . . But forasmuch as their law by the coming of Christ is changed, and we thereunto no way bound, St Paul, although it were not his purpose to favour invectives against the special sanctification of days and times to the service of God, and to the honour of Jesus Christ, doth notwithstanding bend his forces against that opinion which imposed on the Gentiles the yoke of Jewish legal observations, as if the whole world ought for ever, and that upon pain of condemnation, to keep and observe the same. Such as in this persuasion hallowed those Jewish sabbaths, the apostle sharply reproveth, saying, 'Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years; I am in fear of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain.' (Gal. iv. 10.) Howbeit, so far off was Tertullian from imagining how any man could possibly hereupon call in question such days as the church of Christ doth observe,* that the observation of these days he useth for an argument whereby to prove, it could not be the apostle's intent and meaning to condemn simply all observing of such times. Generally, therefore, touching feasts in the church of Christ, they have that profitable use whereof St Augustine speaketh, 'By festival solemnities and set days, we dedicate and sanctify to God the memory of His benefits, lest unthankful forgetfulness thereof should creep upon us in course of time.' (Aug. *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xvi. cap. 4.) And concerning particulars, their sabbath the church hath changed into our Lord's day; that as the one did continually bring to mind the former world finished by creation, so the other might keep us in perpetual remembrance of a far better world, begun by Him which came to restore all things, to make both heaven and earth new. For which cause they honoured the last day, we the first, in every seven throughout the year. . . . . The very law of nature itself, which all men confess to be God's law, requireth in general no less the sanctification of times, than of places, persons, and things, unto God's honour. For which cause it hath pleased him heretofore, as of the rest, so of times likewise, to exact some parts by way of perpetual homage, never to be dispensed withal, nor remitted: again, to require some other parts of time with as strict exaction, but for less continuance; and of the rest which were left arbitary, to accept what the church shall in due consideration consecrate voluntarily unto like religious uses. Of the first kind, amongst the Jews, was the sabbath-day; of the second, those feasts which are appointed by the law of Moses; the feast of Dedication, invented by the church, standeth in the number of the last kind. The moral law requiring therefore a seventh part throughout the

* "Si omnem in totum devotionem temporum et dierum et mensium et annorum erasit apostolus, cur pascha celebramus annuo circulo in mense primo? Cur quinquaginta exinde diebus in omni exultatione decurrimus?" (*Lib. advers. Psych.*)

age of the whole world to be that way employed, although with us the day be changed, in regard of a new revolution begun by our Saviour Christ; yet the same proportion of time continueth which was before, because in reference to the benefit of creation, and now much more of renovation thereunto added by him which was Prince of the world to come, we are bound to account the sanctification of one day in seven a duty which God's immutable law doth exact for ever." (§ 70.)

"Touching those festival-days therefore which we now observe, their number being no way felt discommodious to the commonwealth, and their grounds such as hitherto have been shewed; what remaineth, but to keep them throughout all generations holy, severed by manifest notes of differences from other times, adorned with that which most may betoken true, virtuous, and celestial joy? To which intent, because surcease from labour is necessary, yet not so necessary, no, not on the sabbath or seventh day itself, but that rarer occasions in men's particular affairs subject to manifest detriment unless they be presently followed, may with very good conscience draw them sometimes aside from the ordinary rule, considering the favourable dispensation which our Lord and Saviour groundeth on this axiom, 'Man was not made for the sabbath, but the sabbath ordained for man,' so far forth as concerneth ceremonies annexed to the principal sanctification thereof, howsoever the rigour of the law of Moses may be thought to import the contrary," &c. (§ 71.)

57. CRUSIUS, MARTIN, *a learned German scholar, (died* 1607).—Corona Anni; hoc est, Explicatio Evangeliorum et Epistolarum quæ Diebus Dominicis et Festis in Ecclesia proponuntur. Witteb. 1603. 4 vols. fol.

58. Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, agreed upon at London, A.D. 1603; Canon 13, on the Due Celebration of Sundays and Holy-days. Lond. 1604.

It is here ordered that "All manner of persons within the Church of England shall from henceforth celebrate and keep the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, and other holy days, according to God's holy will and pleasure, and the orders of the Church of England, prescribed in that behalf: *i. e.*, in hearing the Word of God read and taught, in private and public prayers, in acknowledging their offences to God, and amendment of the same, in reconciling themselves charitably to their neighbours where displeasure had been, in oftentimes receiving the communion of the body and blood of Christ, in visiting of the poor and sick, using all godly and sober conversation." Thus far the Convocation followed the statute 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 3 (which see in the Statutes at Large, or Wilkins' *Concilia*, iv. 24; and which is quoted by Heylin, Part II. ch. viii.

§ 2; Morer, 296; Neale, 184; and Cox, 282): but they omitted the dispensation which it contained in favour of work in harvest, "leaving the same," says Heylin, "to stand or fall by the statute of King Edward VI., before remembered. A canon of an excellent composition; for, by enjoining godly and sober conversation, and diligent repair to church, to hear the Word of God and receive the Sacrament, they stopped the course of that profaneness which formerly had been complained of. And by their ranking of the holy days in equal place and height with Sunday, and limiting the celebration of the same unto the orders in that case prescribed by the Church of England, showed plainly their dislike of those Sabbath doctrines which had been lately set on foot, to the dishonour of the Church, and diminution of her authority, in destinating other days to the service of God than their new Saint Sabbath."

59. Loeus, Robertus, *Exoniensis Ecclesiæ Thesaurarius.*—Effigiatio veri Sabbathismi. Lond. 1605. 4to. Pp. 197.

This work is dedicated to James I. It considers, first, how far the law of the Sabbath is ceremonial, and how far perpetual and moral; next, at what time the institution first began; thirdly, "by what reasons the Church was induced to substitute another day for that which God had sanctified, and which had so long been religiously observed by pious men;" fourthly, how much truth there is in the opinion of those who think that all days ought to be observed by Christians as Sabbaths; and lastly, what is the best mode of spending the Sabbath-day. In the opinion of the author, the observance of the Sabbath began with the Law, although the seventh day might be *destined* at the creation to be in due time set apart. In discussing with what kind of gladness it should be observed, he holds that neither reason nor religion forbids the mirthful celebration of public feasts (*convivia publica*) on days dedicated to God; and that, as we cannot without fatigue engage the whole day in religious exercises, some amount of recreation of the mind is allowable.

60. Bownd (or Bound), Nicolas, D.D., *a clergyman of the Church of England, at Norton, in Suffolk* (*died* 1607).—Sabbathum Veteris et Novi Testamenti: or, The True Doctrine of the Sabbath, held and practised of the Church of God, both before and under the Law, and in the time of the Gospel: Plainly laid forth and soundly proved by testimonies both of Holy Scripture, and also of old and new Ecclesiastical Writers, Fathers and Councils, and Laws of all sorts, both civil, canon,

and common. Declaring first from what things God would have us straitly to rest upon the Lord's Day, and then by what means we ought publicly and privately to sanctify the same. Together with the sundry Abuses of men in both these kinds, and how they ought to be reformed. Divided into two Books by NICOLAS BOWND, Doctor of Divinity; and now by him the second time perused, and enlarged with an Interpretation of sundry points belonging to the Sabbath, and a more ample proof of such things as have been gainsaid or doubted of by some Divines of our time, and a more full Answer unto certain objections made against the same: with some other things not impertinent to this argument. London, 1606. 4to, pp. 479.

In the treatise bearing this long title, the Sabbatarian opinions of the Puritans, which afterwards found more precise expression in the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, and are now maintained by the Evangelical sects in this country, were for the first time broadly and prominently asserted in Christendom.

The book appeared originally in 1595; afterwards an abridgment of it was published; and in 1606 the enlarged edition above mentioned came forth. A summary of its contents may be seen in Heylin, Part II. ch. viii. § 7 (Cox, 303); Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, B. I. Cent. xvi. §§ 20, 21; or Collier's *Eccl. Hist. of Great Britain*, ii. 643 (Lond., 1714). Heylin and Collier, following Thomas Rogers in his *Preface to the Articles*, regard its publication as a blow cunningly dealt by the Puritans to weaken the Church of England, "by beating down all the days and times which, by the wisdom and authority of the Church, had been appointed for God's service, and in the stead thereof erecting a Sabbath of their own devising." But, allowing that they saw clearly enough the tendency of their doctrine to diminish the respect of the people for ecclesiastical authority, a strict impartiality demands that we should take a wider view of the position and motives of Dr Bound and his party. The Fourth Commandment, be it remembered, had for about forty years been regularly repeated in the services of the Church, while the people had as regularly been led to invoke the Divine aid to enable them "to keep *this law*." Must it not have happened, then, that very many serious and conscientious worshippers, reflecting on the law which they were thus taught to regard as obligatory on them in the obvious meaning of its words, and finding in it the express appointment of a weekly day of rest, but no appointment, either express or implied, of *other* holidays, concluded that the Lord's Day, on which they were accustomed to cease from labour and attend to religious matters, was the very Sabbath appointed in the commandment;

and that to add to the observance of this divine institution the religious keeping of holidays unwarranted by the law of God, was a superstitious and sinful thing? If this was Judaism, as Heylin represents it to have been, the originators of the Judaism were those who, with whatever design, inserted the commandment in the Liturgy, and in appearance authorized the worshippers to regard it as, without any qualification or limitation, an injunction to Christians.

"It is almost incredible," says Fuller, "how taking this doctrine was, partly because of its own purity, and partly for the eminent piety of such persons as maintained it; so that the Lord's Day, especially in corporations, began to be precisely kept, people becoming a law to themselves, forbearing such sports as yet by statute permitted; yea, many rejoicing at their own restraint herein. On this day the stoutest fencer laid down the buckler; the most skilful archer unbent his bow, counting all shooting beside the mark; May-games and morris-dances grew out of request; and good reason that bells should be silenced from jingling about men's legs, if their very ringing in steeples were adjudged unlawful. Some of them were ashamed of their former pleasures, like children, which, grown bigger, blush themselves out of their rattles and whistles. Others forbore them for fear of their superiors; and many left them off out of a politic compliance, lest otherwise they should be accounted licentious.

"Yet learned men were much divided in their judgments about these Sabbatarian doctrines. Some embraced them as ancient truths consonant to Scripture, long disused and neglected, now seasonably revived for the increase of piety. Others conceived them grounded on a wrong bottom; but, because they tended to the manifest advance of religion, it was pity to oppose them, seeing none have just reason to complain, being deceived into their own good. But a third sort flatly fell out with these positions, as galling men's necks with a Jewish yoke, against the liberty of Christians; that Christ, as Lord of the Sabbath, had removed the rigour thereof, and allowed men lawful recreations; that this doctrine put an unequal lustre on the Sunday on set purpose to eclipse all other holy days, to the derogation of the authority of the Church; that this strict observance was set up out of faction to be a character of difference, to brand all for libertines who did not entertain it."

After some delay, during which the new doctrine spread thus rapidly, attempts were made by Archbishop Whitgift in 1599, and by Lord Chief Justice Popham in 1600, to call in and suppress the book; but the opposition of a prelate so odious to the Puritans, and of a judge to whose decision of a theological controversy they could not be expected to bow, had the usual effect of drawing more general attention to the subject, and enlisting in favour of the Puritans and their views the sympathy of many who smarted under the civil or ecclesiastical tyranny of the times. "The price of the Doctor's book," says Fuller, "began to be doubled: as, commonly, books are then most called on when called in, and

many who hear not of them when printed inquire after them when prohibited; and though the book's wings were clipped from flying abroad in print, it ran the faster from friend to friend in transcribed copies; and the Lord's Day in most places was most strictly observed. . . . Yea, six years after, Bound's book came forth, with enlargements, publicly sold; and scarce any comment, catechism, or controversy was set forth by the stricter divines, wherein this doctrine (the diamond in this ring) was not largely pressed and proved; so that, as one saith, the Sabbath itself had no rest. For now, all strange and unknown writers, without further examination, passed for friends and favourites of the Presbyterian party, who could give the word, and had anything in their treatise tending to the strict observation of the Lord's Day."

"This book," says Disraeli, "has hitherto eluded all my inquiries; yet it may be considered as the source of those conflicting opinions which, in the subsequent reigns of James and Charles, so long agitated the nation, respecting the mode in which Sunday should be observed, whether with the rigour of a Jewish Sabbath, or with the recreations of a Christian holiday?" (*Life of Charles* I., ii. 17; Lond. 1851.) As I have seen a copy of it in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, where Mr Disraeli doubtless tried to find it, his failure may have arisen from looking for "Bound" instead of "Bownd" in the Catalogue. The former way of spelling is employed by all who have written about the book, while the Bodleian Catalogue adheres to the original orthography. There is a copy also in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.

Bound differs from many subsequent writers of the Puritan or Evangelical School, in teaching that the Gentiles "knew not the institution of the seventh day, much less did they keep it; . . . . nay they did altogether so hate the only true holy day, that neither would they observe it themselves, and also mocked the Jews for observing it; as the prophet complaineth, speaking of the desolation of Jerusalem: 'the adversaries saw her, and did mock at her sabbaths' (Jere., Lam. i. 7)." However, that even the Gentiles, who were ignorant of the law of Moses, "of themselves erected other days, which they appointed to a holy and religious use, evidently declareth," says he, "that the law of the Sabbath was so deeply graven in the heart of man at the first by God himself, that howsoever the fruit of it was by the fall of Adam, and by sin growing in the posterity, greatly mangled and defaced, so that it could not be read, yet it was not so wholly razed out, but that some deformed scratches and (as it were) scars did appear. And therefore, though they could not attain to the knowledge of the day, much less to the true manner of sanctifying it, without the Word; yet that there should be a day differing from others in use, sequestered from the common affairs of the world, and consecrated to the worship of God, this was that which did evidently and most clearly show itself to them, whether they would or no. Herein therefore I agree with the schoolman who saith, 'That the commandment of sanctifying the Sabbath is partly

moral: moral, in as much as a man doth appoint a certain time of his life to attend upon heavenly things; for there is a natural inclination in man to depute a certain time for every necessary thing, as for the receiving of his meat, for sleep, and for other such things; and therefore he doth, according to the direction of natural reason, appoint a certain time for his spiritual refreshing, whereby his soul is refreshed in God.' *Thom. Aquin.*, 2, Quæst. 122, art. 4." (Pp. 22, 23.)

Beasts, he thinks, are mentioned in the Fourth Commandment, "not that the Lord had any care of them in giving his law (to whom it doth not appertain), but having a singular regard for his people, and therefore taking away from among them all things that might be any occasion to withdraw them from the obedience of this rest, even the working of cattle." (P. 177.)

The ringing of more than one bell to call people to church, he holds to be sinful (p. 202); on which subject Rogers says in his *Preface to the Articles*: "It was preached in Suffolk (I can name the man, and I was present when he was convented before his Ordinary for preaching the same), that to ring more bells than one upon the Lord's Day to call the people into church, is as great a sin as to commit murder."

Bound allows the cooking of meat on Sunday (pp. 202-3, 205): "We permit," says he, "not only things needful to the life of man, but also such as are convenient to the use and comfort of man; as the dressing of convenient meats, whereby a man may be made more cheerful in the duties of sanctification: so that both in using them we refresh and not oppress ourselves, and in preparing them we use the time before, after, or between, the public exercises." (P. 205.) What follows is laughed at by Heylin as something introduced to render Sabbatarianism more acceptable to people of quality: "Concerning the feasts of noblemen and great personages, or their ordinary diet upon this day (which in comparison may be called feasts), because they represent in some measure the majesty of God on the earth, in carrying the image as it were of the magnificence and puissance of the Lord, in so much that they are called gods (Psal. lxxxii. 6), much is to be granted unto them: yet they must remember, that as the Lord hath advanced them, so they are to advance the Lord's worship; and as they be nearest to God, so God must be nearest to them in their houses and circuits." (P. 211.)

All works of necessity he of course allows; but "let us not," he adds, "imagine a necessity" (pp. 213–225). The labour of harvest and hay seed time is held to be unlawful on Sunday (p. 226).

Among many instances adduced of God's judgments on Sabbath-breakers, is a wonderful case of a certain nobleman who, for hunting upon the holy day, was punished by having a child with a head like a dog's, "that in this lamentable spectacle he might see his grievous sin, in preferring his dogs and his delight in them before the service of God" (pp. 253–4). As to Sunday amusements he says: "Upon the Lord's Day we ought to rest from all honest recreations and lawful delights, . . . because

we cannot have the present delight in the use of them, and yet at the same time be occupied in the hearing of the word, and such other parts of God's holy worship and service as he requireth of us upon the Sabbath-day" (p. 262). "Notwithstanding," he proceeds, "I am not of that mind (neither would I be so mistaken) to think that men should never take their delight, and that all recreations were sinful; I am not so stoical to bind men only unto things of necessity, seeing the Lord of his great mercy hath given so many for pleasure: be it far from me that I should lay any heavier burthen upon any man than the Lord himself hath laid: for I know 'that to all things there is an appointed time, and a time to every purpose under the sun' (Eccl. iii. 1). But as in the former treatise we did not condemn the works of men's callings because we judged them unlawful upon the day of rest; nay, we held them commendable and necessary, and therefore would have men faithfully to travail in them upon the six days, that so they might rest from them upon the seventh, when they have done all their work before: so in determining that we must give over then our ordinary recreations, we do not conclude that they should altogether be left, but advise men rather to take them at some other time; and we do exhort them that be in government to give some time to their children and servants, for their honest recreation, upon other days, that they be not driven to take it upon this, seeing they can no more want it altogether than their ordinary food. And as we have seen that they are bound to give them some time to work for themselves, unless they will, by their over-much straitness, compel them to it, upon the day of rest; so must they spare also some few hours for their refreshing now and then, seeing they can no more want the one than the other." (Pp. 271–2.)

He agrees with Zanchius, that days are called holy because "appointed for holy things, uses, and exercises," and not because they are themselves susceptible of any quality of holiness (p. 289).

His notions of religious liberty appear from the following remarks:—"It behoveth all kings, princes, and rulers that profess the true religion to enact such laws, and to see them diligently executed, whereby the honour of God in hallowing these days might be maintained. . . . And indeed this is the chiefest end of all government, that men might not profess what religion they list, and serve God after what manner it pleaseth them best; but that the parts of God's true worship might be set up everywhere, and all men compelled to stoop unto it, and make profession of it at leastwise in the outward discipline of the Church; that so thereby we might live more peaceably ourselves, and do more duties unto men." (Pp. 465, 467–8.) Bound, it is plain, had no suspicion that by this doctrine he was authorizing no less the severities so long practised on the Puritans themselves in England and Scotland, than those which the Puritans, during their brief ascendency, employed against the High Churchmen and others of their fellow-Protestants. So true is it, as Bishop Heber, writing of the middle of the 17th century, has re-

marked, "that (much as every religious party, in its turn, had suffered from persecution, and loudly and bitterly as each had, in its own particular instance, complained of the severities exercised against its members) no party had yet been found to perceive the great wickedness of persecution in the abstract, or the moral unfitness of temporal punishment as an engine of religious controversy. Even the sects who were themselves under oppression exclaimed against their rulers, not as being persecutors at all, but as persecuting those who professed *the truth;* and each sect, as it obtained the power to wield the secular weapon, esteemed it also a duty, as well as a privilege, not to bear the sword in vain." (*Life of Jeremy Taylor*, p. 27.)

If the Puritans have rightly interpreted the Scriptures, they well deserve the eulogy which Coleman bestows on them. "The divine authority of the Sabbath," says he, "neither was recognised by the ancient Fathers, nor by Luther or Calvin, nor by the early Reformers. It was reserved for the Puritans, to their immortal honour, first to expound and enforce the law of the Christian Sabbath, based on the authority of God's word. They better read the law of the Lord our God on this subject, and bringing it out from the enormous mass of saints' days and festivals with which the Church had overlaid it, like some priceless gem disinterred from the rubbish of many generations, presented it to the gaze and admiration of the world, radiant with heaven's own lustre. The influence of the sun in the heavens is not more clear or genial than is that of the Christian Sabbath upon the whole English race wherever found. They and they alone have a Sabbath, a Christian Sabbath, holy unto the Lord, by God's command. With all else throughout Christendom the Sabbath is a holiday, a festival, observed by common consent like other saints' days and festivals of the calendar." (*Ancient Christianity Exemplified in the Life of the Primitive Christians*, p. 532; Philad. 1852.)

There is a biographical account of Bound in Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, ii. 171–6. See also Neal's *History of the Puritans*, i. 451; ed. 1822.

61. SPRINT, JOHN, *a Puritan clergyman of the Church of England* (*died* 1623).—Propositions tending to prove the Necessary Use of the Christian Sabbath, or Lord's Day. Lond. 1607. 4to.

See, respecting him, Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, ii. 305.

62. BELLARMINE, ROBERT, *a learned Cardinal of the Church of Rome* (*died* 1621).—Disputationes Roberti Bellarmini Politiani. Parisiis, 1608. fol.

See p. 883, De Dominica Die. His works are published in 7 vols. folio, Colon. Agrip. 1620, &c.; and each volume has an index.

Vol. vi. includes forty-five discourses "In Dominicis et celebrioribus anni Festis."

In a Catechism by Bellarmine, of which there is an edition printed at Rome in 1836, and reprinted, with an English translation, by R. J. M'Ghee, at London in 1839, the pupil, in answer to "Repeat the Ten Commandments," gives the third (our fourth) as follows: "Remember to keep holy the festivals." And being desired to explain it, he replies: "The third commands the observance of festivals; which consists in abstaining from servile works, in order to have time for considering the divine blessings, for visiting the churches, reading spiritual books, hearing divine service and sermons, and performing other holy and spiritual works of the like nature." The Catechism is thus entitled: *Dottrina Cristiana Breve, composta per ordine di Papa Clemente VIII. dal R. P. Roberto Bellarmino, &c. Riveduta ed approvata dalla Congregazione della Riforma. Roma*, 1836.

63. PAREUS, DAVID, *a famous German Calvinistic divine* (*died* 1632).—Commentarius in Sancti Pauli Epistolam ad Galatas. Heidelb. 1613. 4to.

Included in vol. iii. of his *Opera Theologica Exegetica*, Franc. 1647, 3 vols. fol. See in the other volumes his Commentaries on the Old Testament, Gospels, and Epistle to the Romans.

64. JAMES I., *King of England*.—The King's Majesty's Declaration to his Subjects (in Lancashire) concerning lawful Sports to be used. Dated Greenwich, May 24, 1618.

This is popularly called the Book of Sports, and is often represented as *enjoining* indulgence in certain amusements on Sundays. But in fact it is only a proclamation that people who wished to enjoy their long-accustomed Sunday pastimes, and some of whom had complained of the arbitrary interference of Puritan magistrates and ministers, "should not, after the end of divine service, be disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreations." The Declaration is embodied in a similar document issued by Charles I. in 1633. (No. 83.) See, respecting it, Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, Book X. Cent. xvii. §§ 55–60; Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, ii. 105, ed. 1822; Disraeli's *Inquiry into the Character of James I.* (in his *Miscellanies of Literature*, p. 345, ed. 1822); Coleman, 548; Cox, 142–8, 318–20, 369.

65. TRASKE (spelt also TRASQUE, and THRASKE), JOHN.—A Treatise of Liberty from Judaism, or an Acknowledgment of True Christian Liberty; indited and published by John Traske, of late stumbling, now hap-

pily running again, in the race of Christianity. Lond. 1620.

This writer is mentioned by Heylin (Part II. ch. viii. § 10), as one who, following the Sabbatarian principles of the Puritans to their legitimate consequences, "endeavoured to bring back again the Jewish Sabbath, as that which is expressly mentioned in the Fourth Commandment, and abrogate the Lord's Day for altogether, as having no foundation in it nor warrant by it. . . . Wherewithal he took up another Jewish doctrine about meats and drinks. . . For which his Jewish doctrines having received his censure in the Star Chamber, *anno* 1618, he was set on the pillory at Westminster, and thence whipt to the Fleet, and there put in prison, and about three years after writ a recantation of all his former heresies and schismatical opinions;" namely, the treatise of which the title is given above. It is a brief and silly production. Fuller says of him: "I have heard him preach a sermon, nothing relating to the aforesaid doctrine; and when his auditors have forgotten the matter, they will remember the loudness of his stentorious voice, which indeed had more strength than any thing else he delivered. He afterwards relapsed, not into the same, but other opinions rather humorous than hurtful, and died obscurely at Lambeth in the reign of King Charles." (Book X. Cent. xvii. § 61.)

66. ALBASPINUS, GABRIEL, *Bishop of Orleans* (*died* 1630).—Observationes de Veteribus Ecclesiæ Ritibus. Parisiis, 1623. 4to.

67. ANDREWES, LANCELOT, *Bishop of Winchester* (*died* 1626).—(1.) A Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine, and other minor Works of Lancelot Andrewes, some time Lord Bishop of Winchester. 1630. (Reprinted 1641, and again at Oxford, in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, 1846.)—(2.) The Moral Law, expounded largely, learnedly, orthodoxly; that is, the long expected and much desired work of Bishop Andrewes upon the Ten Commandments: being his Lectures in Pembroke Hall Chapel, in Cambridge, which have ever since passed from hand to hand in manuscripts, &c. Lond. 1642. fol.—(3.) The Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine at large; or a learned and pious Exposition of the Ten Commandments, &c. Perfected according to the author's own copy, and thereby purged from many thousands of errors, &c. which were in a

rude imperfect draught formerly published. Lond. 1650. (Reprinted in 1675.)

The *first* of these posthumous works is thought by the editor of the Oxford edition of 1846 to be probably Andrewes' manual of college lectures, and the *second* to be nothing more than notes taken down by his pupils from his lectures orally delivered out of that manual. The *third*, he says, is simply the second put into shape, by very competent hands. A passage in the third having been referred to by Mr Joseph John Gurney, to prove that the first day of the week was called the Lord's Day in the time of Pliny, Sir William Domville has inquired whether the statements attributed to Andrewes are likely to be genuine, and, supposing them to be so, how far they justify the inference of Mr Gurney. (Domville i. 255–272; ii. 244–7.) In particular, he investigates, and pronounces to be groundless, the statement attributed to the Bishop, that in the Acts of the Martyrs "it was ever an usual question of the heathen (even of course) in their examining: What? *Dominicum servasti?* Hold you the Sunday? and their answer known: they all aver it, *Christianus sum, intermittere non possum.* I am a Christian, I cannot intermit it, not the Lord's Day, in any wise."

The Fourth Commandment is expounded in pp. 152–169 of the Oxford edition of the first-mentioned work.

68. HOSPINIAN, RALPH, *a learned Swiss Reformer* (*died* 1626).—De Festis Judæorum et Ethnicorum. Editio tertia. Gen. 1674.—De Festis Christianorum; hoc est, de Origine, Progressu, &c., Festorum Dierum apud Christianos. Gen. 1672. fol.

69. MEDE, JOSEPH (*died* 1638).—The Works of the pious and profoundly-learned Joseph Mede, B.D., sometime Fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge. [Third edition.] Lond. 1677. fol.

He treats of the Sabbath in Discourse XV., pp. 55–57, on Ezek. xx. 20. It is there represented as "including two respects of time: first, the *quotum*, one day of seven, or the seventh day after six days' labour; secondly, the *designation*, or pitching that seventh upon the day we call Saturday. In both, the Sabbatical observation was a sign and profession that Jehovah, and no other, was the God of Israel: the first, according to his attribute of Creator; the second, of deliverer of Israel out of Egypt. For by sanctifying the seventh day after they had laboured six, they professed themselves vassals and worshippers of that only God who created the heaven and the earth, and having spent six days in that great work, rested the seventh day, and therefore commanded

them to observe this suitable distribution of their time as a badge and livery that their religious service was appropriate to him alone. And this is that which the Fourth Commandment in the reason given from the creation intendeth, and no more but this. But seeing they might profess this acknowledgment as well by any other six days' working and a seventh's resting as by those they pitched upon, there being still (what six days soever they had laboured, and what seventh soever they had rested) the same conformity with their Creator; let us see the reason why they pitched upon *those six days* wherein they laboured, for labouring-days, rather than any other, and why they chose *that seventh day*, namely Saturday, to hallow and rest in, rather than any other." The reason he assigns is, that they might profess themselves servants of Jehovah their God in a relation peculiar to themselves; to wit, that they were the servants of that God who, in the morning of that very day which they kept for their Sabbath, saved them out of the hand of the Egyptians by overwhelming Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea. That the day of this deliverance was a Saturday, Mede infers from Deut. v. 15, "where that reason from the world's creation (in the Decalogue given at Horeb) being left out, Moses inserts this other of the redemption of Israel out of Egypt instead thereof; namely, as the reason why *those six days* rather than any other six for work, and *that seventh day* rather than any other seventh for rest, were pitched upon, as Israel observed them. . . . But whether *this* day were in order the seventh from the creation or not, the Scripture is silent; for where it is called in the commandment the seventh day, that is in respect of the six days of labour, and not otherwise." Nevertheless, says he, it might fall out so, that the designed Sabbath-day of the Jews was both the seventh in order from the creation, and the day of their deliverance out of Egypt; "but the Scripture nowhere tells us it was so (howsoever most men take it for granted), and therefore it may as well be not so. Certain I am the Jews kept not that day for a Sabbath till the raining of manna. For that which should have been their Sabbath the week before, had they then kept the day which afterward they kept, was the fifteenth day of the second month, and which day we read in the 16th of Exodus, that they marched a wearisome march, and came at night unto the wilderness of Sin, where they murmured for their poor entertainment, and wished they had died in Egypt. That night the Lord sent them quails; the next morning it rained manna, which was the sixteenth day, and so six days together; the seventh, which was the twenty-second day, it rained none, and that day they were commanded to keep for their Sabbath. Now, if the twenty-second day of the month were the Sabbath, the fifteenth should have been, if that day had been kept before; but the text tells us expressly they marched that day: and, which is strange, the day of the month is never named, unless it be once, for any station but this where the Sabbath was ordained, otherwise it could not have been known that that day was ordained for a day of rest,

which before was none. And why might not their day of holy rest be altered as well as the beginning of the year was (Exod. xii. 2), for a memorial of their coming out of Egypt? I can see no reason why it might not, nor find any testimony to assure me it was not."

This argument, if sound, endangers the commonly received doctrine of the Westminster Assembly, that "from the beginning of the world to the resurrection of Christ, God appointed the seventh day of the week to be the weekly Sabbath." But the argument is controverted by Stopford in his *Scripture Account of the Sabbath*, Section X. He contends that Mede (with whom Heylin and Bramhall agree) mistakes in supposing that quails were sent on the evening of the fifteenth day, and manna the next morning.

But there is a more vital question, the decision of which in the negative might leave the whole reasoning of Mede without any foundation whatever. Is it allowable to assume that Moses, professing to repeat to the Israelites the laws inscribed on the tables of stone, omitted a part of the Fourth Commandment there written, and substituted something else in its place; expressly telling them at the conclusion of the ten, that the words just repeated were those which the Lord had spoken to them in the mount—to which He had there "added no more"—and which He had written on the tables of stone and delivered to Moses? (See Deut. v. 22.) In considering this question, it will not be overlooked by the careful student of the chapter, that what it records is not a repetition of the sabbath-law, in the sense of its *re-enactment* or *re-imposition*, but a retrospective narrative, orally given by Moses, of its enactment *on the sole occasion at Sinai*; in which narrative he included a *historical* repetition of the ten commandments which had been then and there proclaimed.

To the question, "How far, and in what manner, the like observation binds us Christians?" Mede answers, that "the Christian, as well as the Jew, after six days spent in his own works, is to sanctify the seventh, that he may profess himself thereby a servant of God, the Creator of heaven and earth, as well as the Jew. For the *quotum*, therefore, the Jew and Christian agree; but in *designation* of the day, they differ. For the Christian chooseth for his holy day that which with the Jews was the first day of the week, and calls it *Dominicam*, the Lord's Day, that he might thereby profess himself a servant of that God who, on the morning of that day, vanquished Satan, the spiritual Pharaoh, and redeemed us from our spiritual thraldom, by raising Jesus Christ our Lord from the dead, begetting us, instead of an earthly Canaan, to an inheritance incorruptible in the heavens." From this it appears that Mede identifies the Lord's Day with the Sabbath, though ascribing the observance of the first day of the week in place of the seventh to the "choice" of the Christian, and not to a Divine command or any equivalent apostolic example.

70. BROAD, THOMAS, *of Gloucestershire.*—Three

Questions concerning the Obligations of the Fourth Commandment. Oxford, 1621. 4to.—Tractatus de Sabbato; in quo Doctrina Ecclesiæ primitivæ declaratur et defenditur. 1627. 4to. pp. 14.

He denies a primeval Sabbath, and says of the Lord's Day that it is to be kept by us according to the custom of the primitive Church, and the constitution of the Church of England; but that Christians ought to be wholly free from a superstitious observance of days.

71. BUXTORF, JOHN, *the Elder; a Calvinist minister, and professor of Hebrew at Basle* (*died* 1629).—Synagoga Judaica: De Judæorum Fide, Ritibus, Ceremoniis, tam publicis et sacris quam privatis. Editio tertia. Basil. 1661.

Reprinted in Ugolinus' *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum*, vol. iv. p. 729. See chapters xiv.–xvi.

72. WALÆUS, ANTHONY, *professor of Divinity at Leyden* (*died* 1639).—Dissertatio de Sabbato, seu de vero Sensu et Usu Quarti Præcepti. Lugd. Bat. 1628. 8vo.

Reprinted in his *Opera*, i. 275; Lugd. Bat. 1643.

73. BRABOURNE, THEOPHILUS, *a Puritan minister in Norfolk*.—A Discourse upon the Sabbath Day: wherein are handled these particulars ensuing:—1. That the Lord's Day is not Sabbath Day by Divine institution. 2. An Exposition of the 4th Commandment, so far forth as may give light unto the ensuing Discourse; and particularly here it is shown at what time the Sabbath Day should begin and end, for the satisfaction of those who are doubtful on this point. 3. That the Seventh-day Sabbath is not abolished. 4. That the Seventh-day Sabbath is now still in force. 5. The author's Exhortation and reasons, that nevertheless there be no Rent from our Church as touching practice. 1628. 18mo. pp. 238.

Brabourne is a much abler writer than Traske, and may be regarded as the founder in England of the sect at first known as

Sabbatarians, but now calling themselves Seventh-day Baptists. This sect arose in Germany in the 16th century. Heylin holds that in setting up their doctrine they built fairly on the Puritan foundations, and "ploughed with no other than their heifers."

The argument for the observance of the Lord's Day from the practice of the Apostles is thus handled by Brabourne: "Now, touching the constant practice of the Apostles alleged: I deny it; I deny that they constantly kept the Lord's Day. Where can it be shown that Peter ever preached twice in all his life, or Paul twice in all his life, or any other Apostle ever preached twice, on the Lord's Day? Or let them put all the Apostles together, and where is it found that amongst them all they ever at any time preached two Lord's Days immediately and successively, one next following the other together? If neither of these can be shown, where then is the constancy of Apostles keeping the Lord's Day? And yet this their constant practice is a great and strong argument used to uphold the Lord's Day." (P. 33.) He even turns the argument against its employers: "Whereas they build upon the practice of the Apostles preaching, so as on what day they preached constantly, that day must needs be a Sabbath; why then, if this argument be a good one, Saturday, the Lord's Sabbath on the seventh day, must needs be our Sabbath—for the Apostles after Christ's resurrection did constantly preach upon the Sabbath-day, which was the day before the Lord's Day: see, for the truth hereof, these texts; Acts xiii. 14, 42, 44; xvi. 13; xvii. 2; xviii. 4." (Pp. 35, 36.)

By the word "day" in the Fourth Commandment, he understands "the time of light only; namely, all that space of time and light from day-peep or day-break in the morning, until day be quite off the sky at night." (P. 85.)

Towards the conclusion of the treatise, he thus appeals to the prudence of his readers: "And now let me propound unto your choice these two days: the Sabbath-day on Saturday, or the Lord's Day on Sunday; and keep whether of the twain you shall in conscience find the more safe. If you keep the Lord's Day, but profane the Sabbath-day, you walk in great danger and peril (to say the least) of transgressing one of God's eternal and inviolable laws, the Fourth Commandment: but on the other side, if you keep the Sabbath-day, though you profane the Lord's Day, you are out of all gunshot and danger, for so you transgress no law at all, since Christ nor his Apostles did ever leave any law for it." (P. 220.)

The book is very ill printed; for which he apologises by informing the Christian reader, that "by reason of some troubles raised up against both myself and this my book, I was enforced to absent myself, and there to dispose my work where I could not be present at the press, to peruse, correct, and amend the faults therein." From the oddities of its spelling, it looks as if printed either by a foreigner unacquainted with English, or at a private press where the stock of some of the vowels was inadequate.

See Brabourne's *Defence*, below, No. 79.

74. GOMAR (Lat. GOMARUS), FRANCIS, *professor of Divinity at Leyden, &c. (died* 1641).—Investigatio Sententiæ et Originis Sabbati; atque Institutionis Diei Dominici Consideratio: Collatis priscorum Patrum et recentiorum theologorum judiciis. Groning. 1628, 4to; 1631, 12mo.

This treatise is included in his *Opera Theologica Omnia*, p. 256–276. Amst. 1664. See also below, No. 82.

The questions principally canvassed here by Gomarus are—1. Whether the Sabbath was ordained by God immediately on the creation of the world; and, 2. Whether all Christians are obliged by the Fourth Commandment always to set apart one day in seven to God's holy worship: both which he determines negatively.

75. BREREWOOD, EDWARD (*died* 1613).—A learned Treatise of the Sabbath, written by Mr Edward Brerewood, Professor in Gresham College, London, to Mr Nicholas Byfield, preacher in Chester. With Mr Byfield's Answer and Mr Brerewood's Reply. Oxf. 1630. The second edition, diligently corrected. Oxf. 1631. 4to. Pp. 181.

Though apparently published for the first time in 1630, this controversy is dated in 1611. Brerewood had a nephew, apprenticed in London to a master who ordered him to do light work on Sundays, such as fetching wine, and giving provender to a horse. The lad obeyed with a troubled conscience, having been instructed by Mr Byfield that to perform such work was highly sinful. Brerewood, observing the depression of his nephew's spirits, inquired into the cause, and wrote Mr Byfield, arguing that the Fourth Commandment was imposed on masters only, and not upon servants, whose duty to obey remained unaffected; that it prohibited only work truly laborious, and not such light offices as the apprentice had been required to perform; that if a divine law had really been violated, the sin was the master's who commanded, and not the servant's who, as undoubtedly in duty bound, obeyed; that, however, the Lord's Day was not the Sabbath, but an institution of the primitive Church, by which an entire cessation from work upon it was not required. Byfield answered curtly and somewhat haughtily, declining to enter at large into controversy with any who thought proper to challenge him, his time being better employed in the performance of his clerical duties. Brerewood then retorted with considerable heat, and at much greater length. He says in his reply: "I acknowledge both the old Sabbath of the Jews, and the new Sabbath of the Christians; I acknowledge, I say, both: namely, that to have been, and this now to be, God's Sabbath; yet not both in all respects alike: but

this to be so by dedication, because it is consecrated by the Church to God's worship and service; and also that by institution, because it was ordained by God's own commandment. And in both of them I acknowledge the substance of the Sabbath, that is, the worship of God, and vacancy from all worldly affairs which may impeach that worship, to be by the moral law; but yet the circumstance of the Sabbath, that is, the annexion or alligation of God's worship to such a day, whether the seventh as in the old, or the first as in the new, to be ceremonial, this is [what] in that little discourse of mine I taught, and worse than this I taught not of God's Sabbath: which, if you know not to be the common and Catholic doctrine of the Church, you are but ignorant; or if you say that I in writing this oppose against God's Sabbath, [it is not] God's Sabbath I say, but your doctrine of the Sabbath, that I impugned; namely, for teaching your own phantasies instead of God's commandments. You teach that the Lord's Day is charged with the Lord's precept, as the old Sabbath was; that I impugned as an ignorant phantasy of yours: you teach that servants on the Lord's Day being commanded by their masters to work, ought not to obey them, but to reject their commandment; that I also impugned as another phantasy of yours." (P. 62.)

He defies Byfield to prove the assertion made by him, that the Sabbath had been "translated by the same authority that originally at first commanded it;" and charges him with error in imagining that Christ's injunction to the apostles to pray that their flight might not be on the Sabbath-day when Jerusalem should be invested by her enemies, had reference to the first day of the week, and not to the seventh, which alone for centuries after the time of Christ was ever called the Sabbath.

There is a biography of Byfield in Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, ii. 297. For a rejoinder written after his death by his brother Richard, see below, No. 78. See also No. 79.

76. CLEAVER, ROBERT, *minister at Drayton in Oxfordshire.*—A Declaration of the Christian Sabbath. Lond. 1630. (See also No. 77.)

77. DOD, JOHN, *an eminent Puritan divine (died* 1645).—A Plain and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandments, with a Methodical Catechism. By John Dod and Robert Cleaver. 18th ed. Lond. 1630.

In pp. 117–165, the Fourth Commandment is expounded according to the views of the Puritans.

78. BYFIELD, RICHARD, *pastor in Long Ditton in Surrey.*—The Doctrine of the Sabbath Vindicated, in a Confutation of a Treatise of the Sabbath written by

Mr Edward Brerewood against Mr Nicholas Byfield. Wherein these five things are maintained: 1. That the Fourth Commandment is given to the servant and not to the master only; 2. That the Fourth Commandment is moral; 3. That our own light works, as well as gainful and toilsome, are forbidden on the Sabbath; 4. That the Lord's Day is of divine institution; 5. That the Sabbath was instituted from the beginning. By the industry of an unworthy labourer in God's vineyard, Richard Byfield, Pastor in Long Ditton in Surrey. Lond. 1631. 4to. Pp. 227.

Although Byfield here advocates Puritan opinions, he allows feasting on the Sabbath-day, as a thing sanctioned by the example of Christ. The transference of the Sabbath to Sunday he affirms to have been effected by Christ in his resurrection; adding, that "it was enjoined by the Apostolic precept, and observed by them: enjoined, and the work of the day in part prescribed, 1 Cor. xvi. 2; observed, Acts xx. 7." (P. 122.)

With respect to the question about servants: Neither Brerewood nor the Byfields seem to have known that the word translated "servant" in the Fourth Commandment signifies "*slave*," and so must refer chiefly to *Gentiles* (Lev. xxv. 44–46). On the assumption of the Byfields that the Commandment is a universal law, this fact, of course, is unimportant; but if, as Brerewood thought, the law was imposed exclusively on the Jews and their proselytes, the probability seems very great that it was regarded by these as charging only themselves, the masters, with the duty of seeing that slaves, equally with cattle, abstained from labour on the Sabbath-day.

Richard Byfield's arguments were controverted by Bishop White, who also published a rejoinder to his reply. See Nos. 87 and 95.

Byfield was a member of the Westminster Assembly, convened in 1643. Some particulars of his life are recorded in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, iii. 668, edit. 1817.

79. BRERWOOD, EDWARD (*see* No. 75).—A Second Treatise of the Sabbath, or an Explication of the Fourth Commandment. Oxf. 1632. 4to. Pp. 40.

The Fourth Commandment is here critically examined, and the same views are expressed as in the author's former treatise. The nature of Apostolic authority is considered, and the opinion maintained, that although "the celebration of the Lord's day hath warrant of Apostolic *example* that it *may* be done, warrant of *commandment* it hath not, that it *must* be done. There are two

points in the celebration of that day:—
lic devotion in solemn assemblies, for wh
practice, but not precept; 2. *Vacation* fi
have no evidence either of precept or practi
There is a Life of Brerewood in Ward's
of Gresham College, p. 74; *Lond.* 1740, *fol.*

80. BRABOURNE, *THEOPHILUS (see No.* fence of that most ancient and sacred
God's, the Sabbath Day. . . . Underta
all Anti-Sabbatharians, both of Protestants
Antinomians, and Anabaptists; and by name a
cially against these X Ministers, M. Greenwo
Hutchinson, M. Furnace, M. Benton, M. Galla
Yates, M. Chappel, M. Stinnet, M. Johnson, an
Warde. The second edition, corrected and amende
with a supply of many things formerly omitted. 1632. 4to. Pp. 633.

For maintaining, on the ground of the *morality* of the Sabbath, and the want of Divine authority for transferring it to Sunday, that the seventh day of the week, not the first, ought to be kept holy, and for his boldness in dedicating so heretical a work as this *Defence* to Charles I., Brabourne was summoned before the High Commission, "whose well-tempered severity," says Fuller, "herein so prevailed upon him, that, submitting himself to a private conference, and perceiving the unsoundness of his own principles, he became a convert, *conforming himself quietly to the* Church of England." (B. XI. Cent. xvii. § 32. See also Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, ii. 362.) His followers, however, did not all accompany him back to orthodoxy. He was answered by Bishop White, No. 87.

81. RIVET (Lat. RIVETUS), ANDREW, *a French Calvinistic divine* (*died* 1632).—Opera Theologica. Roter. 1651–60. 3 vols. fol.

Vol. i. contains Exercitationes CXCI theologicæ et scholasticæ in Genesin; Commentarii in Exodum; and, Prælectiones pleniores in cap. xx. Exodi, in quibus explicatur Decalogus. The last of these was originally published by itself in 4to at Leyden in 1637; pp. 108–170 being devoted to the Sabbath. The article *Sabbathum* in the index to the collected works will guide the reader to all that they contain on the subject.

Although maintaining against his friend Gomar a primeval Sabbath, Rivet agrees with him in holding that Christians are not obliged by the Fourth Commandment to set apart one day in

seven to God's worship; and that the appointment of the Lord's Day for God's public service was made neither by God himself nor by the apostles, but by authority of the Church. He is opposed by Twisse (No. 107), p. 134, *et seq.*

82. GOMAR, FRANCIS (*see* No. 74).—Defensio Investigationis Originis Sabbati contra A. Rivetum. Groning. 1632. 12mo.

83. CHARLES I., *King of England.*—The King's Majesty's Declaration to his Subjects concerning lawful Sports to be used. 4to. Lond. 1633. (Dated 18th October 1633.)

This is a republication of King James's Book of Sports (No. 64), with an addition declaring that it is now ratified and published "the rather, because of late in some counties of our kingdom, we find that under pretence of taking away abuses, there hath been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary meetings, but of the feasts of the dedication of the churches, commonly called wakes. Now," he proceeds, "our express will and pleasure is, that these feasts with others shall be observed, and that our justices of the peace in their several divisions shall look to it, both that all disorders there may be prevented or punished, and that all neighbourhood and freedom, with manlike and lawful exercises, be used. And we farther command our justices of assize in their several circuits, to see that no man do trouble or molest any of our loyal and dutiful people, in or for their lawful recreations, having first done their duty to God, and continuing in obedience to us and our laws."

The whole tenor of this document shows his Majesty's will and pleasure to have been, not (as is commonly said) that the meetings, feasts, and sports should be used by *all* his subjects, but only that they should be used by such as *wished* to use them.

The Declaration is reprinted in Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, ii. 193; Wilkins' *Concilia*, iv. 483; *The Harleian Miscellany*, v. 75; and Harris's *Account of the Life and Writings of Charles I.*, p. 53. For the history of it and its consequences, see Prynne's *Canterbury's Doom*, 128–155, 504; Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglicus, or Life of Laud*, 255–8, 295–7; Fuller's *Church Hist.*, B. XI. Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. §§ 34–44; Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, ii. 212–220, ed. 1822; Coleman, 549; Cox, 143–149, 321. It was ably defended by White and Heylin (Nos. 87 and 88), but continued so hateful to the Puritans, that in 1643 it was ordered by the Long Parliament (in which they had the ascendency) to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, in Cheapside and other usual places; and all having copies of it were required to deliver them up to be thus disposed of.

The royal Declaration having been issued at the instance of a

prelate so odious to the Puritans as Archbishop Laud, and many of the clergy having been deprived, or otherwise severely punished, for disobeying his order to read it in their churches, it is not surprising that the Sabbath controversy continued to rage in England, more widely and fiercely than ever. Of the leading varieties of opinion advocated by the combatants, a tabular synopsis is given by Fuller, B. XI. Cent. xvii. § 33; and an admirably clear and comprehensive summary by Dr John Owen, in his *Exercitations concerning a Day of Sacred Rest*, pp. 6–13, Exerc. i. §§ 4–6 (or 36th *Prelim. Exercit. to Epistle to the Hebrews*, pp. 603–6, ed. 1840), quoted by Cox, pp. 322–5.

84. BARKER, PETER, *minister at Stowre Paine in Dorsetshire*.—A Learned and Familiar Exposition upon the Ten Commandments. 2d ed. Lond. 1633. 4to.

85. EATON, NATHANIEL.—Inquisitio in variantes Theologorum quorundam Sententias de Sabbato et Die Dominico. Franc. 1633. 8vo.

86. PRIDEAUX, JOHN, D.D., *Bishop of Worcester (died 1650)*.—The Doctrine of the Sabbath delivered in the Act at Oxon, anno 1622, by Dr Prideaux, his Majesty's Professor for Divinity in that University; and now translated into English for the benefit of the Common People. 2d ed. Lond. 1634. 4to. Pp. xvi. 41.

This Discourse was originally published in Latin by Prideaux, as the seventh of his *Orationes Novem Inaugurales*, &c., Oxf. 1626, (reprinted, with four additional orations, Oxf. 1648.) The translator was Heylin, whose object was mainly to support his own cause (which was that of Laud in the controversy excited by the Book of Sports), but partly also, it is said, to annoy his old enemy Prideaux, whose popularity among the Puritans the book must have considerably diminished. (See Vernon's *Life of Heylin*, p. 63; Life prefixed to Heylin's *Tracts*, p. 12; and Prynne's *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 225.) The Latin *Oratio de Sabbato* was reprinted at Leyden in 1658. Prideaux appears to have published also *Syllabus Testimoniorum Veterum et Recentiorum Doctorum de Origine et Natura Sabbati et Dici Dominicæ*.

This prelate is sometimes confounded with Dr Humphrey Prideaux, Dean of Norwich, who died in 1724.

Heylin, in the Preface to his translation of the Discourse, gives the following summary of what the Bishop maintains in it:—"1. That the Sabbath was not instituted in the first creation of the world, nor ever kept by any of the ancient patriarchs who lived

before the Law of Moses: therefore no moral and perpetual precept, as the others are. 2. That the sanctifying of one day in seven is ceremonial only, and obliged the Jews; not moral, to oblige us Christians to the like observance. 3. That the Lord's Day is founded only on the authority of the Church, guided therein by the practice of the apostles; not on the Fourth Commandment (which he calls a scandalous doctrine), nor any other express authority in Holy Scripture. Then, 4. That the Church hath still authority to change the day, though such authority be not fit to be put in practice. 5. That in the celebration of it, there is no such cessation from the works of labour required from us, as was exacted of the Jews; but that we lawfully may dress meat, proportionable unto every man's estate, and do such other things as be no hindrance to the public service appointed for the day. 6. That on the Lord's Day all recreations whatsoever are to be allowed, which honestly may refresh the spirits, and increase mutual love and neighbourhood amongst us; and that the names whereby the Jews did use to call their festivals (whereof the Sabbath was the chief) were borrowed from an Hebrew word, which signifieth to dance, and to be merry, or make glad the countenance. If so; if all such recreations as increase good neighbourhood; then wakes, and feasts, and other meetings of that nature. If such as honestly may refresh the spirits; then dancing, shooting, wrestling, and all other pastimes not by law prohibited, which either exercise the body or revive the mind. And lastly, that it appertains to the Christian magistrate to order and appoint what pastimes are to be permitted, and what are not, (obedience unto whose commands is better far than sacrifice to any of the idols of our own inventions;) not unto every private person, (or, as the Doctor's own words are,) not unto every man's rash zeal, who out of a schismatical stoicism (debarring men from lawful pastimes) doth incline to Judaism. Add, for the close of all, how doubtingly our author speaks of the name of *Sabbath*, which is now grown so rife amongst us; concerning which, take here that notable dilemma of John Barklay (*Parœn.*, l. 1, cap. ult.), the better to encounter those who still retain the name and impose the rigour: 'Cur porro illum diem plerique sectariorum Sabbatum appellatis,' &c. 'What is the cause,' saith he, 'that many of our sectaries call this day the Sabbath? If they observe it as a Sabbath, they must observe it because God rested on that day; and then they ought to keep that day whereon God rested, and not the first, as now they do, whereon the Lord began his labours. If they observe it as the day of our Saviour's resurrection, why do they call it still the Sabbath; seeing especially that Christ did not altogether rest that day, but valiantly overcame the powers of death?'"

Upon Rom. xiv. 5, 6, Gal. iv. 8–11, and Col. ii. 16, 17, touching the observance of days, Prideaux remarks: "Let no man judge you; *i.e.*, let none condemn you if you keep them not; because those shadows altogether vanished at the rising of the Sun of Righteousness. As therefore nature requires meats and drinks, but for the choice thereof we are left free to Christian

liberty; so reason tells us that there must be some certain time appointed for God's public service, though from the bondage and necessity of the Jewish Sabbath we are delivered by the gospel." (P. 18.)

"A thing," he says, "may be affirmed to have divine authority two manner of ways: either because that it may be found in holy Scripture, in terms express; at least deducted thence, by necessary consequence: or, that there are examples of it, which the Church afterwards did continue. The institution of the Lord's Day out of Scripture, either expressly, or on necessary consequence, show me he that can. Examples there are of it some, whereon the practice of the Church may ground itself." (P. 32.) . . . . "And whereas Calvin, Bullinger, Bucerus, Brentius, Chemnitius, Ursine, and others of the Reformed Churches affirm, that still the Church hath power to change the Lord's Day to some other, Suarez doth thus distinguish in it—that it is *absolutely* alterable, but not *practically*; that is (as I conceive it), that such a power is absolutely in the Church, though not convenient now to be put in practice. The reasons of it, two: First, because instituted (as generally the Fathers grant) in memory of our redemption, made perfect on that day by our Saviour's resurrection; next, because not depending barely upon a civil or ecclesiastical ordinance, but on the practice and express tradition of the apostles, who, questionless, were led into all truth by the Holy Ghost." (P. 34.) He thinks that the practice of the apostles as recorded in Acts xx. 7, 1 Cor. xvi., and Rev. i. 10, "commends to us, or rather imposes on us," the coming together to break bread and hear the word ("which, without solemn and preparatory prayers, were a faint devotion"), the giving of alms, and the cherishing of pious contemplations (p. 37); but he holds that we are called upon to abstain from work no farther than "as it is an impediment to the performance of such duties as are then commanded." (Pp. 37, 38.) By those who considered it incumbent on them to spend the whole day in the specified duties, this was thought equivalent to a prohibition, in ordinary circumstances, of all work not required for their performance, and of all recreation by which that performance is impeded.

Dr Twisse's work on *The Morality of the Fourth Commandment* (No. 107) is mainly a reply to Prideaux and his Prefacer. It includes a full transcript of the Preface, and is very copious.

87. WHITE, FRANCIS, D.D., *Bishop of Ely* (*died* 1638).—A Treatise of the Sabbath-Day; containing a Defence of the Orthodoxal Doctrine of the Church of England against Sabbatarian Novelty. Lond. 1635. 4to. Pp. 311.

Next to Heylin's *History* (No. 88), this is the most notable work in the controversy about the Sabbath.

Prefixed is a dedication to Archbishop Laud, in which, after men-

tioning Brabourne's heretical writings and subsequent recantation, the Bishop says:—"Now because this Brabourne's treatise of the Sabbath was dedicated to his Royal Majesty, and the principles upon which he grounded all his arguments (being commonly preached, printed, and believed, throughout the kingdom,) might have poisoned and infected many people either with this Sabbatarian error, or with some other of like quality; it was the King, our gracious master, his will and pleasure, that a treatise should be set forth, to prevent further mischief, and to settle his good subjects (who have long time been distracted about Sabbatarian questions) in the old and good way of the ancient and orthodoxal Catholic Church. Now that which his sacred Majesty commanded, I have, by your Grace's direction, obediently performed."

He maintains that the Fourth Commandment is not a purely moral law, and that Gen. ii. 3 "expresseth not the manner how the Lord sanctified the seventh day; whether by imparting any special virtue to it above other days, or by dedicating the same to any religious service to be performed by Adam in the state of innocency; or whether, by an inward decree only, he destined that day to religious offices in future time. Eminent Doctors, both ancient and modern, are of contrary opinions concerning this question. Venerable Beda, and before him Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Irenæus, &c., and many other Doctors, both pontificians and of the Reformed Church, maintain that God sanctified the seventh day, Gen. ii., by his decree and destination only, and not by any present imposition. And the arguments upon which this opinion is grounded are very weighty." The chief of them are these—1*st*, That the Scripture makes no mention of a command given to Adam; 2*d*, The law of the Fourth Commandment was unsuitable to the state of innocency, when there was no toil for man or beast; and, 3*d*, The most ancient Fathers affirm that none of the patriarchs before Moses observed the Sabbath-day; in proof of which Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Irenæus, Eusebius, and Damascen, are quoted. But even if it could be proved that the law of the seventh-day Sabbath was given to Adam, and that the patriarchs kept it, "this affordeth not sufficient demonstration that the law of the Fourth Commandment concerning the seventh-day Sabbath is simply and perpetually moral, or a precept or a necessary conclusion of the law of nature." (Pp. 40-46.)

He holds that Matt. v. 17. refers not to the Decalogue only, but to the whole Jewish law, and the doctrine and predictions of the prophets. (P. 61.)

To the argument that Christ observed the seventh day, he answers that although our Lord, being a Jew, kept as such all the Mosaic ceremonies, so far was he from teaching the moral nature of the Sabbath law, that he inculcated both expressly and by his practice, that it was often lawful to perform servile works, and to do things repugnant to the letter of the law; as in Matt. xii. 1, 2, 3, 5; Mark ii. 23; John v. 9, 10; vii. 22: whence the Fathers infer that he thus signified and foretold the expiration of the sabbatical law in the time of grace. As for the apostles, they

observed the Sabbath, not to show its perpetuity, but the better to enable themselves to diffuse the Gospel; nor was this the only Jewish ceremony to which Paul conformed, 1 Cor. ix. 20. (Pp. 65-69.)

Afterwards, "some primitive churches which had Jews and proselytes in their Christian assemblies, made the Saturday of every week an holy-day, upon the same reasons the holy apostles had formerly done; but these churches did in like manner observe the Lord's Day for a weekly festival." (P. 71.)

Respecting the Fourth Commandment he says. "The common and natural equity of that commandment is moral; to wit, that God's people are obliged to observe a convenient and sufficient time for public and solemn divine worship, and for religious and ecclesiastical duties: And abstinence from secular labour and negotiation, and keeping holy one day of every week, both for man's temporal and natural refreshing, and for the spiritual good of his soul, is very agreeable both to natural and religious equity, and it is grounded upon the ancient custom and practice of God's people in time of the Law; and we Christians having obtained a larger measure of divine grace, and our obligation to serve God and Christ upon his heavenly promises being greater than in the time of the Jews,—if in those former times of greater darkness the Lord's people observed a weekly Sabbath-day, then surely we should be ungrateful and negligent of our own salvation, if we yield not to God a weekly day, or a sufficient time for his service, as well as the Jews did. Lastly, our weekly observation of the Lord's Day in the time of the Gospel, is not superstitious, but an holy and godly practice. For it is warranted by the example of the holy apostles, and those primitive churches which were planted by the apostles, and which received their ecclesiastical precepts and constitutions by tradition from the apostles." (Pp. 90–91. See also p. 135.)

Again: "God Almighty in the Fourth Commandment setteth down a reason wherefore he himself imposed the law of the seventh day's rest (of resting upon every seventh day in memory of the creation) upon the Jews: . . . . but he imposed not this law upon Christian people by any evangelical precept; neither did he command the Gentiles at any time, before or after the Law, to imitate his example of resting the seventh day of every week. And therefore abstinence from worldly labour upon the old Sabbath, in imitation of God Almighty, would not be a work of holiness and true obedience in us Christians, but an act of Judaical superstition." (P. 130.)

"Also it is a controversy among divines, whether this precept commanded the Jews and Israelites in general, to wit the whole nation, upon the weekly Sabbath to resort to any public congregation, and to be present at any common divine service, or at any solemn reading and exposition of the Law." (P. 143.) Reference is here made to Deut. xxxi. 10–12; 2 Kings xxii. 8, 9; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14; Numb. xxviii. 9; Lev. xxiv. 8; and the author proceeds: "Many doctors of note (who are cited in the margin) main-

tain that the letter of the Fourth Commandment imposed upon the Jews and Israelites no other external form of sanctifying the weekly Sabbath but resting and cessation from secular labour and negotiation, in memory and recognition of the work of prime creation; and although some other religious actions were intended by God as the end of the precept, yet no others were formally commanded." (P. 146.)

The response in the Liturgy is thus explained: "We beseech God Almighty to incline our hearts to keep and observe this law, according to the equity thereof; which is, that upon the Lord's day, and upon all festival days and times in which we assemble to serve and worship God and Christ, and to hear his holy word, and receive his sacraments, &c., we may receive the assistance of divine grace, and be enabled from above, both devoutly, reverently, and holily, to honour the Lord our God, and to edify ourselves in faith and true obedience. We beseech God to give us grace to observe the spiritual Sabbath, prefigured by the legal Sabbath, by abstaining from the servile lusts and works of sin, throughout the whole course of our life, and especially upon those sacred days and times which by the Christian Church are devoted to the honour and service of God and Christ. Our prayer then to God, prescribed in the Liturgy, is not to beseech him to incline our hearts to keep this law according to the special form and circumstance of time, commanded in the old law; but in such a manner as is agreeable to the state of the gospel and the time of grace; that is, according to the rule of Christian liberty, and according to the equity and mystery of the Fourth Commandment. Now Christian liberty hath freed God's people, under the gospel, from the observation of days, and months, and times, and years, upon legal and ceremonial principles: Gal. iv. 10; Col. ii. 16." (Pp. 159, 160.)

Concerning the authority of the Church with respect to holy days, he teaches, that "Although the ecclesiastical precepts and constitutions of the rulers in the church are not divine by miraculous and immediate inspiration, in such manner as the precepts of God's written law; yet when they are composed according to the rules and canons of Holy Scripture, and are apt and convenient means to the better fulfilling of the commandments of God delivered in Holy Scripture, they are by conformity and subordination to the divine law, and by divine approbation, sacred and venerable." (P. 99.) In support of which proposition divers reasons are assigned.

The words of Jesus, "Pray that your flight may not be on the Sabbath-day" (Matt. xxiv. 20), intimate, he holds, not that the law of the ancient Sabbath was to be in force at the destruction of Jerusalem, but only that the observance of the law would not immediately cease. (P. 125.) And it *did not* cease, even among the *Christian* Jews, till several centuries had elapsed.

He points out the impossibility of observing the Fourth Commandment in the Arctic Regions. (P. 178.)

At p. 185 *et seq.*, a contemporary is replied to in regard to the alleged change of the Sabbath-day to Sunday; and at pp. 285–305,

the Bishop controverts the doctrine of Bound and others, that Christians are equally obliged to rest on the Lord's Day as the Jews were on the Sabbath; that the Sabbath-law indifferently obliged Jews and Gentiles; and that Christ's resurrection, being his rest from the work of redemption, sanctified the Lord's Day.

Concerning the doctrine of the early Church he says:—"I have diligently searched into antiquity, and observed in the Fathers their forms of speech when they treat of the Lord's Day; and I find it far different from the usual language of the Fathers to style the Lord's Day the Sabbath; and that they by the name Sabbath either understand the old legal Sabbath, taken away by Christ, or the spiritual and mystical Sabbath, which was typed and represented by the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment. And when the ancient Fathers distinguish and give proper names to the particular days of the week, they always style the Saturday *Sabbatum*, the Sabbath; and the Sunday, or first day of the week, *Dominicum*, the Lord's Day." (Pp. 201-202.) Having supported these averments by quotations, he adds that the Fathers "exhort Christian people to keep the foresaid spiritual Sabbath by resting from sin throughout their whole life; and speaking of the Lord's Day, and of other festival days, they persuade with special care to make those days a spiritual Sabbath; that is, on these days to abstain from sin." (P. 204.).

Turning from the Sabbath to the Lord's Day, the Bishop adduces evidence to show, 1. That in the primitive Church the latter was highly esteemed and honoured; 2. That it began to be observed in the apostolical age, and while some of the apostles were still living; and, 3. That certain religious offices and actions were then performed in the common assemblies. (Pp. 208-215.) All the apostolical churches, he assumes, kept the Lord's Day; and this, he thinks, could not have happened unless the apostles had so enjoined. (P. 193.) "But the evangelical law imposeth no commandment of total abstinence from secular labour, or from civil actions, during the space of a natural day, either upon the old Sabbath-day, or upon the Sunday, or upon any other day of the week." (P. 216.) "I observe nothing in all antiquity declaring their judgment to have been, that the keeping holy the Lord's Day is commanded by the fourth precept of the Decalogue; or that the religious observance thereof is grounded upon any other express or formal precept of Holy Scripture. Some of the ancients, and namely St Chrysostom (*in Gen.*, Hom. 10), reflecting upon the equity of the Fourth Commandment, exhort Christians to cast their eye upon the law of the old Sabbath, and to consider the equity thereof, and that it is reasonable for them to proportion their actions in such manner, as that having employed six days of the week upon their worldly occasions, they would not think much to bestow one day in spiritual and religious duties." (P. 268.) The primitive Church preferred the Lord's Day because the old Sabbath was abolished; and because on the first day of the week Christ rose from the dead and gladdened his disciples by appear-

ing to them alive, and afterwards the Holy Spirit descended on the day of Pentecost. (Pp. 269, 270.)

The argument from God's example, as mentioned in the reason annexed to the Fourth Commandment, applies, it is observed, only to the seventh day, not to the first; and "God's allowing six days of the week for a man's own work concludeth not a necessity of keeping holy the first day of the week, rather than the sixth or the seventh." (P. 279.)

By *the Church*, it is true, labour and secular business on the Lord's Day are prohibited; but only so far as they are an impediment to religious duties, and *because of* their being so. For upwards of six hundred years, work was not *wholly* prohibited by the Church, though afterwards laws were made by civil rulers (of which numerous examples are adduced), forbidding all Sunday labour whatever. (Pp. 217–224, 265.) Nevertheless, by Injunctions of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, as well as the Statute 5th and 6th Edward VI., c. 3., it was declared, conformably to the Edict of Constantine, that the people "may with a safe and quiet conscience, in time of harvest, labour upon the holy and festival days, and save that thing which God hath sent." (Pp. 224–5.)

So far forth, then, as secular labours—to which, with an eye to the Book of Sports, he adds recreation—"are impediments to sacred and religious duties, public or private, to be performed upon the holy-days, they are to be avoided; . . . because they are means to rob God of his honour, and to hinder the spiritual edification of Christian people." (P. 226.) By recreation he understands "sports, pastimes, music, playing at some kinds of games, and bodily exercises, &c.; used to refresh the body and mind of man after labour and serious actions." They are of two sorts: 1. vicious and unlawful; and, 2. such as are honest and lawful, in respect both of their own quality, and of freedom from evil circumstances—such as "undue and unseasonable time; undecency in respect of place, persons, habit, or gesture; relation to some vicious end; excessive and immoderate action; disobedience to laws and superior authority, &c." Vicious recreations are at *all* times to be forbidden, but the other class may as "lawfully be permitted and exercised upon some part of the Christian holy-day" as on other days. "Recreations of this quality are prohibited by no just law, either divine, ecclesiastical, or politic, and therefore they are not sins." (Pp. 229, 230.) Not only does the law of Moses nowhere restrain the Jews from the use of honest recreation on their weekly Sabbath-day, but actually its lawfulness may be inferred from Exod. xxiii. 12. (P. 237.) And even "if it were granted that the old Sabbath-law obliging Jews and proselytes, until the time of the Gospel, and then ceasing, prohibited all civil recreation, &c., this concludeth not against recreation upon some part of the Christian holy-day." (P. 239.) It is sometimes held that recreation is forbidden in Isa. lviii. 13, where the Jews are exhorted not to "find their own pleasure" on the Sabbath-day. But "the Hebrew word which is translated 'pleasure' signifieth will and desire, purpose, and de-

light; and the Chaldee paraphrast translates it 'necessities;' and the Greek and Latin translators, 'thine own will,' or 'thine own wills.'* Now the Jews' own works, pleasures, wills, and words, were such as were repugnant to the positive law of the Sabbath then in force," (p. 252); which law neither obliges us, nor prohibited to the Jews aught but *labour*, and that on the *seventh* day.

Admitting that it is the duty of all Christians to perform private as well as public religious offices on the Lord's Day; that these are to be performed preferably to every thing else; and that devout Christians who are so piously affected as to devote to them the entire day, are to be commended and encouraged, Bishop White still holds that it is nowhere made incumbent "upon all people in general to abstain wholly from necessary labour, and from honest and moderate recreation upon the Sunday or the holyday by the space of twenty-four hours." For, "amongst a multitude of people, few are to be found who morally are able to apply themselves the space of so many hours of the day to spiritual and religious exercises, and to divine meditations only, and such as our Novel Sabbatarians require." (Pp. 255–6.) The law of Christ is sweet and easy, Matt. xi. 30; and his commandments are not grievous, 1 John v. 3. Nor is the objection that most people are unable to use moderation and decorum in their sports and pastimes, more weighty than a like objection to the use of any good thing which may be abused. Nay, into the seeming devotions of zealous Sabbatizers may enter "faction, pride, hypocrisy, vainglory," &c., "as well as some lightness and vanity into poor servants' recreations." (P. 257.) "The imposing such a quantity and continuance of spiritual actions as exceedeth the ordinary ability of human faculties, choketh rejoicing and comfort in the services which men perform, and makes the same a tedious burden. And this seemeth to me to have been a prime motive to our religious governors of allowing the people of the land some recreations (not prohibited by our laws) upon the holy-days. For if they should (upon Puritan principles) restrain them wholly from all repast, the holy-day would be more unwelcome to them than the plough-day; and besides, it might engender in people's minds a distaste of their present religion and manner of serving God." (P. 266.)

A section of the work is devoted to the Doctrine of the Reformed Churches concerning the Lord's Day and other Holy-days (pp. 271–4); quotations being made from the first *Confession of Augsburg*, sect. 16; the *Helvetic Confession*, ch. 24; Calvin's *Institutes*, B. ii. ch. 8; Beza, *in Cant. Salom.*, Hom. 30; Bullinger, *in Apoc.* i. 10; Peter Martyr, *in Gen.* ii.; Hospinian, *De Orig. Fest.* c. 2 and 8; Brentius, *Com. in Lev.* xxiii.; and Rivet, *in Exod.* xx., p. 192.

* "Si averteris a Sabbato pedem tuum, facere *voluntatem* tuam in die sancto meo, et vocaveris Sabbatum delicatum, et sanctum Domini gloriosum, et glorificaveris eum dum non facis vias tuas, et non invenitur *voluntas* tua, ut loquaris sermonem; tunc delectaberis super Domino," &c. (*Vulgate.*)

Brabourne's acknowledgment that his position touching the Saturday Sabbath "was a rash and presumptuous error," is given *verbatim* (pp. 305-8); and the volume concludes by inculcating "how perilous a thing it is for private men to dogmatize their own novel and singular opinions," and that "men of meaner judgment and capacity must submit themselves to such as are able to govern and direct them," viz. the rulers in the Church.

In 1637 White published a defence of this treatise. See below, No. 95.

88. HEYLYN (or HEYLIN), PETER, D.D., *Sub-Dean of Westminster, and Chaplain to Charles I. (died* 1662).—The History of the Sabbath. In two Books. The Second Edition, revised. Lond. 1636. 4to. Pp. 190 and 272.

Book I. treats of the period from the Creation till the destruction of the Temple; and Book II. "from the first preaching of the Gospel to these present times."

In the list of Heylin's works prefixed to his *Historical and Miscellaneous Tracts* (Lond. 1681, fol.), it is stated that the first edition of the *History of the Sabbath* was published in 1631. As, however, the main design of the book appears on its face to have been to convince those among the clergy who refused to publish the *Declaration of Sports* in their churches, that the recreations thereby authorized were not inconsistent with either the Mosaic or the Christian law, the date given in that catalogue is plainly erroneous. This is equally manifest from what Heylin himself says of White's and his own treatises, in his *Cyprianus Anglicus*. "It was thought fit," says he, "that the Bishops should first deal with the refusers in a fatherly and gentle way, but adding menaces sometimes to their persuasions if they saw cause for it; and that in the mean season some discourses should be writ and published to bring them to a right understanding of the truth, and their several duties: which burden being held of too great weight for any one to undergo, and the necessity of the work requiring a quick dispatch, it was held fit to divide the employment betwixt two. The argumentative and scholastical part was referred to the right learned Dr White, then Bishop of Ely, who had given good proof of his ability in polemical matters in several books and disputations against the Papists. The practical and historical, by Heylin of Westminster, who had gained some reputation for his studies in the ancient writers by asserting the history of St George, maliciously impugned by those of the Calvinian party upon all occasions. Both of them, being enjoined their tasks, were required to be ready for the press against Michaelmas term; at the end whereof, both books came out. But going different ways to work, they did not both encounter the like success. The Bishop's book had not been extant very long, when an answer was returned unto it by By-

field of Surrey, which answer occasioned a reply, and that reply begat a rejoinder. To Heylin's book there was no answer made at all, whether because unanswerable, or not worth the answering, is to me unknown. And though it is not to be doubted, but that the arguments of the one, and the authorities of the other, prevailed with some to lay aside their former obstinacy and averseness, yet did there still remain too many who stopped their ears, like the deaf adder in the Psalmist, 'and would not hear the voice of the charmers, charmed they never so sweetly.'" (*Cyprianus Anglicus*, pp. 296–7.)

In Vernon's *Life of Heylin*, p. 83 (Lond. 1682), it is said that the *History of the Sabbath* "was written, printed, and presented to the King, in a less space of time than four months, and had a second edition within three months." But we may infer, both from his position as Chaplain to the King, and from his having translated the discourse of Prideaux in 1633, that he had for several years been adding a particular knowledge of this controversy to his general acquaintance with "the ancient writers." Except upon this supposition, it is incredible that a work so elaborate and so overloaded with erudition was produced within the space of four months.

It is dedicated to the King in the following terms:—

"Most dread Sovereign,—Your Majesty's most Christian care to suppress those rigours which some, in the maintenance of their Sabbath doctrines, had pressed upon this church in these latter days, justly deserves to be recorded amongst the principal monuments of your zeal and piety. Of the two great and public enemies of God's holy worship, although profaneness, in itself, be the more offensive, yet superstition is more spreading, and more quick of growth. In such a church as this, so settled in a constant practice of religious offices, and so confirmed by godly Canons for the performance of the same, there was no fear that ever the Lord's Day (the day appointed by God's Church for his public service) would have been overrun by the profane neglect of any pious duties on that day required. Rather the danger was, lest by the violent torrent of some men's affections, it might have been o'erflown by those superstitions wherewith, in imitation of the Jews, they began to charge it. Already they had made it far more burthensome to their Christian brethren than was the Sabbath to the Israelites by the Law of Moses. Nor know we where they would have staid, had not your Majesty been pleased, out of a tender care of the Church's safety, to give a check to their proceedings, in licencing on that day those lawful pastimes which some, without authority from God's Word, or from the practice of God's Church, had of late restrained. Yet so it is, your Majesty's most pious and most Christian purpose hath not found answerable entertainment; especially amongst those men who have so long dreamt of a Sabbath-day, that now they will not be persuaded that it is a dream. For the awakening of the which, and their reduction to more sound and sensible counsels, (next to my duty to God's Church, and your sacred Majesty,) have I applied myself

to compose this Story, wherein I doubt not but to shew them how much they have deceived both themselves and others, in making the old Jewish Sabbath of equal age and observation with the Law of Nature, and preaching their new Sabbath doctrines in the Church of Christ, with which the Church hath no acquaintance. Wherein I doubt not but to shew them, that by their obstinate resolutions not to make publication of your Majesty's pleasure, they tacitly condemn, not only all the Fathers of the primitive times, the learned writers of all ages, many most godly kings and princes of the former days, and not a few councils of chief note, and of faith unquestionable; but even all states of men, nations, and churches at this present, whom they most esteem."

Next follows "A Preface to them who, being themselves mistaken, have misguided others in these new doctrines of the Sabbath." He begins by assuring them that "Not out of any humour or desire of being in action, or that I love to have my hands in any of those public quarrels wherewith our peace hath been disturbed; but that posterity might not say we have been wanting, for our parts, to your information, and the direction of God's people in the ways of truth, have I adventured on this Story."

How wide a field is traversed, and in what order he performs his task, will appear from the Table of Contents, which, in a slightly abridged condition, is here subjoined:—

PART I. *Chap.* i.—The Sabbath not instituted in the beginning of the world. The words in Gen. ii., "And God blessed the seventh day," &c., written as by way of anticipation. No law touching the keeping of the Sabbath imposed by God on Adam. The Sabbath is not engrafted by nature in the soul of man. Its greatest advocates deny it to be any part of the law of nature. Supposed morality and perfection of the number seven. The Scriptures not more favourable to that number than to others. Great caution to be used by those who love to recreate themselves in the mysteries of numbers.

Chap. ii.—No Sabbath kept from the Creation to the Flood. God's rest upon the seventh day, and from what he rested. The sacrifices and devotions of the antediluvians were occasional.

Chap. iii.—The Sabbath not kept from the Flood to Moses. It could not have been kept in the dispersion of Noah's sons, had it been commanded; since diversities of longitudes and latitudes must make a variation of the Sabbath. All the *moral* law was both known and kept amongst the Patriarchs.

Chap. iv.—The Sabbath first made known in the fall of manna. The giving of the Decalogue, and how far it bindeth. In the judgment of the Fathers of the Christian Church, the Fourth Commandment is of a different nature from the nine others. The Sabbath was first given, for a law, by Moses; and being given, was proper only to the Jews. What moved the Lord to give the Israelites a Sabbath; and why the seventh day was preferred. The seventh day not more honoured by the Gentiles than the

eighth or ninth. The attributes given by some Greek poets to the seventh day, no argument that they kept the Sabbath. The Jews were derided for their Sabbath by the Grecians, Romans, and Egyptians. The division of the year into weeks, not generally used, of old, amongst the Gentiles.

Chap. v.—The practice of the Jews in observances annexed to the Sabbath. The annual festivals called sabbaths in Scripture, and reckoned as a part of the Fourth Commandment. Of the Parasceve, or Preparation to the Sabbath, &c. All manner of work prohibited, as well on the annual as on the weekly Sabbaths. What things were lawful to be done on the Sabbath-days. Prohibition to kindle fire and dress meat. Why the Gentiles generally charged the Jews with fasting on the Sabbath-day. The injunction, "Let no man go out of his place on the Sabbath-day." All lawful recreations, as dancing, feasting, and warlike exercises, allowed and practised by the Jews upon their Sabbaths.

Chap. vi.—Touching the observation of the Sabbath till the establishment of Israel in the Promised Land. Was not constantly kept in the wilderness, according to some Jewish and Christian doctors. Man that gathered sticks. Wherein the sanctifying of the Sabbath consisted in the time of Moses: In reference to the people, he commanded only rest from labour; in reference to the priest, an additional sacrifice of two lambs, and the preparation and placing of the shew-bread. Of any Sabbath-duties wherein the priest and people were to join together, the Scriptures are silent. The law not ordered by Moses to be read in the congregation every Sabbath-day. The sack of Jericho, and the destruction of its people, was on the Sabbath. No Sabbath after this without circumcision; and how that ceremony could consist with the Sabbath's rest. What moved the Jews to prefer circumcision before the Sabbath. The standing still of the sun at the prayers of Joshua could not but make some alteration about the Sabbath. The priests' work on that day. The scattering of the Levites over all the tribes had no relation to the reading of the law thereon.

Chap. vii.—The keeping of the Sabbath from the time of David to the Maccabees. David's flight from Saul was on the Sabbath. What he did when king, in ordering things about that day. Elijah's flight thereon. Limitation of a Sabbath-day's journey not known in Elisha's time. The Lord becomes offended with the Jewish Sabbath, and on what occasion. The Sabbath entertained by the Samaritans, and their strange niceties therein. Whether observed during the captivity. Reformed by Nehemiah. The weekly reading of the law on the Sabbath-day begun by Ezra. No synagogues during the government of the kings. New rigours about the Sabbath imposed on the people by the scribes and doctors of the law.

Chap. viii.—What occurs about the Sabbath from the Maccabees to the destruction of the temple. The Jews refuse to fight in their own defence, and what was ordered thereupon. The Pharisees, about these times, had made the Sabbath burdensome by their traditions. Jerusalem twice taken by the Romans on the Sabbath-day.

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* Heylin here founds partly on the spurious passage in Ignatius, mentioned above, p. 120.

age a day of feasting. To hold fasts on it hath been always judged heretical. Recreations on the Lord's Day; and of what kind those dancings were against which the Fathers inveigh so sharply. Other imperial edicts. Regulations at this time in use as to the Lord's Day, &c. Infinite difference between the Lord's Day and the Sabbath.

Chap. iv.—The great improvement of the Lord's Day in the fifth and sixth centuries, makes it not a sabbath. The Lord's Day in St Augustine's time. Base and beastly nature of the stage-plays and public shows prohibited by imperial edicts. Neither all civil business nor all kinds of pleasures restrained on the Lord's Day by the Emperor Leo, as some give it out. The French and Spaniards in the sixth century began to judaize about the Lord's Day, husbandry being then for the first time forbidden. Council of Mascon. No evening service on the Lord's Day till this period. Regulations for meetings. The other great holydays equally esteemed. All business and recreation, not by law prohibited, are in themselves as lawful on the Lord's Day as on any other.

Chap. v.—In the next 600 years, from Pope Gregory forwards, the Lord's Day not regarded as a Sabbath.

Chap. vi.—Doctrine and practice of the Schoolmen and Reformers. Both teach that the keeping of one day in seven is not the moral part of the fourth commandment; and that the Lord's Day is founded, not by divine authority, but by the authority of the Church. Protestant divines recognise the Church's power to change the day. Practice in the Roman and Protestant Churches on the Lord's Day in matter of devotion, rest from labour, and sufferance of lawful pleasure. Dancing cried down by Calvin and the French churches not in relation to the Lord's Day, but to the sport itself. The Eastern Churches. Saturday observed by the Ethiopians equally with the Lord's Day.

Chap. vii.—The Lord's Day in Britain before the Reformation. Saxon and Norman periods. New Sabbath-doctrines in King John' reign. The Lord's Day in Scotland. Laws of Henry III., Edward III., &c. How the Lord's Day stood, both for the doctrine and the practice, in the beginning of Henry VIII.'s reign.

Chap. viii.—From the Reformation till 1636. Doctrine of the three martyrs, Frith, Tyndale, and Hooper. Statute 5 and 6 Edward VI., c. 3. Meaning and occasion of that clause in the Common-Prayer Book, "Lord have mercy upon us," &c., at the end of the Fourth Commandment. Injunctions and Acts of Queen Elizabeth. The Homilies of the Church of England make not anything for a Lord's-Day Sabbath. Origin and dangerous consequences of the new Sabbath-speculations in the Church of England. English laws of King James, and his Declaration about Sports. The Lord's Day in Scotland since the Reformation. Statutes about the Lord's Day made in the reign of our dread Sovereign now being, and the misconstruing of the same. His Majesty reviveth and enlargeth the Declaration of King James. An exhortation to obedience unto his Majesty's most Christian purpose concludes this History.

Dr William Twisse, in a letter to Archbishop Usher, dated 29th May 1640, and published by Dr Nicholas Bernard in 1657, says: "Mr Chambers of Clonford, by Bath, hath long ago answered Dr Heylin's History of the Sabbath, but knows not how to have it printed." (*The Judgment of the late Archbishop of Armagh, &c. of the Sabbath, &c.*, p. 104.) This answer never appeared, nor has *any* adequate reply to Heylin yet been published. The chief writers by whom portions of his work have been controverted are Ley, Baxter, Hill, James, and Stopford. Hill says: "I cannot conclude this preface without doing Dr Heylin that justice as to own, that there are several good things in his History of the Sabbath. His manner of writing is cool and smart; his collection from authors laborious; his style clear, lively, and masculine; his method pretty exact; his search into antiquity singular; his wit very quick and beautiful; and the variety and extent of his knowledge surprising. And had he who (after leaving that part which consists most of argument to others) makes no scruple of undertaking the part of a disputant as well as that of an historian, discharged a good conscience in both, and steadily made it his business to reason and represent things justly, his performance had been one of the brightest of that age. But he fails in both these points, as the following discourse will show, and I hope to make more evident hereafter." The haste with which the book was written, is regarded by Hill as the best excuse which can be made for him, though an indifferent one; but the Doctor, he adds, "lived years enough after to look back and consider what he had done, and publicly to rectify or ask pardon for his mistakes, neither whereof (as far as I can find) he ever did." (*Discourses upon the Fourth Commandment*, by Robert Hill, A.M. Lond., 1728, pref.)

If due allowance, however, be made for the usual influence of party spirit even on candid minds, we shall not be too ready to concur with Mr Hill in charging Heylin with dishonesty. So far as I have had occasion to test his statements, they have not, in any important degree, been found erroneous; and if his conclusions are sometimes too sweeping, this is only what might be expected from any champion, however conscientious, in similar circumstances. His learned contemporaries treated him with more respect than it is now the fashion to express; and even Dr Stopford, though directly opposed to his opinions about the Sabbath, speaks of him as a man of ability, honesty, and learning, worthy to be named with Barrow, Taylor, Bramhall, Baxter, and Mede. (*Scripture Account of the Sabbath*, pp. 6, 55, 130, 131, 207.) Certain it is, that many divines, of the highest character for learning and piety, have advocated the leading views maintained in the work of Heylin; to refute which, it will not be enough to show that as to any subordinate matters his statements are erroneous, or his reasonings hollow.

Two specimens of the work are here subjoined. The first relates to the Sabbath doctrine and practice of Jesus:—

"In those rigid vanities and absurd traditions by which the scribes and Pharisees had abused the Sabbath, and made it of an ease to become a drudgery, in those he thought it requisite to detect their follies, and ease the people of that bondage which they, in their proud humours, had imposed upon them. The Pharisees had taught that it was unlawful, on the Sabbath-day, either to heal the impotent, or relieve the sick, or feed the hungry; but He confutes them in them all, both by His acts and by His disputations. Whatever He maintained by argument, He made good by practice. Did they accuse His followers of gathering corn upon the Sabbath, being then an hungered? He lets them know what David did in the same extremity. Their eating or their gathering on the Sabbath-day, take you which you will, was not more blameable, nay, not so blameable, by the law, as David's eating of the shew-bread, which plainly was not to be eat by any but the priest alone. The cures He did upon the Sabbath, what were they more than what themselves did daily do, in laying salves unto those infants whom on the Sabbath-day they had circumcised? His bidding of the impotent man to take up his bed and get him gone, which seemed so odious in their eyes, was it so great a toil as to walk round the walls of Jericho and bear the ark upon their shoulders? or any greater burden to their idle backs than to lift up the ox and set him free out of that dangerous ditch into which the hasty beast might fall as well upon the Sabbath as the other days? Should men take care of oxen, and not God of man? Not so. The Sabbath was not made for a lazy idol, which all the nations of the world should fall down and worship, but for the ease and comfort of the labouring man, that he might have some time to refresh his spirits. 'Sabbatum propter hominem factum est.' 'The Sabbath,' saith our Saviour, 'was made for man;' man was not made to serve the Sabbath. Nor had God so irrevocably spoke the word touching the sanctifying of the Sabbath, that He had left Himself no power to repeal that law, in case He saw the purpose of the law perverted; 'the Son of man,' even He that was the Son both of God and man, being 'Lord also of the Sabbath.' Nay it is rightly marked by some, that Christ our Saviour did more works of charity on the Sabbath-day than on all other days else. Zanchius observes it out of Irenæus, 'Sæpius multo Christum in die Sabbati præstitisse opera charitatis, quam in aliis diebus' (*in Mandat.* 4); and his note is good. Not that there was some urgent and extreme necessity, either the cures to be performed that day, or the man to perish; for if we look into the story of our Saviour's actions, we find no such matter. It's true that the centurion's son and Peter's mother-in-law were even sick to death; and there might be some reason in it, why He should haste unto their cures on the Sabbath day. But, on the other side, the man that had the withered hand (Matt. xii.), and the woman with her flux of blood eighteen years together (Luke xiii.), he that was troubled with the dropsy (Luke xiv.), and the poor wretch which was afflicted with the palsy (John v.), in none of these

was found any such necessity, but that the cure might have been respited to another day. What then? Shall it be thought our Saviour came to 'destroy the law?' No, God forbid. Himself hath told us, that He came to 'fulfil' it rather. He came to let them understand the right meaning of it; that for the residue of time wherein it was to be in force, they might no longer be misled by the scribes and Pharisees, and such blind guides as did abuse them."—(Part I. ch. viii. § 6).

As to the difference between the Lord's Day and the Sabbath, he says:—

"The Lord's Day had no such command [as the Sabbath], that it should be sanctified, but was left plainly to God's people to pitch on this, or any other, for the public use. And being taken up amongst them, and made a day of meeting in the congregation for religious exercises, yet for 300 years there was neither law to bind them to it, nor any rest from labour or from worldly businesses required upon it. And when it seemed good unto Christian princes, the nursing fathers of God's Church, to lay restraints upon their people, yet, at the first, they were not general, but only thus: that certain men, in certain places, should lay aside their ordinary and daily works, to attend God's service in the church; those whose employments were most toilsome, and most repugnant to the true nature of a sabbath, being allowed to follow and pursue their labours, because most necessary to the commonwealth. And in the following times, when as the prince and prelate, in their several places, endeavoured to restrain them from that also which formerly they had permitted, and interdicted almost all kind of bodily labour upon that day, it was not brought about without much struggling, and on opposition of the people; more than a thousand years being past, after Christ's ascension, before the Lord's Day had attained that state in which it now standeth, as will appear at full in the following Story. And being brought unto that state wherein now it stands, it doth not stand so firmly and on such sure grounds, but that those powers which raised it up may take it lower if they please; yea, take it quite away, as unto the time, and settle it on any other day as to them seems best, which is the doctrine of some Schoolmen, and divers Protestant writers of great name and credit in the world—a power which no man will presume to say was ever challenged by the Jews over the Sabbath. Besides, all things are plainly contrary in these two days, as to the purpose and intent of the institution. For in the Sabbath, that which was principally aimed at was rest from labour, that neither they nor any that belonged unto them should do any manner of work upon that day, but sit still and rest themselves. Their meditating on God's Word, or on His goodness manifest in the world's creation, was to that an accessory; and as for reading of the Law in the congregation, that was not taken up in more than a thousand years after the Law was given; and being taken up, came in by ecclesiastical ordinance only, no Divine authority. But in the institution of the Lord's Day, that which was principally aimed

at was the performance of religious and Christian duties; hearing the Word, receiving of the sacraments, praising the Lord for all His mercies, and praying to Him jointly with the congregation: for the continuance of the same rest and cessation from the works of labour came not in till afterwards, and then but as an accessory to the former duties; and that not settled and established in a thousand years, as before was said, when all the proper and peculiar duties of the day had been at their perfection a long time before. So that if we regard either institution or the authority by which they were so instituted, the end and purpose at which they principally aimed, or the proceedings in the settling and confirming them, the difference will be found so great, that of the Lord's Day no man can affirm, in sense and reason, that it is a Sabbath, or so to be observed as the Sabbath was. And certainly if not before, yet now at least [*i. e.* in the fourth century], it had been seasonable to have translated the Lord's Day into the nature of a Sabbath, had it at all been thought a necessary duty that it should be so. Before, the Church consisted much of servants, who, being obnoxious to their masters, could not so fitly lay aside their business to attend the public service of the congregation, but needs it must have brought some scandal unto the Gospel, and no small danger unto those who did profess it. But now, when peace and full tranquillity was restored unto the Church, and that almost all people generally had embraced religion, how easy had it been to have imposed on all men equally a restraint from labours, that so all of them might together apply themselves wholly to religious exercises, the servant without fear of his master's anger, the master without danger of being betrayed by a faithless servant. A pregnant evidence, that neither in these times, nor in those before, the Christians ever made it a matter of conscience to forbear their labours upon any day, further than as they were restrained by supreme authority, which, licensing the most toilsome labours on this day, and restraining those which were most easy, most plainly manifested that the Lord's Day was not meant for a Sabbath-day." (Part II. ch. iii. § 12.)

Other extracts may be seen in Hill, *passim*; James, 141, *et seq.*; and Cox, 291–2, 295–7, 302–4.

Heylin's book was reprinted in the folio volume of his *Tracts* above mentioned; but as in both its forms it is now scarce, a new edition, annotated by a competent scholar, would be acceptable to many at the present time. Might not the labour of producing one be fitly undertaken by some of the learned divines of the Oxford School? Their knowledge of the writings of the early Christians, and more than usual ability to indicate the degree of confidence which may be placed in the genuineness of what has been transmitted as such, would enable them to revise effectually the quotations of Heylin from the Fathers; while their familiarity with the ecclesiastical history of the first four centuries might give peculiar weight (if weighty testimony be needed) to their

report of the opinions and practice of the primitive Church in regard to the Sabbath and the Lord's Day.

Another work of Heylin's relating to the Sabbath controversy, appeared in 1658, and will be mentioned in its place.

89. PRIMEROSE, DAVID, *Minister of the Protestant Church at Rouen in* 1642.—A Treatise of the Sabbath and the Lord's Day, the Nature and Origin of both. Written by him in French, and Englished by his father, Gilbert Primerose, D.D. Lond. 1636. 4to.

David Primerose had studied at Oxford under Prideaux as Professor of Divinity. His father was a Scotchman, who, having been minister of the Protestant Church at Bordeaux, was afterwards (in 1624) one of the French Church in London, and chaplain in ordinary to James I.; and became canon of Windsor in 1628. (Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* ii. 419; iii. 55; ed. 1813–20.)

The Treatise of the Sabbath had never been seen by Wood, and perhaps is not now to be found; though Crawfurd, in his *Peerage of Scotland*, p. 408 (Edin. 1716), says that he had seen it in the custody of the Earl of Rosebery. This writer gives 1626 as its date; but 1636, the year mentioned by Wood, is more likely to be correct—the wide-spread opposition to the *Declaration of Sports* being a natural inducement to a canon of Windsor who had been a chaplain of King James, to bring what support he could to the royal cause.

The work is replied to by Shepard in his *Theses Sabbaticæ*, 1655.

90. DOW, CHRISTOPHER, B.D.—A Discourse of the Sabbath and the Lord's Day: wherein the Difference both in their Institution and their due Observance is briefly handled. Lond. 1636. 4to. Pp. 75.

This is a clever pleading for the conclusions of White and Heylin. He holds that "Christians cannot justly be blamed, if on the Lord's Day God be solemnly and decently served at fit times, and no other work entertained to the hinderance of this, though every moment of that day be not spent in performance of the acts of God's worship, nor the vacant space observed with a superstitious rest, which shall exclude all other works, and all, even lawful recreation; which to exact at the hands of Christians, what is it but to surpass the Jews in superstition about the Sabbath, and having only changed the day, in dishonour and contempt of the Jews, to require notwithstanding the same ceremoniality of observance? which what fruits it hath had, or can have, I cannot see, save the engendering of endless scruples, and inextricable doubts, and the needless wounding of the consciences of many well-meaning people, when they have no sure guide to direct their practice, and

when that which is required is beyond the ability of mortals to perform. For I will appeal to the consciences of these rigid task-masters, whether ever they, or any other, did yet, or could possibly keep the Lord's Day in that strict manner as they urge it? But haply this little moves them, who being taught that it is impossible to keep God's commandments, will therefore the rather be induced to think it is commanded because they are unable to keep it. Yet sure our Saviour would never have styled his yoke easy, and his burthen light, had this strict observance of the Lord's Day been a part of it; and God's commandments, so as he now under the Gospel requires them to be done, and with the assistance of his grace wherewith he seconds them, (whatever men rashly say of them) are not grievous, much less impossible to be done."—(Pp. 72, 73.)

91. SANDERSON, ROBERT, D.D., *Bishop of Lincoln* (*died* 1663).—A Sovereign Antidote against Sabbatarian Errors; or a Decision of the Chief Doubts and Difficulties touching the Sabbath. Wherein these three questions (beside others coincident) are clearly and succinctly determined, viz.: I. Which is the fittest name whereby to call the day of our Christian weekly rest? whether the Sabbath, the Lord's Day, or Sunday? II. What is the meaning of that prayer appointed to be used in our Church, "Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline," &c., as it is repeated after and applied to the words of the Fourth Commandment? III. Whether it be lawful to use any bodily Recreation upon the Lord's Day? and if so, then what kind of Recreations may be used? By a reverend, religious, and judicious Divine. Lond. 1636.

This anonymous tract was written for the satisfaction of a friend, to whom doubtless ought to be ascribed the complimentary but well-merited epithets here applied to the author. It was reprinted in 1666, under the title of *The Case of the Sabbath*, in a collection of *Five Cases* then published, and which forms part of the fifth volume of Dr Jacobson's edition of Bishop Sanderson's *Works*, Oxf. 1854, 8vo. Of that volume the *Case of the Sabbath* occupies pp. 5–16. It is appended by Dr Walter Farquhar Hook to his discourse entitled *The Lord's Day*, Lond. 1856, pp. 51–68.

The Bishop sides with Heylin, but writes in a strain better fitted than his to conciliate the Puritans. While asserting that "in Scripture, antiquity, and all ecclesiastical writers, the name *Sabbath* is constantly appropriated to the day of the Jews' Sabbath, or Saturday, and not at all, till of late years, used to signify our Lord's Day, or Sunday," he nevertheless allows that "to call Sunday by

the name of the Sabbath-day, *rebus sic stantibus*, may for sundry respects be allowed in the Christian Church without any great inconvenience, and that therefore men otherwise sober and moderate ought not to be censured with too much severity, neither charged with Judaism, if sometimes they so speak. Yet for sundry other respects," he adds, "it were perhaps much more expedient if the word *Sabbath*, in that notion, were either not at all, or else more sparingly used." It is the most proper to be used "when we speak of a time of rest *indeterminate*, and in general, without reference to any particular day;" and the names *Lord's Day* and *Sunday* are fittest "when we speak determinately of that day which is observed in the Christian Church." Of *these* names, again, he thinks the former to be fitter in the theological and ecclesiastical, and the latter in the civil, popular, and common use.

With respect to the prayer after the Fourth Commandment in the Liturgy, he observes that though it imports, 1, an acknowledgment that the precept contains in it a law which *we* are subject to, and ought to endeavour to obey; and 2, a supplication for mercy because of past failure, and grace to help us to improve, yet "it may suffice every sober-minded Christian to understand the prayer appointed by the Church in that meaning which the words do immediately import; and, without over-curious inquiry into those things that are more disputable, to believe these few points following, which ought to be taken as certain and granted amongst Christians, viz.:—

"1. That no part of the law delivered by Moses to the Jews doth bind Christians under the Gospel, as by virtue of that delivery; no, not the Ten Commandments themselves, but least of all the fourth, which all confess to be, at least in some part, ceremonial.

"2. That the particular determination of the time to the seventh day of the week was ceremonial. And so the obligation of the Fourth Commandment in that respect, although it were *juris Divini positivi* to the Jew, yet it ceased, together with other legal ceremonies, since the publishing of the Gospel, and bindeth not Christian consciences.

"3. That the substance of the Fourth Commandment in the general, viz., that some certain time should be set apart from secular employments, to be sanctified to an holy rest, for the better attending upon God's public and solemn worship, is moral and perpetual, and of divine right, as a branch of the law of nature, whereunto Christians under the Gospel are still bound.

"4. That, *de facto*, the Lord's Day, or Sunday, is the time appointed to us for that purpose by such sufficient authority as we stand bound in conscience to obey: *absque hoc*, whether that authority be immediately divine, or but mediately through the power of the Church.

"This," he adds, "is sufficient to regulate the judgment and conscience of every ordinary Christian; yet it is not unlawful for scholars soberly and fairly to argue and debate a little further matters which are questionable, for the better finding out of the truth."

As to the authority binding us to observe a weekly Sabbath, he is of opinion that "the keeping holy of one day in seven is of Divine positive right, taking *jus Divinum* in a large signification, not for that only which is primarily, properly, and directly such, but including withal that which is secondarily, consequently, and analogically such." This view he illustrates with much clearness and precision; placing in the second class the obligation to observe the Lord's Day, and not, as the Puritans did, in the first, which contains the duties enjoined by God's express ordinance in his Word, "or deducible therefrom by necessary, evident, and demonstrative illation." To alter things of *this* class, the Church, he holds, is powerless in all circumstances whatsoever; but things that are *de jure Divino* in the large signification of the phrase, every Particular Church, but much more the Universal, may alter in extraordinary cases where mighty inconveniences, otherwise unavoidable, impend.

The change of day from the seventh to the first, he considers not to be grounded upon any commandment given by Christ to his apostles, nor upon any Apostolical Constitution, but to have been "taken up by the succeeding Church; partly in imitation of some of the apostles, who used, especially in the Churches of the Gentiles (for in the Churches of Judæa the old Sabbath was still observed), to celebrate their holy assemblies upon the first day of the week, in the honour of Christ and his resurrection; and partly for the avoiding of Judaism, wherewith false teachers in those first times were ever and anon attempting to enthral the Christian Church." And he concludes that "the observation of the Lord's Day, having been confirmed by so many Constitutions, both ecclesiastical and imperial, and having withal continued with such uniform consent throughout the Christian world for so many ages, ever since the apostles' times, the Church (not to dispute what she may or may not do *in plenitudine potestatis*, yet) ought not to attempt the altering of it to any other day of the week."

As to Sunday recreations, he agrees with Prideaux, White, and Heylin (see above, pp. 165, 171, 178), and suggests that, in judging of any recreation, regard should be paid to the condition of the person taking it. "Walking and discoursing," says he, "is, with men of liberal education, a pleasant recreation: it is no way delightsome to the ruder sort of people, who scarce account anything a sport which is not loud and boisterous." The effects of the recreations themselves are likewise to be attended to; "those being the meetest to be used which give the best refreshing to the body, and leave the least impression on the mind. In which respect, shooting, leaping, and pitching bar, stool-ball, &c., are rather to be chosen than dicing, carding, &c." But he would have them be used in moderation, at seasonable hours, in a tolerant and charitable spirit towards others, and only if the users of them be fully persuaded of their lawfulness. Finally, they should be "so used, as that they may rather make men the fitter for God's service the rest of the day, and for the works of their vocations the

rest of the week, than any way hinder or disable them thereunto, by over-wearying the body, or immoderately affecting the mind."

There is a well-known biography of Sanderson in Isaac Walton's *Lives*.

92. The Lord's Day the Sabbath Day. Lond. 1636.

93. POCKLINGTON, JOHN, D.D., *Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge* (*died* 1642).—Sunday no Sabbath: a Sermon on Acts xx. 7, 8. Lond. 1636. 4to.

Wood, in his *Fasti Oxonienses*, ii. 301, ed. 1815, says that this sermon, which was preached at Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, at the Bishop of Lincoln's Visitation, 17th August 1635, "was much bought up by, and taken into the hands of young students, who usually read it at their common fires; and, according to their dispositions, it was liked or disliked. But it being in an high manner disgusted (disliked) by the Puritans, they who had the chief sway in the Long Parliament that began 3d November 1640, ordered it on the 10th of March following to be publicly burnt by the common executioner in both the universities and in the city of London. About that time they deprived the author of all his spiritualities before mentioned, and would have proceeded farther as to other punishment, but he being in a manner broken-hearted, prevented their fury by death, which happened (at Peterborough, I think,) in the winter time, 1642."

The sermon was a violent attack on the Puritan opinions, as may be seen from some extracts from it in Prynne's *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 222. It was criticised by Ley (below, No. 102).

Disraeli gives some particulars of Pocklington's trial before a committee of Peers, and his refusal to recant (*Life of Charles I.*, ii. 31–33, ed. 1851). Among the offices of which he was deprived, were those of Prebendary of Peterborough and Canon of Windsor, to the latter of which he had been appointed in 1637, being also about that time, says Wood, Chaplain to his Majesty Charles I.

94. A Divine Tragedy lately Acted: or a Collection of sundry memorable Examples of God's Judgments upon Sabbath-breakers, and other like Libertines, in their unlawful Sports, happening within the Realm of England in the compass of only two years last past, since the Book was published; worthy to be known and considered by all men, especially such as are guilty of the sin, or arch-patrons thereof. 1636.

This is characterized by all the credulity and presumption

which were usual in publications of its class. The application made of the alleged cases is expressed in the following syllogism.

"That for which the Lord inflicteth and executeth so many notorious and severe judgments, must needs be a notorious and heinous sin, and so a breach of His holy commandment.

"But, for the violation and profanation of the Lord's Day by sports and pastimes, or by servile works, the Lord inflicteth and executeth many notorious and severe judgments, as of late we have seen.

"*Erg.* the violation and profanation of the Lord's Day is a notorious and heinous sin, and so a breach of God's commandment."

The minor proposition is held by the author to be "so clear, as it cannot be denied, except men will be senseless and blind atheists."

When a bowler is killed by a blow from a bowl during a Sunday's game; or a man and his wife in Dorsetshire die a few days after his going to see a summer pole erected; or a girl has "danced so long, that thereof within two or three days she died;" or a man, let down to a well to clean it "for to brew beer for a Whitson ale," falls from the rope, and dies; or a party quarrels in going to Sunday sports, and one is killed; or a bell-ringer sickens before he can execute his threat to give a merry peal next Sunday, and dies within a month; or fourteen young men play at football on the frozen Trent near Gainsborough, and, "*coming all together* in a scuffle," are drowned by the sudden breaking of the ice; or one of two boys going to swim in a pond on the Lord's day is drowned, and the other hardly escapes—everybody who either doubts the truth of such tales, or, believing the more credible of them, ascribes the events to causes independent of Sabbath-breaking (such as the weakness of a rope or the ice, or unskilfulness in swimming), is thus to be regarded as a blind and senseless atheist!

Some remarks of Bishop Ironside on this kind of reasoning will be found below, No. 97. p. 191.

95. WHITE, FRANCIS, D.D. (See No. 87.)—An Examination and Confutation of a lawless Pamphlet, entitled "A Brief Answer to a late Treatise of the Sabbath Day." Lond. 1637. 4to.

According to Heylin (see above, p. 173), Richard Byfield wrote the *Brief Answer* here replied to.

96. GUILD, WILLIAM, D.D., *Principal of King's College, Aberdeen* (*died* 1657).—A Treatise against Profanation of the Lord's Day, especially by Salmon-fishing. Aberdeen, 1637. 12mo.

How difficult the clergy found it to suppress salmon-fishing

on Sunday at Aberdeen during the first half of the seventeenth century, appears from contemporary records quoted by Cox, p. 313. The practice was at length forbidden by an Act of the Scottish Parliament, 1661, c. 18.

For a life of Dr Guild see Chambers's *Biog. Dict. of Eminent Scotsmen*, ii. 545.

97. IRONSIDE, GILBERT, *Bishop of Bristol* (*died* 1671).—Seven Questions of the Sabbath briefly disputed, after the manner of the Schools. Wherein such cases and scruples as are incident to the subject are cleared and resolved. Oxf. 1637. 4to. Pp. 297.

The seven questions are these:—1. Was the Sabbath as ancient as Adam in Paradise? 2. Is the letter of the Fourth Commandment a moral precept? 3. What name ought to be given to the Christian man's weekly feast-day? 4. What is the duration of the day? 5. By what authority was it instituted? 6. Is corporal rest a Christian duty on the Lord's Day? 7. What are those duties of holiness unto which the conscience is bound thereon?

Of these questions he states both sides, and offers solutions which coincide with those of White and Heylin. The work is ably written. Its method—that of the Schools—was chosen, he says, as being "of all others, if used with sobriety, the most satisfying."

A dedication to Archbishop Laud is prefixed, in which we thus read: "Notwithstanding the Sabbatarian tenets for the most part thereof be mere novelties, unknown even unto our martyrs in the days of Queen Mary, and were but timorously set afoot by their first masters, yet how deeply they are now rooted who seeth not? and how the hearts of men are thereby alien'd one from another? how such as dare contradict them are made even Anathema; all religion being reduced to this one head—the observation of the Sabbath. How a manifest schism is raised thereby (so far at least as for fear of authority men dare adventure) a weak eye may discern. So dangerous hath been the long connivance of the Church and silence of her sons, whilst some have undervalued these questions, as too mean speculations for men of great abilities to be engaged in, others have been contented to see well-affected people to be drawn on in religion by this holy fraud. But what the issue of both have been experience hath now discovered; for Milo's suckling is become an ox, and the twig that might have been snapt in sunder is grown a sturdy oak."

Of the origin of weeks he says: "Be it granted that time hath ever been divided by weeks, notwithstanding some say that before Israel's coming out of Egypt we find no mention of them at all in Scripture. But that there should be no such division of time without the seventh-day Sabbath hath no ground in reason. For look how time came to be measured by quarters and months

which was by the sun and moon set for that purpose in the heavens; so likewise by weeks. And therefore I make no question but that the heathen, who never heard of a seventh-day Sabbath, have weeks, as well as months and years. For men do naturally observe the course of those great lights, and by the revolution of the sun reckon their years, and by the moon their months. Now the subdivision of the month into weeks is chalked out unto them by the four changes of the moon." (P. 43.)

The Church of England Homily *Of the Place and Time of Prayer* is understood by him as teaching—

"First, That although God be at all times to be glorified for his mercies, yet his pleasure is, there should be set time for this purpose.

"Secondly, That this Commandment given in the Decalogue doth not bind us Christians as it did the Jews.

"Thirdly, That whatsoever is found in the Commandment appertaining to the law of nature, as a thing needful to the setting forth of God's glory, ought to be received of all men.

"Lastly, That the set time of God's public worship ought to be on one day of seven. This indeed, which is last, seems to be something; but seems only, for it must receive construction according to the foundation on which the Homily buildeth,—viz., that nothing herein is moral but what appertaineth to the law of nature. Seeing, therefore, that this particular cannot be deduced out of the law of nature, the Homily never intended it for moral.

"It will be said, that then the Homily doth contradict itself; for if nothing but what is natural must be retained, and one in seven be not natural, how can the Homily affirm that one in seven must for ever be observed, and that by the will and commandment of God himself?

"But for answer hereunto, first let it be considered that the Homily speaks by way of exhortation, *et ad populum;* and in treatises of this nature every passage is not rigorously to be pressed for advantage in disputation. This favour must be yielded to all the popular tractates of the ancient Fathers, else many things may well be quarrelled at in them. Secondly, let the passage itself be well construed, and the Homily clears itself: for it says indeed that God's commandment was so to the Jews; but the Christians have followed this example voluntarily and of their own choice; and if of their own choice, then doubtless not by any necessity of moral precept." (Pp. 94, 95.)*

* Of the weight to be given to the Homilies of the Church of England, a late writer observes: "The thirty-fifth Article only asserts generally, that the Homilies 'contain a godly and wholesome doctrine.' This, we take it, by no means pledges any man to assent and consent to every detail of opinion and argument advanced in the two books of Homilies; and we fearlessly put it to the good conscience of the members of each party in the ministry, whether there were not points which they disliked, and from which they wholly dissented, when they last carefully examined the Homilies. For instance, let one who brings the Homilies to condemn our acknowledging the manifest and

The author exposes at some length the presumption of those who proclaim God's judgments upon the breakers of the Sabbath. His remarks being not wholly inapplicable even in our own age, the following passage may be usefully extracted:—

"Lastly, Men must beware how they draw the Lord to their parties, forcing him to be of their faction even against his will. We foolishly go about many times to advance our cause by observing of some accidents which befall those who either in judgment or practice differ from us. But besides that these be vain observations, and next allied to superstition, if we happen to mistake in our judgments we make the Lord, as much as in us lieth, to bear false witness with us, who is truth itself.

"Now whether the observations which our Sabbatarians have made in this particular be not of this rash, presuming, and profane kind, let any wise man judge, and I wish that they themselves would well consider. For,

"First, It was never yet revealed by prophet or apostle that God would thus or thus punish honest, lawful, and harmless recreations upon the Lord's Day, with such particular judgments as are observed to have fallen upon some particular persons in divers quarters of this land. Let such threatenings be produced, and something is said.

"Secondly, As wise, learned, holy men, as any of contrary judgment, affirm, not nakedly by way of dictate, but with sundry reasons in writing, that such recreations upon the Lord's Day, especially in such manner as is expressed in his Majesty's *Declaration*, are no sins, as hath already been showed. What insufferable arrogance, therefore, is it in these men to cry out, 'Lo, judgments, judgments from the Lord out of heaven!' What is this but foolishly to triumph before the victory, and vainly to think of ourselves more highly than we ought to think?

"Thirdly, Is it so always or for the most part, and do not such accidents fall out as frequently upon other days, and upon other occasions? If the first be not affirmed, as I am sure it cannot, for there be thousands (the more is the pity) that profane the Lord's Day in greater measure than any of those in whom instances have been made, which yet never felt any exemplary evils. 'Tis therefore a wicked and unchristian conclusion to say, 'Vengeance suffereth them not to live.' If the latter be most true, surely we father not the judgments of God aright. When Mr

proven fallibility of the Canonical Scriptures, remember that the said Homilies sometimes refer to the Apocryphal writings under the designation of 'Scripture,' . . . . speaking of them as 'the Scriptures of the Holy Ghost,' 'the teaching of Almighty God,' and even as 'the infallible and undeceivable word of God.'" (*The Doctrine of Inspiration: being an Inquiry concerning the Infallibility, Inspiration, and Authority of Holy Writ.* By the Rev. John Macnaught, M.A., Oxon, Incumbent of St. Chrysostom's Church, Everton, Liverpool. Lond. 1856. P. 306-8). He quotes the first part of the Sermon of Obedience (p. 96, 97; Oxf. edit. 1844), where the Book of Wisdom, vi. 1-3, is founded on as being equally the Word of God with Prov. viii. 15-17.

Traske was confuted in the pulpit for his error concerning his new imagined kingdom of Christ; and through the turbulency of his spirit not enduring his reproof came to be silenced, it happened that Dr Sutton, who opposed him herein, had his next child still-born. 'Lo,' said Mr Traske to some of his friends, 'the Lord hath declared himself to be on my side; the author of my silencing hath a child still-born.' Had this been a strange accident, and not befalling other women, his collection had been probable; whereas now it was, I will not say ridiculous, but most vainglorious, if not blasphemous. The case here is much the same." (Pp. 239–241.)

To the objection that Sunday recreations are destructive of the edification in religion which church-services promote, he answers: "I would gladly know what difference there is between the public worship upon the Lord's Day and the same upon other days. The same word is preached, the same prayers used, the same hymns are sung, the same minister employed, the same people present; yet neither honest recreations, nor lawful vocations, nor manual operations, are then thought to be hinderances to our profiting by the public assemblies. Then they steal not away the seed sown, they choke not the good word of God, they drive not out of our hearts either the exhortations of the minister, or secret motions of the Spirit; why, then, must they do this upon the Lord's Day? Have the ordinances of God less virtue? Hath the day less promise of grace? Are our hearts then more unteachable? Are they not destructive of good things at other times? and are they so at this time? By this it plainly appears, that we place some holiness in the day itself. Besides, there is a gross ignominy and foul aspersion cast upon those whom they oppose in this point, as if they countenanced such licentious ways as must needs destroy the work of grace in the Lord's people: Not honest recreations, which serve to refresh them, are intended; but luxurious delights, in which the Jews did Sabbathize, are insinuated, serving only as provocations to lust, and incentives of sensual plesures. 'Charity thinketh not evil,' saith the apostle; and 'Evil be to him that thinketh evil,' saith the proverb." (Pp. 270, 271.)

"*Obj.* But if you open a door to liberty, it will soon become a wide gate to license.

"*Resp.* I answer that the door of true Christian liberty should in all things stand open to all the professors of the Gospel with the apostle's limitation, that it neither be a cloak on the one side, nor evil-spoken of on the other side, as an occasion of falling to our brethren; with these cautions, I never knew that truth did harm in God's Church." (Pp. 273, 274.)

There is a life of Ironside in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, iii. 940, ed. 1817.

98. GERHARD, JOHN, *Professor of Divinity at Jena* (*died* 1668).—Loci Theologici, tom. iii., De lege morali,

legibus ceremonialibus et forensibus, &c. Genevæ, 1639.

99. YOUNG, THOMAS, D.D., *Vicar of Stowmarket, in Suffolk (died* 1655).—De Die Dominicâ Libri Duo. Per Theoph. Philo-Kuriaces. 1639.

Dr Young was a member of the Westminster Assembly, and one of the authors of *Smectymnuus*.

I have not seen his book; but Baxter, in the preface to his own work on the Lord's Day, describes it as "the most moderate, sound, and strong treatise on this subject" that he knew. He gives as the author's pseudonyme, "Theophilus Loncardiensis," not Philo-Kuriaces, which I have taken from Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*. Possibly two works with similar titles, though by different authors, appeared about the same time.

Some particulars about Dr Young are recorded in Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, iii. 255.

100. ABBOT, GEORGE.—Vindiciæ Sabbathi, or an Answer to two treatises of Master Broad's; the one concerning the Sabbath or seventh day; the other concerning the Lord's Day, or first of the Week. With a Survey of all the rest which of late have written upon that subject. Lond. 1641. 8vo. Pp. 164 and 109.

The author was nephew to the Archbishop of the same name, and in Baxter's preface above mentioned, is styled "my dear friend." There is a copy of his book in the Bodleian Library.

101. GOUGE, WILLIAM, *Minister of Blackfriars, London (died* 1653).—The Sabbath's Sanctification. Lond. 1641. 4to.

This eminent Puritan was one of those who refused to read in his church the King's *Declaration of Sports* in 1633. Ten years afterwards he became a member of the Westminster Assembly, and one of their Committee appointed to draw up a Confession of Faith. (Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, iii. 165–170.)

102. LEY, JOHN, *Pastor of Great Budworth in Cheshire.*—Sunday a Sabbath: or, a Preparative Discourse for discussion of Sabbatory Doubts. Lond. 1641. 4to. Pp. 203.

This acute and candid writer was patronized by Archbishop

Usher, who aided him with a MS. treatise, and to whom his work is dedicated. As the point contended for is one of prime importance in the controversy, and is here handled fully and with great ability, we shall state the author's arguments at some length.

In the preface, he deplores that "now is this Sabbath, or day of rest and quietness, become as a ball betwixt two rackets, bandied this way and that way, by mutual contradiction, not only betwixt the godly and the profane (which is no news), but among many of those who are in no mean account in the Church of God, whether they be valued by the eminence of their places, the excellency of their parts, or the holiness of their lives." One reason assigned for this increase of discussion is, that "the necessary instruction of the people in the heads of a Catechism pressed by especial command of our dread Sovereign that late was, and of his Majesty that now is, maketh the Decalogue (and within it the commandment of the Sabbath) a more common theme for popular discourses, and therewithal a more fruitful ground of erroneous descants, than heretofore, if in such variety of opinions (which cast a mist upon the truth) there be not some more means to clear it, and to guide men to that choice from which too many now endeavour to seduce them." The writers principally opposed by him are Brabourne, Gomar, Brerewood, White, Pocklington, and Ironside. But he generously defends Brerewood from the charge of lack of learning grounded by Richard Byfield on the word Sabbath being spelt "Sabaoth" in the first edition of that writer's treatise.

The titles of Ley's chapters give the modern reader a curious glimpse into the state of the controversy at this time:—

"1. In what cases we may be indifferent for the forbearance or use of names; in what we must be chary concerning both.—2. The divers names of the Christian's weekly holiday.—3. Of three most usual names of the Christian's weekly holiday; and first of the name *Lord's Day*, Rev. i. 10. The strange opinion of Dr Gomarus and Mr Brabourne, charging the title, as applied to the Christian's Sabbath, with impertinency and novelty.—4. A comparison of the old Sabbath-day, the day of our Saviour's birth, of his passion, ascension, and of his apparition to St John, with the day of his resurrection, as touching right to the title *Lord's Day*, and the pertinency and propriety of that title to our weekly holiday.—5. The imputation of novelty in applying the title *Lord's Day* to the Christian's weekly holiday answered.—6. Of the name *Sunday*: whether we may call our weekly holiday by that name: objections against the name Sunday for our weekly holiday.—7. How far it may be lawful to use idolatrous names: an answer to the objection against the name *Sunday*.—8. Of the name *Sabbath*; and first, of the writing *Sabboth*, *Sabbaoth*, and *Sabbath*, which of them is the right; and by occasion thereof some observations of skill and ignorance of the original tongues.—9. The etymology of the name *Sabbath*: and first, of the abusive derivations of it by Justin and Plutarch, by way of contempt for the Jews, their religion and manners.—10. The derivation of the name *Sabbath* from two Hebrew words, the one signifying 'seven,' the other 'rest;'

the former being the error of Lactantius, the latter the true and most received etymology.—11. The several acceptions of the name *Sabbath*.—12. Whether the day called *Lord's Day*, or *Sunday*, may not also be called *Sabbath-day*, or the *Sabbath*: the exceptions which are taken up by divers against it.—13. Reasons why *Sunday*, or the *Lord's Day*, may be called *Sabbath-day*, delivered and defended.—14. Ancient evidence for calling the *Lord's Day* by the name of *Sabbath*, observed specially against Dr Pocklington his assertion, viz., that no ancient Father, nor learned man, took the name *Sabbath* otherwise (from the beginning of the world till the year 1554) than for *Saturday* observed by the Jews.—15. Royal and reverend authority for putting the name *Sabbath* upon *Sunday*, whereby it is cleared from schism as well as from novelty.—16 Of such as are adversaries to the name *Sabbath*, sometimes assenting thereto and using the name in that sense, or yielding that which doth infer it.—17. Exceptions (against some of the precedent testimonies alleged for calling the Lord's Day *Sabbath*) propounded and answered.—18. A particular answer to the particular exceptions made against the name *Sabbath*, as applied to Sunday: and first of the dangerous plot pretended by Dr Pocklington in the use of the name *Sabbath*, and of his prodigious comparison of the name *Sabbath* on the Lord's Day, to the crown of thorns on the Lord's head.—19. An answer to Barklay the Papist his dilemma against the name *Sabbath* for Sunday, or Lord's Day.—20. Master Brabourne his objection of confusion, in calling Sunday *Sabbath*, answered.—21. The objection of Judaism, in using the name *Sabbath*, answered and retorted; as also the reproach of the name, as from the Sabbatarian heretics, removed.—22. The negative argument drawn from the apostles not using the name *Sabbath* for the Lord's Day, answered.—23. Though neither the apostles nor the ancient Fathers called Sunday *Sabbath*, we may; and the reasons why.—24. The objection taken from the use of the name *Sabbath* in dictionaries, histories, and the Roman and Reformed Churches, answered.—25. The objection taken from the statute and language of lawyers answered.—26. A comparison of the names *Sabbath*, *Lord's Day*, and *Sunday*; with a resolution of the question for the name *Sabbath*, as the best, and fittest to be the most usual title of our weekly holiday.—27. A brief accommodation of this nomenclature, or nominal discourse, to some purposes of importance concerning the Sabbath."

Ley's "reasons why Sunday or the Lord's Day may be called Sabbath Day," are the following, expressed as nearly as our limits will allow in his own language:—

1. The name *Sabbath* signifies *rest*; rest from the accustomed labours of the week. But, as Bishop White allows, Sunday is a day of rest, wherein men are restrained from their wonted works, and ought to rest and to give themselves to religious exercises. Therefore the Sunday may be called a Sabbath; for when the thing is acknowledged, why should the fittest name for it be denied?

2. It is confessed by all but heretics, that there are ten commandments to us Christians, as well as to the Jews; and that,

in the words "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy," the fourth requires at least the assigning or setting apart of *some* time to religious rest. Such time, then, as the Church keeps as in obedience to that part of the commandment expressed in the letter of the law by the name *Sabbath*, may, or rather must, be called by that name.

3. Bishop Hall saith, "The Sun of righteousness rising upon that day (called the Lord's Day) drew the strength of that moral precept unto it:" for all the virtue and vigour of it is vanished from the Jews' Sabbath, so that it remains a mere working day; and if so, the title of *rest* surely did not stay behind it, but with the strength was transferred to the day for which it was changed.

4. To gain a title from one thing to another, it is enough to possess the place as successor upon the decease and instead of another; as the Christian's Lord's Day, by the ordinance of the Lord himself, as Athanasius saith (*De Semente; Op.* tom. i. p. 835, ed. 1600), succeeded the Jewish Sabbath, whose name it may have in that respect, if there were no other reason of more weight. And the objection that baptism might as well be called "circumcision," and the Lord's Supper "the Passover," is pointless, because not the proper name of the old Sabbath (*i. e.* Saturday) is ascribed to the Lord's Day, but that name which is common to them both, and wherein the one by a real right and congruity of senses succeedeth the other, viz., the name *Sabbath*, signifying *rest*, which belongs to them both; and that is not as if one should call baptism "circumcision," or the Lord's Supper "the Passover," but as if we should call them "sacraments and seals of the covenant," in which respect the later have both the authority and appellation of the former.

5. The other holidays of the Jews, which were not weekly, are on all sides acknowledged to have been called sabbaths, even when the weekly seventh-day Sabbath was in use; much more then may the Lord's Day now, which is a weekly day of rest (as the old Sabbath was, but now is not), be called by that name.

6. Since Heylin allows the name *Sabbath* to be given (by the Fathers) to cessation from sin, why not give it rather to rest from labour, which is the literal and proper, while that is but a figurative, meaning of the word?

7. The same writer takes the name *Sabbath* to be an honour; shall we not, then, employ this honourable appellation?

Lastly, The Lord's Day is vulgarly called and known as the Sabbath; let us speak with the vulgar, but think with the wise. That the name has been so applied from early times, we may *infer* from the saying of Athanasius above cited, that "the Lord hath changed the Sabbath-day into the Lord's Day," and may *see* in the employment of the phrase "Christian Sabbath" by Origen in his 23d Homily on Numbers (tom. i. p. 259, c. 28), where he says that "Christ is our Christian Sabbath, and he that lives in Christ rests from evil works, and worketh incessantly the works of justice." Nor is it any objection, but a corroboration of what is contended for, that Origen's "Christian Sabbath" is not a

weekly rest from labour, but a Sabbath consisting of cessation from sin at all times: for the Lord's Day, which (Ley assumes) was ordained, and must be observed with more general and solemn holiness, and with more rest from worldly affairs than other days, might *much more* than it be called a Sabbath. And accordingly, Hilary writes: "Upon the eighth day, which is also the first day, we rejoice in the festivity of a perfect Sabbath." (*Prolog. in Psal.*; *Op.* p. 335.) No doubt the Fathers more frequently (he might have said *always*) called the Jewish weekly holiday the Sabbath, and the Christian's weekly holiday the Lord's Day; but they did not condemn the application of the name *Sabbath* to the latter. In subsequent times this application was common enough; as appears from the Homilies of the Church of England, King James's proclamation against profane sports, May 7, 1603, and his *Basilicon Doron*, l. ii. p. 164; as well as from many Briefs by Charles I., dated from 1630 to 1635, appointing times for collections,—a speech of Dr Reynolds at the Hampton Court Conference,—Latimer's Sermon "of a King that married his son,"—and the writings of Bishop Lake, Bishop Hall, and divers other prelates and others whom Ley particularly quotes.

Such is an outline of his case. But whatever may be the force of such reasoning to prove that the Lord's Day *may* with propriety be styled "*a* Sabbath," it left (and still leaves) many even of the friends of a strict observance of the Lord's Day unsatisfied of the propriety of calling it "*the* Sabbath," and so identifying it with *that* institution to which the Jewish law of the weekly Sabbath relates. The school of Laud continued to maintain that the Lord's Day, not being the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment, cannot in propriety of speech be called the Sabbath-day expressly, though it may be styled the Christian Sabbath analogically; as mortification is called by the Apostle circumcision of the heart, Rom. ii. 29, and sincerity and truth unleavened bread, 1 Cor. viii. 5. And Ley's argument against White, that the Fourth Commandment enjoins nothing more precise than the observance of one day in seven, was disregarded by the framers of the Westminster Catechism, and even on the supposition of its soundness would have been ineffectual upon those who (like Baxter and Milton) regarded the Decalogue as a code of laws imposed upon the Jews alone. The complaint of Brabourne in his *Defence*, p. 53, is certainly not unfounded—that "by translating the name *Sabbath* from Saturday to Sunday, the common people, when they read in the Scriptures any thing of note touching the Sabbath-day, presently cast that in their minds upon the Lord's Day, thinking it to be meant of that." Even in the 18th century, so eminent a theologian as Jonathan Edwards imagined that Christ's allusion to the possible flight of his disciples from Jerusalem on the Sabbath-day had reference to the first day of the week, and not to the seventh. (See his first sermon on 1 Cor. xvi. 2: *Works*, vi. 147; New York, 1830.)

In answer to Barklay's dilemma (see above, p. 164), Ley urges that the question is not of the *observation* of the Sabbath, but of its *appellation*; that, however, to call the day a Sabbath, it need

not be the same on which God rested, for the name is given to it not only because of his *example* of rest, but also because of his *ordinance* of rest. And as to the second part of the dilemma, Christ's resurrection contains not the *nature* of the Christian Sabbath, but the *occasion* of it; nor is the day called "Sabbath" from Christ's example and practice on that day, but from Christians resting from their secular affairs, for a religious, grateful, and solemn memorial of the event. It is called "Sabbath" with reference to the creation, because, like God, we rest after six days' works; but with reference to the resurrection it is called "the Lord's Day," because on that day the Lord of the Sabbath showed his lordship and dominion over the devil, death, and the grave. Lastly, to the assertions of Barklay, that Christ did not rest on the day of his resurrection, it is replied, that though he were in action, yet he did not labour; for all the motions and actions of his glorified body were as pleasing to it as any ease or rest could be. "So this notable dilemma," concludes Ley, "brought in with its two horns against the two syllables of the word *Sabbath*, hath not defaced one letter, but left it entire for a title of the Lord's Day; and Barklay hath but barked at it, not bitten it, to do it any manner of hurt." (P. 145.)

The sum of his reasons why, though neither the Apostles nor the ancient Fathers called Sunday "Sabbath," *we* are at liberty to do so, is as follows: "In the primitive times the Lord's Day was seldom [in fact never] called the Sabbath, because then the old Sabbath of the Jews was religiously observed with solemn assemblies; and while and where two days were so solemnized (*i. e.* Saturday and Sunday), it was fit to call them, for distinction's sake and to avoid confusion, by several names: and good reason that the Saturday, having for some thousand of years had possession of the title *Sabbath*, when yet the Lord's Day, or Christian Sunday, had never shined in the world, should be called the Sabbath rather than any other day, and that the Lord's Day should rather be called by another name than by that. But now, at least among us who use that day which was the Jew's holiday, not as a Sabbath, or a day of rest, but as a work day; now that some Jewishly, some profanely affected do deny the name of *Sabbath* to the day we celebrate, to supplant the support of it by the Fourth Commandment (not as it is the Lord's Day, but as one of the seven), there is no danger of confusion by calling the Lord's Day the *Sabbath*, but due caution thereby given against such conceits as tend to impeach the pre-eminence thereof." (P. 167–8.)

His main reason for preferring the name *Sabbath* to *the Lord's Day*, is the very one for which, above all, his opponents considered the title so objectionable and misleading—namely, that by using it "we may uphold *the tenure* of the day, together with the *title* of it, *by the Fourth Commandment*: whereto," says he, "I desire to exhort the reader with the more earnest entreaty; *first*, because some with such supercilious disdain have endeavoured to disgrace that title, that others, as much too modest as they are too bold, have been afraid or ashamed to use it; and I remember one

who was of eminent parts and place, and who formerly had divers times used it in a printed book, having upon occasions named the *Sabbath*, presently recalled the word as if it had been a fault, and took up the title *Sunday* instead thereof: *Secondly*, because, if we let go the name of the time, we may be like to lose the thing in time to come, or at least to loosen and weaken its claim to the best authority on which it depends; for, as it is a weekly holiday, we cannot plead better for it than by the proportion of the Fourth Commandment, and that being made good upon that ground, the difference about the particular day within the circle of the seven will be the more easily composed, since it is no more than other proof and evidence, inferior to an express precept of the Decalogue, may well support." (P. 200.)

But I ask—If the Jewish law of the weekly Sabbath is applicable to every analogous institution which, because of the analogy, may be called *a* sabbath, what hinders us to apply the law of *any* of the Jewish sabbaths to all the others, and even to the Lord's Day? For example, may it not be argued that the duty of fasting, which the Jews were commanded to perform on their annual sabbath called the day of atonement (Lev. xvi. 29–34; xxiii. 27–32), was equally incumbent on them each weekly Sabbath, and is in like manner *our* duty on the Christian festival? The reasoning would be precisely that of Ley:—The day of atonement was a sabbath; the Lord's Day, on which we rest from labour that we may have leisure for Divine worship, is thus *de facto* a sabbath; therefore the law of the one sabbath applies to the other. Yet not only have the Jews never imagined themselves bound to "afflict their souls" on the seventh day of the week; but of all writers on the Christian Sabbath known to me, only one—and he a *lay* member of the Sabbath Alliance—has applied the law of the annual Jewish fast to the mode of observing the Christian festival.*

Bernard's *Judgment of the late Archbishop of Armagh*, &c., 1657, contains an extract from a letter written by Usher to Ley, evidently before the publication of his book on the Sabbath. The primate there remonstrates against the "waterishness" of a proposition which Ley had communicated to him as to the permanence of a law (regarded by Usher as *juris divini positivi*) that some one day in seven should be set apart for God's solemn worship. The proposition was, that "this doctrine, rather than the contrary, is to be held the doctrine of the Church of England, and may well be gathered out of her public Liturgy, and the first part of the Homily concerning the place and time of prayer." "Whereas," says Usher, "you should have said that this is to

* The author alluded to is Mr James Miller, Professor of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh. See pages 4 and 50 of his *Physiology in Harmony with the Bible respecting the Value and Right Observance of the Sabbath*. Edin. 1854. The reader who takes the trouble to compare Mr Miller's application of this article of the Mosaic law with the *entire* passages in Leviticus above referred to, will judge whether or not he writes with the candour that might have been expected.

be held *undoubtedly* the doctrine of the Church of England. For if there could be any reasonable doubt made of the Church of England in her Liturgy, who should better declare her meaning than herself in her Homily? where she peremptorily declareth her mind, 'That in the Fourth Commandment God hath given express charge to all men, that upon the Sabbath-day, which is now our Sunday, they should cease from all weekly and work-day labour, to the intent that like as God himself wrought six days, and rested the seventh, and blessed and sanctified it, and consecrated it to quietness and rest from labour; even so God's obedient people should use the Sunday holily, and rest from their common and daily business, and also give themselves wholly to heavenly exercises of God's true religion and service.' Than which, what could you devise to say more yourself?" From the same letter we learn what MS. it was that Ley received from Usher, as mentioned at the beginning of this article: "For the farther maintenance of which doctrine," adds the primate, "I send you herewith a treatise, written by a learned man (now with God),* against Theophilus Brabourne, who gave occasion to the raising up of these unhappy broils; which, if it may any way conduce to the furtherance of your more exact treatise, &c., I shall be very glad." (Bernard, pp. 105–7.)

103. L'Estrange, Hamon.—God's Sabbath before the Law, under the Law, and under the Gospel, briefly vindicated from novel and heterodox assertions. Camb. 1641. 4to. Pp. 122.

The opinions here maintained coincide so closely with those of the Westminster Assembly, which met in 1643, that the author may have been assisted by some divine who, in due season, became a member of it, and shared the work of preparing its Catechism. At all events, L'Estrange's treatise must have been one of the books in the hands of the committee on whom this labour was imposed.

As both his father and his brother, the famous Sir Roger, were most zealous and active in the royal cause, it is surprising that the Puritan opinions should find so strenuous an advocate in a quarter so unlikely, and that the book should be dedicated first to the Long Parliament (which is extolled as a "glorious Assembly, and bright constellation of the chief and prime lights of the kingdom"), and then to "the right worshipful his highly honoured father." If he was as unscrupulous as Sir Roger, it may, without much uncharitableness, be suspected that one of his objects in setting himself so prominently in opposition to White, Heylin, and Ironside, was a desire to place a member of the family upon friendly terms with the party whose increasing power might soon endanger the adherents of the king.

* Mr Hely of Berry.—*Note by Bernard.*

In Part I. he argues for a primeval Sabbath, quotes many eminent divines who had taught its institution, and ridicules the proleptical mode of interpreting Gen. ii. 3. Acknowledging that Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Eusebius, and Damascen, represent the Sabbath as having originated in the time of Moses, and allowing that the Fathers were "men, many of them, singular both for learning and piety," he asks—"But shall we, without more ado, yield to bare authority? Doth the end of dispute depend merely upon what they have said? May we not examine the matter yet a little further? May we not question whether these men spake as they meant; whether their arguments jumped together? For did they always so? No, if Hierome be of any credit. 'The ancients are sometimes enforced to speak, not so much what themselves think, as what they conceive may most nonplus the Gentiles.' This was their policy against the heathen; might not they use it also against the Jews, with whom they were in continual conflict? If they spake as they thought, might not vehemency of dispute transport them to inconsiderate speeches in their heart, and through too eager opposition to one error to incur the contrary." (Pp. 14–15.)

In Part II. (on the Sabbath under the Law), he thus handles the great question, On whom was the Decalogue imposed?

"Disputed it is, whether the Law, considered as delivered on Mount Sinai, and abstracted from the ratification which it derived from Christ and his apostles, was only given to the Jews, and so only obliged them; or under them, the Gentiles also, who were to become the church and people of God. Zanchie (*in Decalog.*), Dominicus à Soto (*lib. 2, De Justitia et Jure*, qu. 5, art. 4), and some others, are of opinion that it was peculiar to the Jews only, from these reasons.

"First, laws only bind them to whom they are only given: But the Decalogue was given only to the Jews, as is manifest by the preface: *Ergo*, it only bindeth them.

"*Answer*. The Decalogue was, indeed, given to the Jews; but was it as Jews or a nation distinct by themselves? No; rather as covenantees, and the then select people of God, so that whosoever were after implanted in the Covenant, and enrolled God's people, to them, as *post nati*, did and doth the Decalogue belong. Nor was the preface prefixed to invest the Israelites with a sole propriety therein; for God, being now to give them (as they were then his holy and chosen church, which is always formally, though not materially the same) his moral and immutable laws, had here just reason to apply himself first to them as Jews, and to rouse their attention, by inculcating into their memory the recent and signal blessing lately conferred upon them, thereby to excite their more strict observance of what he was now to give them in charge. So that this introduction might, I confess, be proper to the Jews only, and yet the Decalogue itself have a larger province and extent, and be spoken *omnibus similiter*, to all alike. (Irenæus, l. 4, c. 31.) Though should I deny what I partly grant, I could vouch men of no mean note to rescue me from error.

'In this preface, God bespeaketh the Israelites more especially, but yet so as under them he comprehendeth all the Gentiles.' So Beza (*Thes.* 29, art. 5). And for the Roman party, Bellarmine (*De Justif.*, l. 4, c. 6).

"Secondly, if the Law, as given on Sinai, obliged the Gentiles, then were they at that time, before, and now are, since Christ, bound to observe the Sabbath: But they neither were, nor now are, astricted to that observation: *Ergo*, &c.

"*Answer.* That some Gentiles were thereto bound, the pellucid fountain of verity showeth plainly; 'Let not the son of the stranger that hath joined himself to the Lord speak, saying, God hath utterly separated me from his people' (Isa. lvi. 3). If you say that these were Israelites by covenant, though not by seed, then why may not the Christian Gentiles, who are covenantees as well as the Jews, 'who are also the seed of Abraham, and heirs according to the promise, and united in Christ Jesus' (Gal. iii. 28-29), why may not they observe it also? Will you say, because the day is abrogated and annulled? and can you demonstratively prove it is so? The Jewish Sabbath was questionless indeed abolished, but was the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment so? If you say, yea, for they were both one, I reply, it is with greater facility said than proved." (Pp. 40-42.)

L'Estrange, it will be observed, omits to put to his objector the most important question of all—"Will you say, because covenantees under the new covenant have no concern with observances prescribed under the old?" A discussion of this point would have been acceptable to some even of those who (after considering Exod. xix. 3-6; xx. 2; xxxiv. 10, 27; Deut. iv. 8; v. 1-6; Psal. cxlvii. 19, 20) saw no reason to doubt that the Decalogue was given to the Jews, not as a *nation*, but as the select people, or then-existing *Church*, of God.

In Part III. he maintains that the Sabbath-day was changed by *Christ* at the resurrection. "There was no interregnum, no vacancy at all, no cessation of a Sabbath; no, not the first week; no sooner was the old Sabbath abolished, than the new established and installed. The Jewish Sabbath, that slept (we all know) its last in the grave with our Saviour; its ghost (according to country dialect), or the shadow of that shadow, walked, indeed, a while after; but itself, the old Sabbath, expired then, and immediately entered the Lord's Day." (P. 71.) He relies on the texts cited in the Westminster Catechism, and on some of the Fathers who lived after the time of Constantine; but makes no allusion to Rom. xiv. 5, 6; Gal. iv. 9-11; or Col. ii. 16-17. The Fourth Commandment, he holds, applies as strictly and literally to the Lord's Day as to the older Sabbath. The "moral equity," or law of nature, usually recognised as contained in that precept, (viz., "to yield God a competent and convenient time for his worship,") is held by him to be no sufficient rule of Christian duty in this respect, though admitted to be tacitly implied in the commandment. "But so it was," he adds, "in the institution of all other ceremonial festivals, the Passover, Pentecost, &c., to

which we may as well resort as to the fourth precept for it." (P. 60.)

104. BRAMHALL, JOHN, D.D., *Archbishop of Armagh (died* 1663).—The Controversies about the Sabbath and the Lord's Day, with their respective Obligations, clearly, succinctly, and impartially stated, discussed, and determined. (In his Works, pp. 907–938. Dublin, 1677, fol.)

The treatise so entitled by his editor was probably written about 1641, though apparently not published till after his death. It will be found in the last edition of his *Works*, vol. v. pp. 3–86, Oxf. 1845, 8vo.

He declares himself unable to find satisfactory evidence of a primeval Sabbath; rejects the notion of the identity of the Sabbath with the Lord's Day; but holds that the latter was observed as a day of worship by the apostles, whose example he thinks equal to a law binding the Christian Church for ever. He, however, "boggles not at the name of *Sabbath* applied to the Lord's Day, so we understand it rightly of an analogical sabbath." (P. 908.) And elsewhere he observes: "The law of nature comprehended in the Fourth Commandment saith, Thou shalt set apart a time of solemn rest for the public service of God. The evangelical law saith, This time shall be upon the first day of the week, and shall be spent in such and such holy exercise. The just laws of our lawful superiors, civil and ecclesiastical, do go yet farther as to the place and duration of time, and manner of sanctification. He who shall neglect this duty, at this time, in this place, after this manner, is not only a transgressor of human law, but of Divine law; of the evangelical law, and of the law of nature comprehended in the Fourth Commandment." (P. 932.)

105. BERNARD, RICHARD, *Rector of Batcomb*.—A Threefold Treatise of the Sabbath; distinctly divided into the Patriarchal, Mosaical, and Christian Sabbaths: for the better clearing and manifestation of the Truth in this Controversy concerning the Weekly Sabbath. Lond. 1641. 4to. Pp. 235.

In Part First the author advocates at great length the institution of the Sabbath at the creation, in opposition to those who think Gen. ii. 3 either proleptical, or only an intimation that the seventh day was then *destined* to be sanctified to the Jews. He adduces the names of some Jewish doctors who propound his doctrine; also Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, Zanchius, Ursinus, Pareus, Mercerus, Perkins, Willet, Amesius, "and very many more which might be named, holding the insti-

tution of the Sabbath in Gen. ii. 3." And he accordingly contends that it "was observed by God's people before the Law given at Mount Sinai."

In Part II. he discusses minutely the Fourth Commandment, in which (it is argued) no certain seventh day is determinately set down; but the commandment is, "Remember the seventh day," to wit, what day soever, "to keep it holy:" so that "the seventh day from the creation is not of the substance of the commandment. This," he adds, "was for an admittance of the changeableness of the day; for this commandment being affirmative, and propounded in general terms, maketh it applicative to this or that day; to this while it remaineth, and to that which may come in the room of it when this is changed and taken away. As thus: 'Honour the king; to wit, whosoever is king. If Saul be king, honour him; when he is dead, and David be king, honour him.' So is it in this commandment, 'Keep holy the Sabbath-day:' while the seventh day from the creation is the Sabbath, keep it holy; if it be changed, and the first day of the week be the Sabbath, then keep it holy. God foreseeing it necessary that the seventh day from the creation was to be changed, he propounded the law so as to make the day alterable, as being for the time by way of application belonging *unto the commandment*, but not of the substance; no more than Saul was of the substance of this commandment, 'Honour the king.' If this had been, or were, well pondered, the controversy of the Sabbath had been prevented, and should cease now to trouble the Church." (P. 66.)

But what need was there, I would ask, for this supposed careful choice of words in expressing the commandment? Could not the Supreme Lawgiver have just as easily altered the day when and how he pleased, although the original precept had been, "Remember *the seventh day of the week*, to keep it holy"?

With Calvin, Bernard understands the words, "Six days shalt thou labour," to be *permissive* only, "not *preceptive*, but as they have respect to the Sabbath-day, for the better observing of it when we neglect not our business on the six days, nor defer anything thereof unto the seventh day." (P. 74.)

Section XIX., "Of the works which might be done on the Sabbath," is concluded thus:—

"And lastly, besides all these works of piety, and tending to piety, of necessity and charity, there be deeds of indifferency lawful; as these: To walk in the fields, as Christ with his apostles and others did (Matt. xii. 1); to make a feast, and invite guests to go unto it (Luke xiv. 1).

"There may we see from authority of holy Scripture, and warrant from Christ, the Lord of the Sabbath (Matt. xii. 8), what was lawful to be done on the Jewish Sabbath-day; so that they had as much liberty as we have, if the Jews of later times had not mistaken it, and from former profanation of the Sabbath, both before the Captivity (Ezek. xx. 12, 16; xxii. 8, 26; xxiii. 38) and after (Neh. xiii. 13), had not fallen to their Jewish and foolish superstition condemned by Christ." (P. 80.)

As to walking on the Sabbath-day, Bernard controverts the opinion of some contemporary author, that none ought to go out of doors, even to take a quiet walk—a notion founded on the command to the Israelites not to go out to gather manna on the seventh day. Bernard answers that "this was not a prohibition simply to go out, but only not to go out to gather manna; for they had not sinned in walking out, but they did sin in going to seek manna, which the Lord did not rain on that day, and had forbidden them to go out to seek it. If it were not lawful to go out on the Sabbath-day, how was it that some found in the wilderness a man gathering sticks, and yet they blameless; they went out, else they had not found him (Numb. xv. 32, 33). Yea, if it so fell out, upon the Sabbath-day there were causes of going out of their houses (Deut. xxiii. 10, 12, 13)." (Pp. 81, 82.) He says well, that on such points "we are not to regard the writings of the Jewish Rabbies of later times, infected with their own superstition, upon mistakes of Scripture." (P. 80.)

In Part III. he treats of "the Christian Sabbath, the Lord's Day; also now commonly called Sunday." He rejects the "loose opinions of the Familists, Anabaptists, and wicked Libertines, who would be free from any time of set solemn days for God's public service and worship, contrary to the command of God under the Law, and the constant custom of the church under the Gospel, among all orthodox Christians, in all places throughout the Christian world in, all ages for these sixteen hundred years." (P. 109.) Renouncing also "all Traskite and Brabornian errors," and holding that the Sabbath is a perpetual ordinance of the Fourth Commandmeat, though shifted under the Gospel to Sunday, he yet recognizes a distiction between the ceremonial rest prescribed to the Jews, and the rest which he holds necessary for the Christian festival: *this* he "requires not otherwise than a necessary means to further us to holy duties, not as a worship of God in itself. . . . Moreover," says he, "we account the day holy; yet not for any inherent holiness therein, but for that it is set apart for holy uses: and the difference between this and other solemn holy days dedicated to the honour of Christ we take to be, that this is grounded on authority divine, and unchangeable, and so not the other; yet to be observed with rest to religious duties, as is ordained by the authority of the Church, which is not at any time to be despised." (P. 111.)

In chapter 6th, it is contended "that the first day of the week is the Lord's Day, and also the seventh day;" while the 7th treats of "the time when this first day began to be the Lord's Day, and upon what ground." The ground assigned is not a command of Christ, but merely "his resurrection, by which the Lord's Day was declared to Christians, and from that time began to be celebrated." (P. 121.) And seven reasons are given why "this remarkable work of God was to have that day a day of commemoration, above and before all other."

It was by the apostles, he maintains, that the change was made; "and their authority is no less than divine." (P. 129.) On this

subject he expatiates largely. As to the beginning and ending of the day (a point much controverted at the time) he says: "I am persuaded, if we keep it from the morning to the evening, the consciences of men need not trouble them about any other curious search: so that there be a religious preparation to it and a religious care in ending of it; not rushing into it with unsanctified hearts, nor concluding it with profaneness: for the nights are given for bodily rest (Psal. civ. 22, 23; John ix. 4)." (P. 124.)

As usual, he produces a formidable array of "exemplary judgments against the profaners of the Lord's Day." They are formally classified under three heads—those "immediate from God," those "mediate from God," and "casual judgments" (pp. 178–184); and he adds voluminous "answers to the objections which may be or are made against the producing of judgments in this case." (Pp. 184–200.)

The concluding chapter is "Concerning sports unlawful at all times, much more on the Lord's Day; and why sports lawful at other times are on this day to be forborne." His main ground for the duty of such abstinence is Isa. lviii. 13, which he applies to the Gentile Christians as well as Jews, though acknowledging that the doctrine he deduces from it has no foundation in the Fourth Commandment. For he says: "This scripture is the only place in Holy Writ which teacheth us how to keep a Sabbath spiritual *unto* God, by teaching first what to avoid, and then what we should be taken up with on this day." It forbids "the doing of our own ways, finding our own pleasures, and speaking of [our own*] words. By our 'own' he doth mean what we please to do or speak without warrant from him, of our own heads, from our own worldly or carnal desires." (P. 227.) So far Bernard. But others, interpreting the prophet's language by the Fourth Commandment (which was the *law* he was exhorting his countrymen to keep, and their working on the day declared holy by which is thought to have been the only form in which their ways and wills *could* run counter to it), understand the words, "not doing thine own ways nor finding thine own pleasure," as equivalent to "not indulging thy desire to *work* on my holy day;" and they affirm that working is the only form of its profanation mentioned in Scripture, or with which the Jews are ever charged therein. (See White, quoted above, pp. 169, 171-2; and Cox, 437, 544–6, 555–561.) The ambiguity of the English word "pleasure," which means either *voluntas* or *voluptas*—*will* or *enjoyment*, is one source of difference between interpretations of Isaiah. In the Vulgate, as we have seen (p. 172), *voluntas* is the word employed; and the fact that the ancient Jews, not only without reproach, but with the positive sanction of Christ's example, made the Sabbath a day of more than usual enjoyment, is thought to prove conclusively that the Puritan interpretation of the word "pleasure" in the English version is erroneous. Among Seventy Good Resolutions committed to writing by Jonathan Edwards, we read as

* These words are supplied by the translators of the Bible.

follows: "Resolved, Never to utter any thing that is sportive, or matter of laughter, on the Lord's Day." (*Life* prefixed to his *Works*, vol. i. p. 70; New York, 1830.) But the question has been asked, Is it credible that nothing sportive was uttered at the table of that chief Pharisee with whom Jesus feasted on the Sabbath-day? and would the feast have answered to the description of the wise man (Eccles. x. 19), if sportive utterances and laughter had been excluded?

106. WALKER, GEORGE, *Rector of St John the Evangelist, Watling Street, London* (*died* 1651).—The Doctrine of the Holy Weekly Sabbath. Lond. 1641.

In Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, iii. 141, it is mentioned that Walker, having in one of his sermons opposed Bishop White's book, and recommended the holy observance of the Sabbath (as the Puritans understood the phrase), was summoned before Archbishop Laud, and received canonical admonition. In 1638 he was prosecuted, and severely censured in the Star-Chamber. Subsequently, having preached a sermon to prove "that it is a sin to obey the greatest monarch on earth, in those things which stand opposed to the commands of God," he was imprisoned for ten weeks, and at last compelled to enter into a bond of £1000 to confine himself to his brother's house at Chiswick, his living being at the same time sequestered. He continued thus a prisoner upwards of two years, till released by the Parliament in 1641. His case was laid before the House of Commons, who passed a resolution that the treatment he had received was illegal, and that he ought to be restored to his parsonage and indemnified. In 1643 he was chosen a member of the Assembly of Divines, where, says Brook, by his munificent and generous behaviour, he gained a distinguished reputation. Wood says "he was esteemed an excellent logician, orientalian, and divine," but that he was "a severe Puritan." (*Fasti Oxon.* i. 179, ed. 1815.) A note by Baker to Wood's notice of him states that his *Doctrine of the Sabbath* was printed at Amsterdam in 1638. By Ley he is characterized as "a learned and zealous pleader for a weekly Sabbath in the Christian Church," but preferring to call it "the Lord's Day." (*Sunday a Sabbath*, p. 194.)

107. TWISSE, WILLIAM, D.D., *Pastor of Newbury* (*died* 1646).—Of the Morality of the Fourth Commandment, as still in force to bind Christians. Delivered by way of Answer to the translator of Doctor Prideaux his Lecture concerning the Doctrine of the Sabbath. Divided into two parts: 1. An Answer to the Prefacer; 2. A consideration of Doctor Prideaux his Lecture. Lond. 1641. 4to. Pp. 246.

In the preface he says: "To my understanding, by the Fourth Commandment it is clear—first, that God commanded some time to be set apart and sanctified unto his service; secondly, that the proportion of this time he hath defined to be one day in seven; thirdly, that the particular day under this proportion was designed to be the seventh, and that unto the Jews in correspondency to the seventh day from the first creation, whereon God commanded them to rest from all their works, like as on that day the Lord rested from his works. And I think there is no question amongst Christians, but that all this ought to be religiously observed by the people of God, until the Lord himself manifest his pleasure for alteration, and no further, in any particular, than God shall manifest his pleasure for alteration. As for example—first, for the time; then for the rest; lastly, for the service of the day itself. First, If God hath not manifested his will for any alteration of setting apart some time for divine service, we must still continue to set some time apart for divine service. Likewise, if God hath not manifested his pleasure to have the proportion of time altered, which hath been originally allotted unto his service, we must not presume to allow a less proportion of time for his service than hath been formerly prescribed by him. Only both Gomarus and Rivet concur in this, that we may allow more, and that in reason it is fit now under the Gospel to allow more time for God's service, rather than less, in comparison to that which he would have allowed him under the Law. And as for the particularity of the day, if God hath manifested his pleasure to have it altered, it must be altered (as in case it appear to have been ceremonial, in respect of the rest commanded thereon), and another in the seven substituted in the place thereof, and that according to God's direction, and not otherwise. Secondly, so as touching the rest of the day commanded upon Mount Sinai unto the Jews (not so unto Adam upon the Creation; but only we read that God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, which sanctification yet on man's part draws a rest with it), if there be found a just distinction between a rest moral (so far forth as the sanctification of the day requireth), and a rest ceremonial, of a more rigorous nature, and that prefiguring something in Christ, it will follow herehence that the rest moral still continueth, together with the sanctification of the day, as much as ever, and that the rigorous rest must fall and be abolished. Thirdly, so in the last place, as touching the service of the day; whatsoever was prescribed unto the Jews thereon as ceremonial is at end, as, namely, the Sabbath sacrifice, which doubled the daily sacrifice. Only the public ministry of the Word and prayer, as moral, still continueth, together with our Sacramental ceremonies which Christ hath given unto his Church, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and therefore the Lord's Day was called by the ancients the 'day of light,' in reference unto baptism, baptism being called φωτισμὸς, illumination, the first work of grace, and the day of bread, in reference to the Lord's Supper. Now all this I hope to make appear, before I give over this task which I have taken in hand. And I was the more con-

firmed in my meditations, when I heard by one of my auditors, a divine, that in this doctrine of mine concerning the Sabbath, as touching the substance of that which was delivered by me, I nothing differed from the opinion of Dr Prideaux, whose discourse on that argument at that time I had not been acquainted with. But since I find that sect. 8 of that his lecture, he professeth that the Jewish rest cannot stand with our Christian liberty; I say so too, and withal endeavour to give evidence for the abrogation thereof. Further, the same reverend doctor professeth that we only are so far to abstain from work, as it is an impediment to the performance of such duties as are then commanded. I am not only of his opinion herein, but withal desire no more than this to be granted for the maintenance of the moral rest of the Fourth Commandment."

Of the answer to Heylin's Preface to Prideaux, a section is devoted to the opinions of Calvin about the Lord's Day, which are maintained to be in some respects misrepresented by Heylin. In regard to a report which the Prefacer cites from John Barklay, that Calvin "had a consultation once of translating the dominical solemnity into the Thursday," Dr Twisse observes:—"Now, if Calvin had at any time a consultation thereabouts (which cannot be understood of Calvin's single and proper consultation with himself; for then how could the relator be privy to it without revelation; and we commonly say that three may keep counsel when two be away), surely there were many that could give testimony hereof, to wit, as many as whose heads he used in this consultation. And who would not expect that some one of these, at least, should be produced to testify so much either by word or writing?" (P. 36.)

There are four Digressions from the main business; namely, 1. An answer to Tostatus concerning the doctrine of a Paradisaical Sabbath (p. 47); 2. An answer to the arguments of Rivetus against the morality of one day in seven (p. 66); 3. "A Third Digression containing a conference with Dr Walæus about the Divine authority of the Lord's Day" (p. 107); and 4. "A Fourth Digression, making good Mr Perkins his arguments for the Divine institution of the Lord's Day, against the answer made unto them by Dr Rivetus" (p. 134).

The smaller part of the volume (viz. from p. 187 to p. 246) is devoted to Prideaux. It is divided into sections, which treat of the following subjects. "1. How far the light of nature doth direct, as touching the time which ought to be set apart for God's solemn service. 2. Reasons why the Creator should prescribe the proportion of time to be consecrated unto himself. 3. How far the light of nature doth direct as touching the particularity of the day under the proportion of one in seven. 4. That Enosh with his holy company apparting themselves from others, had a set time for Divine worship. 5. That it becomes not us to affect liberty to design the day for the Sabbath. 6. The danger of leaving it to man to make choice of the day. 7. That the celebration of the Lord's Day is of Divine institution; and how far

justified by the Old Testament, and particularly by the Fourth Commandment. 8. That it is nothing strange the Lord's Day should be called by the name of the Sabbath. 9. Sensual pleasures are clearly carried under the title of recreation."

The work is ill-digested, and full of needless repetitions; divers arguments being introduced five, ten, or even fifteen times, apparently in forgetfulness that they had been stated before. This wearisome characteristic is perhaps attributable to the advanced age (about sixty-six) which the author had attained when his book was published. The style, too, is loose and inaccurate.

On p. 114 he says: "As for the places Rom. xiv., Gal. ii., and Coloss. ii., I answer, that if we made the observation of the day, as it denotes a circumstance of time, any part of God's service, or for some mysterious signification contained therein, then indeed we should carry ourselves in contradiction to the places mentioned: but seeing we observe times only out of respect to order and policy, which is necessary for the edification of the Church; and God having always required one day in seven to be set apart for this, even when there was not so great need, nor had God manifested his love to mankind in such sort as in these latter days; and of ourselves we are to seek, of the particularity of the day under a fit proportion of time from the beginning of the world required, and hereupon were we left to our own judgments, a way would be opened to miserable dissension and confusion; what cause have we to bless the Lord for marking out a day to us with such notable characters to make it our Sabbath, and to honour it by his appearance amongst his apostles when they were assembled together both that day, and that day se'nnight after; as also by his apostles to commend it, and establish it in such sort, that for 1600 years the observation thereof hath continued unto this day! which order of the apostles doth carry pregnant presumption that it proceeded originally from the institution of Christ. The necessity of the Church Christian, requiring the specification of the day for the preventing of dissension and confusion, as much as ever the necessity of the Jewish Church required the like; and over and above by reason of the Fourth Commandment we have now better evidence to conclude therehence the observation of the Lord's Day, by the congruity that Christ's resurrection hath to the Lord's rest from creation; better means I say to conclude ours, than they without a commandment to infer the observation of their seventh: for still the day of the Lord's rest is made the day of our rest."

Unlike many of his Puritan friends, he strongly favours the observance of holidays additional to the Lord's Day: "We willingly acknowledge that we Christians are not so bound to one day in the week, as namely to the Lord's Day, as that we may not have our holy assemblies more often than once, but only so, that we may not keep them less often, nor omit the celebration of the Lord's Day: likeas the Jews might not omit the celebration of their weekly Sabbath, though sometimes many days

together, besides, were kept holy by them. So we Christians also having our Sabbath as our Saviour signified we should have when he said, 'Pray that your flight be not in the winter nor on the Sabbath day;' which Sabbath of ours, we keep on the Lord's Day; though we may keep other days holy, yet we may not omit this; and if any shall take upon them to alter this Sabbath, we may be bold to demand of them *quo warranto*, by what warrant from the Lord of Sabbath?" (P. 128.)

As to what the light of nature teaches, he says: "I appeal to every man's conscience, whether the very light of nature doth not suggest that not only some time but a convenient proportion of time ought to be consecrated unto God; and when God hath manifested this to be one day in seven under the Law, doth not the very light of nature suggest that we should sin against God if we should not allow unto him as good a proportion of time under the Gospel?" . . "And whereas we may be to seek of agreement about what is sufficient, therefore, in the next place, the very light of nature doth suggest unto us, that it is far more fit that the Master should prescribe unto the servant what proportion of service he expects from his hands, than that the servant at his pleasure should cut out what proportion of service he thinks good unto his Master; how much more fit that the Creator should prescribe unto his creature, than that the creature should prescribe unto his Creator, considering, 1. How the dominion of God over his creature is incomparably greater than that which any other master hath over his servant. 2. That man may become unreasonable in his demands and commands, God cannot. 3. God can give strength to his creature to perform what he commands, man cannot. 4. The more clear and express the commandment is, the more comfortable to the creature, being hereby assured the service he performs is in the way of obedience, not unto his own will, but to the will of his Master. May I not add a third? namely, that by the very equity of a natural conscience, it is more fit to apportion unto God's service one day in a week, rather than one day in a month; especially considering that originally time hath been divided into weeks, and not into months until a long time after. In all which I am content to appeal to the judgment of Doctor Prideaux himself. Yet we have not done in this argument; for in the Fourth Commandment, there is enjoined, not only the setting apart of some time in general for God's service, and the proportion of one day in seven in special, but also the particulating of a certain day under this proportion; and who seeth not, that so many different things (though one in subordination to another) being duly considered, it is no way fit to confound them, and to speak hand over head of the Fourth Commandment without distinctions? Now, as touching the particularity of the day, herein I confess we are more to seek by the light of nature than for the special proportion of time due unto God; yet consider whether herein also we are not assisted in good measure by the light of nature, and that in certain particulars. 1. As first the decent proportion of time

being observed, it is nothing material in itself, as touching the advancement of the substance of God's service, what day of the week it be performed under the duly specified proportion. . . 2. But though it matters not in this respect on what day the service is performed, yet it may matter much in another respect; for whereas we are all God's creatures, and consequently his servants; and the service we speak of concerns us all in general, and that equally and all we are reasonable creatures; (1.) First it seems fit in reason that there should be an uniformity; for, like as we converse together by commerce and trade in the works of our calling on other days of the week, so it seems most fit we should walk together with God in the performance of his service, otherwise there would be a manifest breach of society. . . . Again, another inconvenience would arise, and that a miserable one more dangerous than the former; for hereupon a window will be opened unto dissension, each standing for his own way, as the manner of man is; and what could be expected but wretched confusion should follow hereupon? Lastly, consider, should no the service of man prove more comfortable unto him if God, as he hath appointed him the proportion of time, so he would be pleased not to leave him to seek of the particularity of the day under the forementioned proportion. (2.) Therefore, as it is fit there should be an uniformity for the reasons given, so, for the maintenance of uniformity, no means sufficient but God's own prescribing of it; hereupon all just occasions of dissension will be cut off, confusion will be prevented, and the service of God, as every way, even in the very circumstance of time, according to his will, shall be the more cheerfully and comfortably performed." (Pp. 153, 191–194.)

He discredits the stories told by Rogers in his Preface to the Articles, and since frequently repeated by others, about the extravagant doctrines and practices of enthusiastic Sabbatarians throughout the kingdom. "Master Rogers saith: 'It was preached in a market-town in Oxfordshire that to do any servile work or business on the Lord's Day, is as great a sin as to kill a man or commit adultery:' Secondly, 'It was preached in Somersetshire that to throw a bowl on the Sabbath-day is as great a sin as to kill a man; that it was preached in Norfolk that to make a feast or wedding-dinner on the Lord's Day, is as great a sin as for a father to take a knife and cut his child's throat.' I wonder the Prefacer doth not call them miracles. Somersetshire is a pretty large county, and there be many market-towns in Oxfordshire; and I do not doubt but there are many parishes in Norfolk. But no particular is here set down, either of person or of place; and we have no better authority for the proof of these imputations than this man's word, which yet undoubtedly was not present at these sermons; for then he would have been very careful to express that, as in the next story he doth the like. So that in the issue, the strength of all comes but to this, that he hath heard it thus reported. Now, I have heard it preached, and that at St Mary's in Oxford, that a man in Banbury, or thereabouts, having broken

a bone, his son refused to go for a bone-setter because it was the Lord's Day; and this sermon afterwards coming into print, the party finding himself aggrieved by this scandalous report cast forth of him, repaired to the quarter-sessions holden at Oxford, and complained to the Justices of the wrong that was done unto him; the preacher of that sermon being by, and the whole matter being opened, and the contrary justified, the preacher professed that he delivered no more than he had heard, but promised the next time that he printed that sermon he would leave that story out. Dr Hoskins of our house was present at the hearing of this business, and brought us word of it. . . In the last place, he (Rogers) saith, 'It was preached in Suffolk' (and that he could name the man, and was present when he was convented before his ordinary for preaching the same) 'that to ring more bells than one upon the Lord's Day to call the people unto church, is as great a sin as to commit murder;' this is more particular than the rest, and had he added one thing more the evidence had been complete, namely, that as he saith, 'he was convented for it before his ordinary,' so he was found convicted of it; which if it were so, I wonder he should conceal it; if it were not so, of what credit is this his relation?" (Pp. 161–163.)

Again: "As for the rigorous keeping of the day" (ridiculed by Prideaux) "in such sort 'as neither to kindle fire in the winter-time, wherewith to warm themselves, or to dress meat for the sustentation of themselves,' I am so far from justifying it, that I willingly profess I am utterly ignorant where any such Christians live, that press any such rigorous observation of it." (P. 188.) "To draw the ox out of the ditch, and to lead cattles to watering, I take it to be a work of mercy, as tending to the preservation of life in a dumb creature. In like sort the dressing of meat for the health of man's body, I take to be a work of mercy. So that the performing of these in reference to the end whereto they tend, I take to be of necessary duty (as here they are called works of necessity), and consequently not permitted only, but commanded also in the general, though not in this commandment, but in the second commandment of the second table: only they are said to be permitted on the Lord's Day, to signify that the Fourth Commandment doth not enjoin them nor forbid them, in commanding rest from works on that day, and the sanctifying of that rest." (P. 241.)

Dr Twisse is described by Fuller as "a divine of great abilities, learning, piety, and moderation." He constantly refused preferment when offered to him; finding greater happiness in studious retirement, and the performance of his pastoral duties at Newbury, than he thought attainable in higher stations, however honourable or advantageous. Though one of the refusers to publish the Declaration of Sports in his church, he escaped the punishment which so many others were made to suffer for the like disobedience. "In the year 1643, he was nominated, by an order of the Parliament, prolocutor to the Assembly of Divines. On account of his great

modesty he repeatedly declined the appointment, but was at length prevailed upon to accept the office. The learned Assembly was opened July 1, 1643, when Dr Twisse preached to both Houses of Parliament, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. 'In his sermon,' says Fuller, 'he exhorted his learned auditory to a faithful discharge of their duty, and to promote the glory of God and the honour of his Church; but he was sorry that they wanted the royal assent. He hoped, however, that in due time it might be obtained, and that a happy union might be procured between the King and Parliament.' (*Church History*, B. xi. p. 199.) Dr Twisse, on account of his age and manifold infirmities, was not able to attend upon the concerns of the Assembly; but in a few months was taken ill, falling down in the pulpit, to rise no more. . . . He was carried to his lodgings, and laid upon his bed, where he languished about a twelvemouth. . . . He died July 20, 1646, aged seventy-one years. The whole House of Commons and the Assembly of Divines paid their last respects to his memory, by following, in one mournful procession, his mortal remains to the grave." (Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, iii. 15–16.) He was buried in Westminster Abbey; but after the Restoration, his bones, along with those of many other eminent persons there interred while royalty was in abeyance, were dug up and thrown into a pit in the neighbouring churchyard of St Margaret's.

If he had lived till the Westminster Catechism was drawn up, and had also retained the opinion above quoted, that rest on the Lord's Day is not *in itself* a religious duty, he must have opposed the doctrine therein set forth, that "the Sabbath is to be sanctified by *a holy resting* all that day."

In Brook's list of his works is mentioned another treatise on the Sabbath, entitled *The Christian Sabbath defended against the crying evil of these Times of the Antisabbatarians of our Age*; but the title thus reported seems to be imperfect.

A Letter from Archbishop Usher to Dr Twisse, concerning the Sabbath, and the latter's reply, were published by Dr Bernard in a volume entitled, *The Judgment of the late Archbishop of Armagh, &c., of the Sabbath, &c.*, pp. 73–104, Lond. 1657, which will be noticed in its place. The reply is dated 29th May 1640, and Usher's letter must have been written shortly before.

At the end of my copy of Twisse's volume, and of the only other copy known to me, are inserted *Theses de Sabbato*, (pp. 10), and *Defensio Thesium de Sabbato*, (pp. 9), by the learned and estimable Dr LAKE, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who died in 1626. Among the doctrines there propounded are the following:—

The Sabbath began with Adam, and though Tertullian and Justin Martyr teach otherwise, they but make a bare assertion, "and that of a thing so remote from their times that they could not know of it otherwise than by relation. From the Scriptures they had none; haply they had it from some Jews. Galatinus allegeth some. But I oppose Jews to Jews. Philo Judæus *De Opificio Mundi* is not only of a contrary opinion, but holdeth also

that it was a feast common to all nations." * Aben Ezra also and others are for a primeval Sabbath.

"As God, when he ended the first creation, made a day of rest and sanctified it, so did Christ, when he ended his work, make a day of rest, and sanctified it," to wit the first day of the week, whereon he rose from the dead, appeared sundry times afterwards to his disciples, and sent the Holy Ghost. "True it is that Christ did rest from suffering on the seventh; but the last enemy, Death, was not apparently overthrown until the reunion of his soul and body, till he rose again for our justification, &c. Therefore did the apostles make that the consummation of redemption in Christ's person.

"The apostles, directed by Christ's not only example but spirit also, observed the same; witness in the Acts St Paul, St John in the Revelation. And from the apostles the Catholic Church uniformly received it; witness all ecclesiastical writers. And the Church hath received it not to be *liberæ observationis*, as if men might at their pleasure accept or refuse it, but to be perpetually observed to the world's end.

"And although the apostles were indulgent to the Jews in keeping the seventh as well as the first when they conversed with them, until the destruction of the temple, yet would they not endure that the Gentiles should be tied to the observation thereof."

In the prayer after the Fourth Commandment in the Liturgy, is meant "not the Jewish Sabbath, but that which analogically to the original Sabbath we observe—the Lord's Day."

The Jews, he says, misconstrued Exod. xvi. 4–26 and xxxv. 3, in holding that they might not kindle a fire or dress meat upon the Sabbath-day: for the latter passage must be limited by the verse going before, and is to be understood only of kindling of fire for following their trades of servile works; and "as for the 16th chapter, which seemeth to forbid the dressing of meat, I hold that mistaken also. Read the chapter, and mark whether you can find that upon the sixth day they were to dress any more [manna] than served for that day, and to lay up the rest undressed until the Sabbath—at what time, I hope, they were to dress it before they did eat it. And indeed only the providing of manna is there forbidden, and a promise (whereof they had experience) that it would not putrefy upon the Sabbath though they kept it till then, whereas upon other days it would."

This interpretation of Exod. xvi. is that of Brabourne (*Defence*, 2d ed., p. 137), and Heylin (Part I. ch. v. § 7); but most divines think it at variance with verse 5, where the Israelites are commanded to "*prepare* on the sixth day that which they bring in, and it shall be twice as much as they gather daily." Twisse remarks: "Some think a greater strictness was enjoined in the wilderness than afterward observed by them: as in the story of Nehemiah it is said, 'There was prepared for his table daily an ox, and five chosen sheep' (Neh. v. 18); and our Saviour's enter-

* But see above, p. 117.

tainment by some on the Sabbath-day doth seem to them to intimate as much; howsoever in after times it came to pass that they grew superstitious in this way; as Austin observes of them in his days, that 'Judæi neque occidunt neque coquunt.'" (P. 179). It must be added that Josephus, after stating of the Essenes that they "are stricter than any other of the Jews in resting from their labours on the seventh day," gives as an instance of this peculiar strictness their practice of "getting their food ready the day before, that they may not be obliged to kindle a fire on that day." (*Jewish War*, B. II. ch. viii. § 9; Whiston's Transl., vol. iii. p. 379.) As Josephus was a Pharisee, it hence appears that in his time the Pharisees thought it lawful to cook on the Sabbath-day; though in the time of Christ certain of them accused his disciples of Sabbath-breaking, because in walking through the fields they had plucked some ears of corn and rubbed them in their hands. Among modern writers, Michaelis, Hengstenberg, and Kalisch, hold cooking on the Sabbath to be forbidden to the Jews in the Mosaic law; and by this interpretation the practice of many, if not most, of the modern Jews is determined. (Michaelis, vol. i. pp. 21, 22, and vol. iii. pp. 164–7; Hengstenberg, pp. 61, 87; Kalisch, *Com. on Exodus*, Lond. 1855, pp. 300, 357, 593, notes on Exod. xvi. 23; xx. 8, 11; xxxv. 3.) Not only Michaelis and Hengstenberg, however, but the great body even of the Puritan writers on the "Christian Sabbath," allow cooking to be performed *on it* as a work of mercy; Twisse himself declaring, "I know none that thinks it unlawful to dress meat proportionable to a man's estate on this day." (P. 178.) The question, with reference to both Jews and Christians, is amply discussed by Palmer and Herbert (No. 122), in their second volume, pp. 89-94.

To return to Bishop Lake: "As for recreations," he observes, "I can say nothing but that seeing the Lord's Day is to be the exercise of that life which is spiritual, and as a foretaste of that which is eternal, it were to be wished that we did intend those things as far as our frailty will reach. But *vivitur non cum perfectis hominibus*, and we must be content to have men as good as we may, when it is not to be hoped they will be as good as they should. Yet we must take heed that we do not solemnise our feast vainly as either the Jews or Gentiles did, against whom Nazianzene is very tart, and Tertullian in his *Apology*. . . . We may in apparel and diet be more liberal and costly on feasts than on other days, Ἀγάπαι were corporal feasts joined to the Eucharist, wherein the rich did feed the poor: which afterwards for inconvenience was removed out of the church. . . . But although, the ἀγάπαι were taken out of the church, yet upon those days the rich relieved their poor brethren; which they little think of that for fear of breaking the Sabbath have taken away hospitality. Some men are over-nice in this point, more nice than Christ himself, Luke xiv., who on the Sabbath went to a feast, and that was to a wedding-feast. And why not? seeing the Sabbath is *symbolum æternæ*, not only *quietis*, but *lætitiæ*; therefore resembled to a feast without the toil of acquisition. So that the Sabbath is not

violated by feasts, if we exceed not *necessitatem personæ*, though *naturæ* we do. Now *necessitas personæ* requireth that more be employed in providing feasts as a king's diet than a subject's, a noble than a common man's, a college than a single person. But we must take care *ne quid nimis in victu*, joy, &c. *Alogia*, which St Austin reproves. Epist. 86 *ad Casulanum*, must not be used. And we must keep the apostle's rule; whether we eat or drink, we must do all to the glory of God. And it were to be wished that the old practice whereof there is a pattern in the king's house and some cathedral churches, were everywhere in use—that at six o'clock in the morning, prayers were everywhere appointed for servants and such as were to prepare dinner to go then to church, at whose return the masters might go with the rest of their family.

"As for other recreations, if they be not opposite or prejudicial to piety, they may well stand with the solemnising of the Sabbath and other feasts. Too much austerity doth rather hurt than good; especially in those days, wherein indulgence, whereof we have patterns in God's synchoretical laws, is extorted from those that are in authority by the general corruption of the time. Wherefore I would distinguish in such cases between the precept and permission. The precept sheweth whereunto men should tend and be exhorted; and it were to be wished they would follow and keep the Lord's Day, as they are directed by the Canon and Injunction. The permission sheweth what must be tolerated for the hardness of men's hearts.

"Vacation from bodily labour is required both *per se*, for it is a figure of our freedom from those animal toils in the Church Triumphant; and also *propter aliud*, that we may the better intend our spiritual life.

"To conclude all: seeing all agree that it must be observed, and differ only upon what ground and how far; seeing to fetch the authority from God and to keep it with all reasonable strictness maketh most for piety; in a doubtful case I incline thither, though I condemn not them that are otherwise minded; wishing that sobriety of judgment to in all such disputes which St Paul commendeth, Rom. c. 14."

108. HAKEWILL, GEORGE.—A Discourse of the Institution, Dignity, and End of the Lord's Day, upon Rev. i. 10. Lond. 1641.

109. GROTIUS, HUGO, *an eminent Dutch jurist, schôlar, and theologian (died* 1645).—Opera Omnia Theologica. Lond. 1679. 3 vols. fol.

It was from England, as Hengstenberg remarks, that "the doctrine of the obligation of the Mosaic law of the Sabbath spread to Holland. Some English Puritans, who sought an asylum in Zea-

land, introduced it. It was first published in two works on Ethics, by Udemann in 1612, and Teelling in 1617. Several ministers embraced the new opinions; others retained the old. The Synod of Dort attempted to put an end to the controversy; but they did not venture to do so by giving a positive decision as to the doctrine. They sought to stifle the discussion. At last it was determined, that, in the reprint of their minutes, what had passed about the Sabbath should be omitted. A commission of four theologians was entrusted with the settlement of the question, and the preparation of articles which both parties could accept. They accomplished this, and both parties were at first really satisfied with their six articles At the same time it was decreed* that these should be retained, and that no one should preach or write against them, till a national synod was held, which was not likely to be very soon.

"As we may readily imagine, these means were not adapted to secure the desired effect. It was not long before the controversy was renewed with greater warmth than ever. From the ministers it soon passed to the professors. It spread through all the academies of Holland, and for a whole century was the cause of great and uninterrupted discord in the Church.

"At the commencement of the controversy, the principal opponent of the validity of the Mosaic Sabbath law was the renowned Gomarus, who published his work, *Examen Sabbathi*,† in the year 1628. In this he maintains, that the Sabbath was first instituted in the desert, and was ceremonial. The chief writers on the other side were Rivet, Walæus, Amesius, and Boetius. No attention was paid to a moderate theologian, Thysius,‡ who warned them not to attach too great importance to their differences, and either to be silent, or at least to tolerate each other. At last, however, they grew weary of the controversy, and it rested for a time, but only to break out again with the greater violence [in 1658]." (Hengstenberg on *The Lord's Day*, Martin's translation, p. 69.)

The Dort articles are as follows:—"1. In the Fourth Commandment there is something ceremonial and something moral. 2. The ceremonial was the rest of the seventh day, and the rigid observance of that day prescribed to the Jewish people. 3. But the moral is, that a certain and stated day was appointed for the worship of God, and such rest as is necessary for the worship of God, and devout meditation upon Him. 4. The Sabbath of the Jews having been abrogated, the Lord's Day must be solemnly sanctified by Christians. 5. From the time of the apostles this day was always observed in the ancient Catholic Church. 6. The day must be so consecrated to Divine worship, that there shall be a cessation

*.17th May 1618. This was at one of the last meetings of the Synod, and after the departure of the foreign deputies.

† The correct title is *Investigatio Sententiæ et Originis Sabbati*. See above, No. 76, p. 159.

‡ See a volume by Thysius, Polyander, and others, entitled, "Synopsis Purioris Theologiæ, disputationibus quinquaginta duabus comprehensa." Lugd. Bat. 1632. 8vo.

from all servile works except those which are done on account of some present necessity, and from such recreations as are discordant with the worship of God."

It was after this searching controversy, with which, no doubt, he was perfectly familiar, that Grotius formed those opinions about the Sabbath and the Lord's Day which we find expressed in his theological writings.

The *first* volume contains his Annotations on the Old Testament; the *second*, Annotations on the New Testament; and the *third*, a variety of treatises, including the celebrated one *On the Truth of the Christian Religion*. Of that work two English translations have been published; one by Dr John Clarke, Dean of Sarum (Lond. 1793), and the other by Dr Spencer Madan, a chaplain in ordinary to George III. (Lond. 1814).

In Book V. Section x. of the treatise just specified, Grotius thus delivers his opinion as to the distinction of days:—"We come now to consider the Jewish festivals. These, all of them, were in general appointed as memorials of God's kindness to that nation in their deliverance from Egyptian bondage, and in their subsequent conveyance to the promised land. Now, a future period is foretold by Jeremiah in his 16th and 23d chapters, when the remembrance of that kindness shall be rendered so inconsiderable by new and far greater kindnesses, that the bare mention of it shall almost be forgotten. And here we may apply to the festivals what has already been observed on the subject of their sacrifices; that the people had begun to entertain a similar confidence in that particular; as if the commission of all other offences whatsoever were a matter of very little consequence, provided that they paid a regular and strict attention to these formal institutions. Hence it is that God thus expresseth himself in the first chapter of Isaiah: 'Your new-moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth; they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them.' With regard to the Sabbath in particular, it is usually objected, that the observance of that day is by an universal and perpetual commandment; not given and confined to one people only, but declared from the beginning to the first parent of mankind. To this I answer, agreeably to the opinions of the most learned of the Jews, that the precept respecting Sabbaths is twofold; a precept of *commemoration*, as in Exod. xx. 8; and a precept of *observance*, as in Exod. xxxi. 13. Now the precept of commemoration enjoins nothing more than a religious remembrance of the creation of the world: the precept of observance consists in a strict abstinence from every other employment. The former was given from the beginning, and, no doubt, carefully obeyed by those devout persons who lived before the law, such as Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; among the later of whom, while we frequently read of their travelling to distant places, we nowhere find their journeys interrupted by the Sabbath; a circumstance which, after the Exodus, is constantly observable: for the first day of security experienced by the Israelites after their deliverance out of Egypt, and their happy preservation and

passage through the Red Sea, was employed as a Sabbath, and thereon they sang a song of triumphant rejoicing to the Lord; who thenceforth enjoined them to observe that day as a perfect day of rest, which we find first mentioned in the gathering of manna; Exod. xvi., as also xx. 8, xxxv. 2; and Levit. xxiii. 3. To this purport also the deliverance out of Egypt is given as the cause of the law respecting the Sabbath; Deut. v. 15. A provision likewise is hereby made, as may be seen in the places above cited, against the cruel severity of masters towards their servants, in allowing them no respite from labour. The obligation, it is true, extended even to all strangers sojourning in the land; but this was evidently in order to preserve one uniform appearance of rest throughout the whole nation: it is, at the same time, sufficiently clear that other nations were not included in this law, were it only from the frequent mention of it which occurs in Scripture (as in Exod. xxxi. 13, 16), under the appellation of 'a sign,' and even of a special covenant between God and the Israelites. We have shown, moreover, in the beginning of this section, from the promise (which is there alluded to) of far greater kindnesses to come, that the festivals appointed to the Israelites as memorials of their deliverance out of Egypt, were by no means such as would require an everlasting observance: besides, had the sabbatical law of rest been enacted from the beginning, and so enacted that it never could on any occasions have been broken or repealed, it must necessarily have prevailed in the conflict, whensoever it should clash with other institutions. This, however, was far from being the case; for infants, it is certain, might legally receive circumcision on the Sabbath-day (see John vii. 22); and while the temple remained, victims were slaughtered as much upon that day as upon any other; see Numb. xxviii. 9.

"That this law was not immutable, is plain from the Jewish doctors themselves, when they admit, that any work whatsoever might be carried on upon the Sabbath without the smallest impropriety, under the sanction and authority of a prophet; and this they exemplify by the taking of Jericho on the Sabbath-day, at the command of Joshua. Some also of the same Rabbins afford us, rather happily, a demonstration that the coming of the Messiah would destroy all distinction of days, from that passage of Isaiah, which declares (see lxvi. 23) that 'it shall come to pass, that from one new moon to another, and from one Sabbath to another, all flesh shall come to worship before the Lord.'" (Vol. iii. p. 79.)

The distinction here made by Grotius between "the religious remembrance of the creation of the world" (which he holds to have been enjoined from the beginning, and apparently regards as being still incumbent on all men), and abstinence from ordinary occupations (which he thinks peculiar to the Jews), is more amply maintained in his annotations on Exod. xx. 8–10, where the opinion is expressed that Justin and Tertullian, in affirming that the patriarchs before the law did not "sabbatize," meant only that they did not rest from labour on the seventh day—not that it was no practice

of theirs to engage then in the worship of the Creator of heaven and earth. By this means he avoids what seemingly would otherwise have been recognised by him as the necessity of giving a proleptical interpretation to Gen. ii. 3, where the sanctification of the seventh day is spoken of. (Vol. i. pp. 44, 45, 46; see also his note on Acts xv. 21, in vol. ii. p. 623.) Few writers on the Sabbath question now make this distinction; which, however, seems to have occurred to some of the Reformers, and is adopted by the late Rev. T. S. Hughes, Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge, in his *Letter to Godfrey Higgins, Esq.*, pp. 7, 22 (Camb. 1826). The early *Gentiles* also, according to Grotius, venerated the seventh day of the week; though he is far from affirming that they observed it by *resting from labour*. "The completion of the work [of creation] within seven days," says he, "was a circumstance of which the memory was preserved, not only among the people of Greece and Italy, in the honour paid to the seventh day, as we learn from Josephus, from Philo, from Tibullus, from Clemens Alexandrinus, and from Lucian (while at the same time the Hebrew observance of it is universally well known), but also among the Celts and the Indians, who all had an hebdomadal division of time; as appears from Philostratus, from Dion Cassius, from Justin Martyr, as well as from the oldest names of the days." (*On the Truth*, &c., B. I., sect. ix.; *Op.* iii. 16.) But the evidence referred to (which is partly quoted by Grotius in his notes), has been assailed by Selden, Hughes, and others—and, though still often adduced at third or fourth hand by popular writers, who stretch it so as to include rest from labour on the part of the Gentiles, it is certainly by no means conclusive. (See above, pp. 113, 116, 117, 148.) The reason why Gentile sojourners in Canaan (the so-called proselytes of the gate) were forbidden to work on the Sabbath, is said by Grotius in his Annotations to have been, "that they might not disturb the civil order, and occasion loss to the Israelites;" "for if, on the day when the Israelites rested, it had been allowed to foreigners promiscuously to transact business, they would have turned away profit from the native inhabitants, who by this means would have suffered injury." (Vol. i. pp. 34, 46, on Exod. xx. 10.)

In commenting on Matt. xii. 7, 8, he speaks of the *ceremonial* character of Sabbath-observance as a thing self-evident and beyond controversy; and, in reference to the declaration of Jesus that "the Son of man is Lord also of the Sabbath," maintains that it is a mistake to understand the phrase "Son of man" as here meaning Christ exclusively; seeing that while acting on earth he owned his subjection to the Law of Moses, and on this occasion neither altered it nor proposed to do so, but spoke merely as its *interpreter*, and strengthened his interpretations both by appealing to its own authority, and by arguments from equity and utility. "Here, therefore," says Grotius, "by 'the Son of man' is signified man in general (*homo quivis*); the correctness of which interpretation is made evident beyond contradiction by Mark, in whose narrative Christ says, 'The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sab-

bath; therefore the Son of man is Lord also of the Sabbath.' For these words have no coherence, if you understand by 'the Son of man' the Messiah sent with power to annul the Law. To which add, that Jesus at this time had neither announced himself nor desired to be announced as the Christ, either to the people or to the Pharisees; see Matt. xvi. 21; Mark viii. 30." Grotius adds that in Hebrew "the Son of man" was a phrase familiarly used for any man. (Vol. ii. p. 124-5.) Again: in remarking on the declaration that "the Sabbath was made for man" (Mark ii. 27), he distinguishes clearly between acts properly *moral*, and those which, although frequently so styled by theologians, are more correctly described as *useful*; in which latter class he places the Hebrew observance of rest on the seventh day—this alone, in his apprehension, being referred to in the assertion of Jesus. "Some acts," says he, "are so virtuous in themselves, that to do the opposite can never but be wicked. Others there are, which become obligatory through some legal enactment not flowing of necessity from the fountains of moral principle, but commonly devised as a means to some useful end. So, this law of rest on the seventh day was devised for its eminent and twofold utility: first, in order that assemblies instituted for pious purposes might not, on any pretext of labour, be neglected; and next, that labourers might enjoy some breathing-time, which else the inhumanity of masters would hardly have allowed to their servants; Exod. xxiii. 12. To these ends were added as accessories the commemoration of the deliverance from Egypt, and the symbolizing of greater things. For we have elsewhere shown that in the beginning the Sabbath was not instituted by God with the necessity of resting from work. Duties of this kind easily give way when there is an evident and urgent reason for omitting their performance; since equity itself dictates, what the Civil Law likewise sets forth, that things devised for their utility ought not to be made odious by too rigorous an interpretation of the precept." (Vol. ii. p. 298).*

The command of Jesus to the infirm man on the Sabbath-day to "take up his bed and walk" (John v. 8), is commented on by Grotius as follows:—"It was the custom of Christ, when he had performed a miracle, to command something to be done that might bear witness to its reality; and so he does here. But by this tes-

* "Sunt quædam ita per se honesta ut nunquam sine flagitio contra ea fieri possit. Sunt alia quæ ex Jure constituto veniunt, quod non ex fontibus honesti necessitate quadam fluit, sed utilitatis alicujus causâ reperiri solet. Ita lex illa otii ob duplicem maxime utilitatem reperta est; primum ne ullius operis obtentu negligerentur conventus pietatis causâ instituti; qua de re agimus suprà: deinde, ut aliquod esset à laboribus spiramentum, quod alioqui dominorum durities familiæ vix erat concessura; Exod. xxiii. 12. His accessionis vice addita est Ægyptiacæ libertatis memoria, et rerum majorum significatio. Nam ab initio non institutum fuisse à Deo Sabbatum cum otiandi necessitate alibi probavimus. Quæ vero hujus sunt generis facile cedunt ubi in contrarium urget evidens ratio. Nam æquitas ipsa dictat, quod et Jure Romano proditum est, quæ utilitatis causâ sunt reperta ea non debere duriori interpretatione in odium retorqueri."

timony to Divine power the Sabbath was sanctified, not profaned. For how much more glorious an act was this than to circumcise a child or slaughter victims, which it was lawful to do on the Sabbath!" (Vol. ii. p. 497.)

He refers to Eusebius for proof that Constantine, besides issuing his well-known edict that labour should be suspended on Sunday, enacted that the people should not be brought before the law-courts on the seventh day of the week, which also, he adds, was long observed by the primitive Christians as a day for religious meetings. (Vol. i. p. 45; and vol. ii. p. 623.) And this, says he, "refutes those who think that the Lord's Day was substituted for the Sabbath—a thing nowhere mentioned either by Christ or his apostles. And the apostle, when he says that Christians are not to be judged in respect of sabbaths or new moons (Col. ii. 16), shows them to be free from the law of resting from labour; which freedom would be none at all if the law remained in force, with merely a change of the day." In connection with this point, sundry places in Justin Martyr are referred to, as evidence that the employment, by the early Christians, of Sunday in addition to Saturday for their religious assemblies, was "not in pursuance of any Divine or apostolic precept, but in the exercise of the liberty bestowed on them, and by voluntary consent." (Vol. i. p. 45.)

The synagogues to which St James refers in Acts xv. 21 are thought by Grotius to be Christian churches, to which the name had come to be applied, as appears from James ii. 2. (Vol. ii. p. 623.)

The words of Paul, in 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, asking alms for the poor Christians at Jerusalem, are understood by Grotius of collections at *meetings* on the rest day of the week. It was, as he again observes, on that day, and on the Sabbath, that the Christians more especially held their assemblies; and the reason why Sunday was fixed on by Paul for the giving of alms is thought by him to be, that "the Christian converts from Judaism, retaining a Jewish custom, did not handle money on the Sabbaths; so that the ensuing day was fitter for this purpose." (Vol. ii. p. 827.)

110. SELDEN, JOHN, *a very learned and able English jurist, scholar, and politician* (*died* 1654).—Opera Omnia, tam edita quam inedita. Collegit ac recensuit David Wilkins, S.T.P., &c. Lond. 1726. 3 vols. fol.

Vol. I. contains an elaborate work, published in 1640, *De Jure Naturali et Gentium, juxta Disciplinam Ebræorum, Libri Septem.* Of its third Book, Chapters IX. to XXIII. relate to the Sabbath, and are thus entitled:—

"CAP. IX. Quid de originis seu primariæ Sabbati seu septimi in dierum periodis diei, ut festi, institutionis tempore et loco senserint Talmudici. Obiter de itinere sabbatico; et quanta fuerit ejusce mensura, atque unde auspicanda. De Chronico Seder Olam Rabba dicto, ejusque autore et vetustate. (P. 313.)

"CAP. X. De causa et ratione institutionis Sabbati, ex Ebræorum sententia, et ad quosnam illam pertinere velint. (P. 324.)

"CAP. XI. De loco in deserto, et tempore (adeoque mense mensisque die) primæ, juxta Ebræos, observationis Sabbati, ex præcepto nimirum seu institutione capite superiori ostensa. Epocha dierum enumerandorum seu temporis nychthemerini, juxta Ebræos aliquot; et de telluris umbilico. Primum Sabbatum, unde sequentia pendent, in deserto observatum, neutiquam fuisse septimum in periodo a rerum conditu dierum, non deesse inter Christianos qui existimaverint. (P. 328.)

"CAP. XII. Ad Sabbati observationem, ut Judæos originarios, sic proselytos justitiæ et parilis conditionis reliquos obligari; proselytos autem domicilii aliosve Gentiles non item, statuunt Ebræi. Nec observatio ejusmodi permissa proselytis domicilii. De peregrino seu proselyto in legibus de Sabbato sacris magistrorum sententiæ. (P. 338.)

"CAP. XIII. Quæ ante de Sabbato ostensis videantur apud Ebræos adversari; tum eos qui Ebraice scripsere, tum Philonem et Fl. Josephum. (P. 342.)

"CAP. XIV. Expenduntur et explicantur quæ capite in superiore ex magistris et Philone allata receptis eorum de Sabbati institutione atque prima celebratione observationeque sententiis adversari videantur. (P. 346.)

"CAP. XV. Fl. Josephi locum capite in decimotertio adductum, si de diei septimi cultu alios apud gentes pariter atque Ebræos receptos sumatur, ipsi rerum veritati palam reluctari. Neque sic intelligendum. Aliæ scilicet gentes neutiquam diem in periodis dierum septimum, seu Sabbatum hebdomadicum, colebant. Obiter de Sabbati nomine, hujusque et jejunii apud scriptores paganos confusione. Calendarium Romanorum vetus. Orbis dierum nundinalis. (P. 350.)

"CAP. XVI. Quæ apud veteres tum Græcos tum Latinos occurrunt, alia item veteribus tributa, quorum autoritate asserendum videatur, etiam a nonnullis asseritur, diem septimum Gentilibus olim coli seu observari, idque velut ex instituto publico, solitum. (P. 362.)

"CAP. XVII. Quæ capite superiori ex Aristobulo ac Clemente Alexandrino (adeoque ex Hesiodo, Homero, Lino, Callimacho), Luciano, Agellio, Suetonio, Censorino, Ovidio, ac Tibullo, de diei septimi seu Saturni observatione apud Gentiles allata sunt, explicantur. Ea ad sacrum diei in periodis dierum septenariis septimi cultum non omnino attinere. De Sabbati nomine tam orientalibus quam occidentalibus accepto pro ipso die septimo, qua septimus est, perinde ac se septimum significaret. (P. 368.)

"CAP. XVIII. Ostenditur quæ capite decimo sexto e Tertulliano, Lampridio, Seneca, de die Saturni, Sabbatis, ac die septimo afferuntur, non omnino probare cultum diei septimi Romanis veteribus ex instituto seu publice receptum. Festa Romanorum quotannis stativa nec pentecostes numerum, juxta Tertullianum, implesse. Calendariis aliquot, velut ex more Romanorum veteri, dierum hebdomados pro ogdoadibus summa cum ascitantia adponi. (P. 380.)

"Cap. XIX. Flavii Josephi verborum de hebdomadis more (qua 'ad gentes universas eum pervenisse' ait) explicatio initur. Cujus gratia quædam præmittuntur. Primo, dierum per hebdomados distributio, et planetarum nominum adjectio, ejusque vetustas. (P. 386.)

"Cap. XX. De planetarum in diebis designandis ordine, ejusque vetustate. Ἑπτάζωνος. Ἡμέρα σαββατική. Zonarum notio, pro orbibus, spatiis, seu circulis, quibus circumferuntur planetæ septem. Commentitia apud Judæos aliquot planetarum in diebus hebdomadis ordinis dispositio. Orbis dierum hebdomadici constans apud veteres initium in die Solis, quale hodie manet. De Mahummedanorum die Veneris illis sacro. (P. 394.)

"Cap. XXI. De ordinis in orbe dierum hebdomadico planetarii ratione. Horarum præfecturæ, apud astrologos veteres, planetariæ. De horarum vetustate. Priscorum sententiæ de heptazoni seu planetarum in cœlo ordine. Unde argumentum a nonnullis adversus denominationis hebdomadicæ vetustatem perperam affertur. (P. 406.)

"Cap. XXII. Ordinis dierum in hebdomade, et planetaria eorundem denominationis, Josephi seculo, usus, in oriente; in occidente. Et undenam in vulgus hominum hujus observatio adeo fuerit olim disseminata. (P. 418.)

"Cap. XXIII. Scopus Flavii Josephi in verbis illis quorum gratia hactenus disputatum est, ejusque vera ibi sententia de more hebdomadis quem ad gentes universas ait pervenisse." (P. 428.)

From these heads it will be seen that, according to Selden, the Sabbath was regarded by the Jews as an institution peculiar to themselves and their circumcised proselytes; its observance had no footing among the early Gentiles; Josephus and Philo really affirm nothing to the contrary of this; nor do the passages often adduced from Greek and Roman writers (and which Selden quotes) warrant any such conclusion—the "seventh day" of which they write being (as he makes it appear) the seventh, not of the week, but of the month. On these subjects, and the origin of the week, which also he handles, see above, pp. 116, 117, 148.

Dr Aikin, in his *Life of Selden*, observes of the work here noticed, that it "is to be regarded as historical rather than philosophical; and, therefore, although the opinion given of it by Le Clerc (*Bibl. Chois.* vol. ix.) may be well founded, it does not follow that Selden is censurable for not having performed what he never proposed. That critic says: 'Selden only copies the rabbins, and scarcely ever reasons. His rabbinical principles are founded upon an uncertain supposition of the Jewish tradition, that God gave to Noah seven precepts, which all the human race was to observe. If this were denied, the Jews would be much at a loss to prove it. Moreover, his ideas are very imperfect and embarrassed.' But as it was Selden's professed object to exhibit Jewish law as laid down by the Jewish writers themselves, he was in some measure constrained to follow their method, though perhaps founded in fiction, and partaking of the barbarism of a people unused to philosophical arrangement; and it cannot be denied that he has made his work

a valuable repertory of all that history or tradition informs us concerning the Hebrew institutions before and after the Mosaic dispensation. In that view it has been much commended by learned men, both at home and abroad, and it made a large addition to the reputation the author already possessed for indefatigable industry and profound erudition. An abridgment of it was published by John Francis Buddeus, professor at Halle, in 1695." (Pp. 110–112.)

In 1640 Selden was unanimously sent by the University of Oxford as their representative to the Long Parliament; by which, three years afterwards, he was appointed a member of the Westminster Assembly. It is recorded by Whitelock that in the debates of that body, "Mr Selden spake admirably, and confuted divers of them in their own learning. And sometimes when they had cited a text of Scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them, 'Perhaps in your little pocket-bibles with gilt leaves' (which they would often pull out and read) 'the translations may be thus, but the Greek or the Hebrew signifies thus and thus;' and so would totally refute them." (Whitelock's *Memorials of English Affairs*, p. 68; Lond. 1682.)

In Selden's *Table-Talk*, published after his death by Richard Milward his amanuensis, and included in vol. iii. of his *Works*, the following occurs under the head SABBATH:—

"Why should I think all the Fourth Commandment belongs to me, when all the Fifth does not? What land will the Lord give me for honouring my father? It was spoken to the Jews with reference to the land of Canaan; but the meaning is, if I honour my parents, God will also bless me. We read the Commandments in the Church-service, as we do David's Psalms, not that all there concerns us, but a great deal of them does." (P. 2069.)

111. OCKFORD, JAMES.—The Doctrine of the Fourth Commandment. 1642.

This book, written by a follower of Brabourne, is said by Cawdrey and Palmer, in their *Sabbatum Redivivum*, to have been "confuted by fire, being adjudged to be burnt." (Vol. ii. p. 427.) He is answered by them in the same volume, p. 446, *et seq.*

112. Sabbato-Dominica; or, a few Propositions tending to reconcile the seeming Difference between the Letter of the Law and Christian Liberty in the Doctrine of the Sabbath and Lord's Day. By IRENÆUS PHILALETHES. Lond. 1643.

"By the people of God," says this writer, "I understand all those, and only those, who, by profession of the true religion, take upon them to be in special covenant with the true God; for unto all those, and only unto those, I take the law of the two tables to

be given by God at Mount Sinai; not unto the nation of the Israelites alone, nor unto all mankind universally, but indefinitely only unto all, as all had an unconfined liberty to become Israelites by profession before the birth of Christ, and Christians after, and so to enter into special covenant with God, as the Israelites had done before the law was published. Exod. xix. 5, &c." (Pp. 5, 6.)

He holds that "the seventh day" in the Fourth Commandment means only *that proportion* of time; and as to the name of the Christian weekly holiday he says: "To call the Sunday now the Sabbath is no more to Judaize, than it is to call the ministers of the Gospel priests, the eucharist a sacrifice, or the communion-table an altar. . . . By calling the ministers of the Gospel priests, the eucharist a sacrifice, and the communion-table an altar, I understand the unaffected applying of those particular names by Christians now-a-days to such persons and things as, in regard of their office and use, carry some correspondence and analogy unto other persons and things, unto which the same names were under the Law applied by the Jews." (Pp. 68, 69.)

But the question remains behind, *Does the Scriptural law of the Sabbath apply* to an institution having some correspondence and analogy to it—any more than the Scriptural laws concerning priests, sacrifices, and altars, apply to Christian ministers, the eucharist, and communion-tables?

113. Lawson, John.—Some Arguments in the New Testament for the Sabbath. 1644.*

114. Prynne, William, *a Puritan lawyer, and a member of the Long Parliament* (*died* 1669).—Canterbury's Doom: Or, the First Part of a Complete History of the Commitment, Charge, Trial, Condemnation, Execution, of William Laud, late Archbishop of Canterbury. Lond. 1646. Pp. 565. Fol.

For publications offensive to Laud and the royal family, Prynne had, during the Archbishop's ascendency, been heavily fined, and deprived of his ears in the pillory. On Laud's impeachment he was employed as chief manager of the prosecution, and in the present work has collected the accusations brought against that arbitrary prelate. Among these are,—That he instigated Charles I. to republish the Book of Sports in 1633, ordered the clergy to proclaim it in their churches, and punished many who refused. On this subject some curious particulars are recorded at pp. 128, 131–155. Laud's defence, and Prynne's reply, will be found at pp. 504–6, 521. The Archbishop was accused also of suppressing pas-

* In 1645, Cawdrey and Palmer published the first volume of their *Sabbatum Redivivum*; but as the second, which is the more important, did not appear till 1652, I defer the notice of both till then (No. 122).

sages about the Sabbath in several books which passed under his censorship; see p. 337. The anti-Sabbatarian writings of Pocklington, Heylin, &c., are commented on at pp. 222–5.

115. The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines and others, now by Authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning a Confession of Faith. Lond. 1647.

Such is the modest title under which the celebrated Confession of Westminster was originally published.

In 1643, shortly after the temporary abolition of Episcopacy in England, an "Assembly of learned and godly divines and others" was summoned by the Long Parliament, to meet in Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster, for the purpose of deliberating, and, when required, advising the Legislature, as to the form of Church-government "most agreeable to God's holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other Reformed Churches abroad;" "and for the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the Church of England from all false calumnies and aspersions." The ordinance of parliament calling them together may be seen in Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, v. 337; Neal's *History of the Puritans*, iii. 44, ed. 1822; or Hetherington's *History of the Westminster Assembly*, p. 92. The king refused them his authority.

These divines, as Milton observes, "were neither chosen by any rule or custom ecclesiastical, nor eminent for either piety or knowledge above others left out; only as each member of parliament in his private fancy thought fit, so elected one by one." (Milton's *Fragment of a History of England*, quoted in Orme's *Life of Baxter*, p. 70. See also Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, B. v. vol. i. p. 414, ed. 1702.) Most of them, however, seem to have fully or partially deserved the eulogium which Baxter accords them; namely, that "the divines there congregated were men of eminent learning, godliness, ministerial abilities, and fidelity: and," he adds, "being not worthy to be one of them myself, I may more freely speak the truth, even in the face of malice and envy; that, as far as I am able to judge by the information of all history of that kind, and by any other evidences left us, the Christian world, since the days of the apostles, had never a synod of more excellent divines than this and the Synod of Dort." (*Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, Part I. p. 93.) Such testimony as this, from such a man, is sufficient to outweigh any amount of disparagement from royalist writers like Clarendon and Butler. (See Clarendon, i. 415; Butler's *Remains*, and the Notes to his *Hudibras*, Part I. canto i., ver. 811, and to canto ii., ver. 702.) That the learning of *some* of them was but shallow, appears from a passage above quoted from Whitelock. (See p. 226.) Among the assembled divines were Richard Byfield, Dr Thomas Young, William Gouge, John Ley, George Walker, Dr William Twisse, Daniel Cawdrey, and Herbert Palmer, all of

whom had published on the Sabbath question (see above, pp. 160, 193, 207, 227); also Lightfoot and Wilkinson, who afterwards did so. The names of all the members are prefixed to the common editions of the Confession; their number is 98, besides 11 Commissioners from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Among these Commissioners were the well-known Alexander Henderson and George Gillespie of Edinburgh, Samuel Rutherford of St Andrews, and Robert Baillie of Glasgow.

As the Puritans had the ascendency in the Long Parliament, it was inevitable that Calvinistic and Sabbatarian divines should predominate in the Assembly, and also that the exasperation which the king and his party had excited by the Book of Sports, and by the subsequent oppressions and controversies, should strengthen the disposition of these divines to introduce a strong assertion of the prevailing Sabbath notions into their Confession of Faith.

A *Journal of the Assembly of Divines*, from 1st July 1643 to 31st December 1644, was kept by Lightfoot, and is included in vol. xiii. of his Works (Lond. 1824, 8vo). Unfortunately it does not embrace the period when the Confession and Catechism were debated; but we find in it, under 13th Nov. 1644, the following discussion on that section of the *Directory for the Public Worship of God* which relates to the sanctification of the Lord's Day:—

"Then fell we upon the work of the day; which was the Directory for observation of the Sabbath, brought in yesterday by the second committee.

"There was large debate, at the first, about the title: and it was concluded to be, 'For the sanctifying of the Lord's Day, the Christian Sabbath.'

"Then fell a debate, whether we should handle the celebration of the Sabbath in our Directory, or Catechism and Confession, and how we should do it, to avoid offence of Judaism on one hand and profaneness on the other; and how we may bring in the private duties of the Sabbath in our own families in a Directory for Public Worship. But it was concluded to fall upon the work, and so to it we went. . . . .

"Mr Wilkinson sen., put this query,—How we should regulate iron-works and glass-works? but this was answered by this next proposition.

"Second Prop.: 'To abstain from all unnecessary labours, worldly sports, and recreations.'

"The debate upon this was, about putting in prohibition of worldly discourses; and some moved to add, 'worldly thoughts.' This was scrupulous, whether we should not be a scorn to go about to bind men's thoughts; but at last it was concluded on to be added, both for the more piety, and for that the Fourth Command includes it.

"Third Prop.: 'That there be no feasting on the Sabbath.'

"This Mr Marshal opposed, and Dr Temple and I myself. They instanced in Christ's feasting, Luke xiv., and in his feasting, at least dining, with all his disciples in Peter's house, Matt. viii.

"Therefore it was proposed thus,—'That the diet on the Sab-

bath-day be so ordered, that no servants or others be unnecessarily kept from the public service;' and so it was passed," &c. (P. 327-9.)

The Directory accordingly teaches that "the Lord's Day ought to be so remembered beforehand, as that all worldly business of our ordinary callings may be so ordered, and so timely and seasonably laid aside, as they may not be impediments to the due sanctifying of the day when it comes.

"The whole day is to be celebrated as holy to the Lord, both in public and private, as being the Christian Sabbath. To which end, it is requisite, that there be a holy cessation or resting all that day from all unnecessary labours; and an abstaining, not only from all sports and pastimes, but also from all worldly words and thoughts.

"That the diet on that day be so ordered, as that neither servants be unnecessarily detained from the public worship of God, nor any other person hindered from the sanctifying that day.

"That there be private preparations of every person and family, by prayer for themselves, and for God's assistance of the minister, and for a blessing upon his ministry; and by such other holy exercises, as may further dispose them to a more comfortable communion with God in his public ordinances.

"That all the people meet so timely for public worship, that the whole congregation may be present at the beginning, and with one heart solemnly join together in all parts of the public worship, and not depart till after the blessing.

"That what time is vacant, between or after the solemn meetings of the congregation in public, be spent in reading, meditation, repetition of sermons; especially by calling their families to an account of what they have heard, and catechising of them, holy conferences, prayer for a blessing upon the public ordinances, singing of psalms, visiting the sick, relieving the poor, and such like duties of piety, charity, and mercy, accounting the Sabbath a delight." (*The Confession of Faith*, &c., Glasg. 1845, 12mo, pp. 335-6.)

Baillie, one of the Scotch Commissioners, writes in 1646:—"Our Assembly, with much ado, at last have wrestled through the whole Confession, and all is now printed. The House of Commons requires to put Scripture to it before they take it into consideration; and what time that will take up, who knows? We had past a quarter of the Catechise, and thought to have made short work of the rest; but they are fallen into such mislikes, and endless janglings, about both the method and the matter, and all thinks it will be a long work." (Baillie's *Letters*, Bannatyne Club edition, ii. 415.)

On the 3d of December in that year, the Confession was presented by the whole Assembly in a body to Parliament; who, on 22d March 1648, declared their agreement with it in the doctrinal part, and directed it to be "made public, that this kingdom, and all the Reformed Churches of Christendom, may see the Parliament of England differ not in doctrine." (Rushworth, vii. 1035.)

In the *Confession*, ch. xxi. sections 7 and 8, the doctrine of the Sabbath is thus expressed:—"As it is of the law of nature, that, in general, a due proportion of time be set apart for the worship of God; so, in his word, by a positive, moral, and perpetual commandment, binding all men in all ages, he hath particularly appointed one day in seven for a sabbath, to be kept holy unto him: (*a*) which, from the beginning of the world to the resurrection of Christ, was the last day of the week; and, from the resurrection of Christ, was changed into the first day of the week, (*b*) which in scripture is called the Lord's Day, (*c*) and is to be continued to the end of the world as the Christian Sabbath. (*d*)

"This sabbath is then kept holy unto the Lord, when men, after a due preparing of their hearts, and ordering of their common affairs beforehand, do not only observe an holy rest all the day from their own works, words, and thoughts about their worldly employments and recreations; (*e*) but also are taken up the whole time in the public and private exercises of his worship, and in the duties of necessity and mercy." (*f*)

Chap. iv., sect. 1. of the *Confession* declares that it pleased God, "in the beginning, to create, or make of nothing, the world, and all things therein, whether visible or invisible, in the space of six days, and all very good." This doctrine, with which the established facts of Geology are now universally allowed to be in conflict, is repeated in the two Catechisms which the Assembly afterwards presented to Parliament. (*Larger Catechism*, Q. 15; *Shorter Catechism*, Q. 9.)

The three documents here mentioned are the standards of orthodoxy recognised by the Church of Scotland, as well as by most other Presbyterian Churches in the United Kingdom; and with what they set forth about the Sabbath, the opinions of the Evangelical party in the Church of England agree. A fuller statement of this Sabbath doctrine than that above quoted from the *Confession* is embodied in the two Catechisms, extracts from which will be found below (Nos. 116, 117).

See further, as to the Assembly and its productions, Dr Hetherington's *History* of it, Edin. 1843, 12mo; Neal's *History of the Puritans*, iii. 43-80, 124-7, 318-323, 413-415; Cox's *Sabbath Laws*, &c., 132-142; *The North British Review*, xvii. 216; and Burton's *History of Scotland*, Edin. 1853, i. 195 *et seq.*

116. The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines, now by Authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster,

(*a*) Exod. xx. 8, 10, 11. Isa. lvi. 2, 4, 6, 7.
(*b*) Gen. ii. 2, 3. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2. Acts xx. 7.
(*c*) Rev. i. 10.
(*d*) Exod. xx. 8, 10; with Matt. v. 17, 18.
(*e*) Exod. xx. 8; xvi. 23, 25, 26, 29, 30; xxxi. 15, 16, 17. Isa. lviii. 13. Neh. xiii. 15–22.
(*f*) Isa. lviii. 13. Matt. xii. 1–13.

concerning a Larger Catechism. Presented by them lately to both Houses of Parliament. Lond. 1648.

Questions 91 to 102 in this Catechism relate to the moral law, which is held to be summarily comprehended in the ten commandments; Nos. 116 to 121 have to do with the Sabbath. The last of these questions is this: "Why is the word *Remember* set in the beginning of the Fourth Commandment?" To which it is answered: "The word *Remember* is set in the beginning of the fourth commandment, (*a*) partly, because of the great benefit of remembering it, we being thereby helped in our preparation to keep it, (*b*) and, in keeping it, better to keep all the rest of the commandments, (*c*) and to continue a thankful remembrance of the two great benefits of creation and redemption, which contain a short abridgment of religion; (*d*) and partly, because we are very ready to forget it, (*e*) for that there is less light of nature for it, (*f*) and yet it restraineth our natural liberty in things at other times lawful; (*g*) that it cometh but once in seven days, and many worldly businesses come between, and too often take off our minds from thinking of it, either to prepare for it, or to sanctify it; (*h*) and that Satan with his instruments much labour to blot out the glory, and even the memory of it, to bring in all irreligion and impiety." (*i*)

117. The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines concerning a Shorter Catechism. Lond. 1648.

The Sabbath doctrine of the Shorter Catechism is thus clearly and concisely expressed:—

"Q. 40. *What did God at first reveal to man for the rule of his obedience?*

"*A.* The rule which God at first revealed to man for his obedience, was the moral law. (*k*)

"Q. 41. *Where is the moral law summarily comprehended?*

"*A.* The moral law is summarily comprehended in the ten commandments. (*l*)

"Q. 42. *What is the sum of the ten commandments?*

(*a*) Exod. xx. 8.
(*b*) Exod. xvi. 23. Luke xxiii. 54, 56, compared with Mark xv. 42. Neh. xiii. 19.
(*c*) Psal. xcii. title, compared with ver. 13, 14. Ezek. xx. 12, 19, 20.
(*d*) Gen. ii. 2, 3. Psal. cxviii. 22, 24, compared with Acts iv. 10, 11. Rev. i. 10.
(*e*) Ezek. xxii. 26.
(*f*) Neh. ix. 14.
(*g*) Exod. xxxiv. 21.
(*h*) Deut. v. 14, 15. Amos viii. 5.
(*i*) Lam. i. 7. Jer. xvii. 21-23. Neh. xiii. 15-23.
(*k*) Rom. ii. 14, 15; x. 5.
(*l*) Deut. x. 4.

"*A.* The sum of the ten commandments is, To love the Lord our God with all our heart, with all our soul, with all our strength, and with all our mind; and our neighbour as ourselves. (*a*)

"Q. 43. *What is the preface to the ten commandments?*

"*A.* The preface to the ten commandments is in these words, 'I am the Lord thy God which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.' (*b*)

"Q. 44. *What doth the preface to the ten commandments teach us?*

"*A.* The preface to the ten commandments teacheth us, That because God is the Lord, and our God, and Redeemer, therefore we are bound to keep all his commandments. (*c*) . . .

"Q. 57. *Which is the fourth commandment?*

"*A.* The fourth commandment is, 'Remember the sabbath-day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath-day and hallowed it.' (*d*)

"Q. 58. *What is required in the fourth commandment?*

"*A.* The fourth commandment requireth the keeping holy to God such set times as he hath appointed in his word; expressly one whole day in seven, to be a holy sabbath to himself. (*e*)

"Q. 59. *Which day of the seven hath God appointed to be the weekly sabbath?*

"*A.* From the beginning of the world to the resurrection of Christ, God appointed the seventh day of the week to be the weekly sabbath; and the first day of the week ever since, to continue to the end of the world, which is the Christian sabbath. (*f*)

"Q. 60. *How is the sabbath to be sanctified?*

"*A.* The sabbath is to be sanctified by a holy resting all that day, (*g*) even from such worldly employments and recreations as are lawful on other days; (*h*) and spending the whole time in the public and private exercises of God's worship, (*i*) except so much as is to be taken up in the works of necessity and mercy. (*k*)

"Q. 61. *What is forbidden in the fourth commandment?*

"*A.* The fourth commandment forbiddeth the omission or careless performance of the duties required, (*l*) and the profaning the

(*a*) Matt. xxii. 37-40.
(*b*) Exod. xx. 2.
(*c*) Luke i. 74, 75. 1 Pet. i. 15-19.
(*d*) Exod. xx. 8-11.
(*e*) Deut. v. 12, 13, 14.
(*f*) Gen. ii. 2, 3. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2. Acts xx. 7.
(*g*) Exod. xx. 8, 10; xvi. 25-28.
(*h*) Neh. xiii. 15-22.
(*i*) Luke iv. 16. Acts xx. 7. Psal. xcii., title. Isa. lxvi. 23.
(*k*) Matt. xii. 1-31.
(*l*) Ezek. xxii. 26. Amos viii. 5. Mal. i. 13.

day by idleness, (*a*) or doing that which is in itself sinful, (*b*) or by unnecessary thoughts, words, or works, about our worldly employments or recreations. (*c*)

"Q. 62. *What are the reasons annexed to the fourth commandment?*

"*A.* The reasons annexed to the fourth commandment are, God's allowing us six days of the week for our own employments, (*d*) his challenging a special propriety in the seventh, his own example, and his blessing the sabbath-day. (*e*)"

A commentary on this part of the Catechism will be found in Cox's *Sabbath Laws*, p. 485, *et seq.*

118. The Doctrine of the Sabbath, as it hath been believed and taught by ancient and eminent Christians, collected word for word out of their own Writings; and now tendered to the consideration of all the Godly, especially to the Parliament, to direct them in their intended Act for the due and strict Observation of the Lord's Day. By a Friend to Truth, and to the present Powers of this Commonwealth in the way of Truth. Lond. 1650. 4to.

This tract was reprinted at London in 1817 (8vo, pp. 16). It contains extracts from the Apostles, Fathers, and Reformers.

The "intended Act," mentioned in the title, was an ordinance passed by the House of Commons on 19th April 1650, to the effect that all goods cried or put to sale on the Lord's Day, or other days of humiliation or thanksgiving appointed by authority, should be seized; that no waggoner or drover should travel on the Lord's Day on penalty of 10s. for each offence; and that no persons should then travel in boats or coaches, or on horseback, except to church, or go into a tavern, on the like penalty. (Scobell's *Collection of Acts and Ordinances made in the Parliament begun Nov.* 3, 1640, *unto the Adjournment begun Sep.* 17, 1656, p. 119; quoted in Neal's *History of the Puritans*, iv. 28.)

In 1656, the Parliament ordained "that all persons not having a reasonable excuse, to be allowed by a justice of peace, shall resort to some church or chapel where the true worship of God is performed, or to some meeting-place of Christians not differing in matters of faith from the public profession of the nation, on penalty of 2s. 6d. for every offence." (Scobell, p. 438; in Neal, iv. 144.) From this enactment it is plain, that the Puritans during the Commonwealth were as blind to the principles of religious liberty as Queen Elizabeth herself; in the 23d year of whose reign an act was

(*a*) Acts xx. 7, 9.
(*b*) Ezek. xxiii. 38.
(*c*) Jer. xvii. 24–26. Isa. lviii. 13.
(*d*) Exod. xx. 9.
(*e*) Exod. xx. 11.

passed (cap. 1), whereby "all persons that do not come to church or chapel, or other place where common prayer is said, according to the act of uniformity, shall forfeit twenty pounds per month to the Queen, being thereof lawfully convicted, and suffer imprisonment till paid." (Neal, i. 300)

See Dr Bound's opinion on this subject, above, p. 150.

Dr Hetherington, in his *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 341, maintains concerning the Presbyterians of the seventeenth century, that "if anything like a fair allowance be made for the spirit of the times, and the peculiar circumstances amidst which they acted and wrote, they will stand completely vindicated from the charge of intolerance and spiritual despotism." In opposition to this conclusion a variety of evidence is adduced in Cox's *Sabbath Laws*, pp. 149–152, 259, 314, 315, 339, 470; and the following works may also be referred to:—*Selections from the Registers of the Presbytery of Lanark*, 1623–1709 (printed for the Abbotsford Club, Edin. 1839), Prefatory Remarks, pp. ix.–xi.; the Westminster Assembly's *Confession*, ch. xx. sect 4, and ch. xxiii. sect. 3; their *Larger Catechism*, Q. 109; *The Blue Laws of New Haven Colony*, &c. (Hartford, Connecticut, 1838); *Confession of Faith* agreed to at Boston in 1680, ch. xvii., sections 6, 7, 8, 9 (in Cotton Mather's *History of New England*, B. v. p. 38, Lond. 1702); Hume's *History of England*, App. to Reign of James I.; and *Quarterly Review*, x. 97.

It deserves to be mentioned, that when the Long Parliament, by an ordinance passed on 8th June 1647 (cap. 81), abolished the observation of saints' days, and the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, they added the following enactment:—"And that there may be a convenient time allotted for scholars, apprentices, and other servants, for their recreation, be it ordained, that all scholars, apprentices, and other servants, shall, with the leave of their masters, have such convenient reasonable recreation, and relaxation from labour, every second Tuesday in the month throughout the year, as formerly they used to have upon the festivals; and masters of scholars, apprentices, and servants, shall grant to them respectively such time for their recreation, on the aforesaid second Tuesday in the month, as they may conveniently spare from their extraordinary necessary service and occasions; and if any difference arise between masters and servants concerning the liberty hereby granted, the next justice of peace shall reconcile it." (Scobell, p. 128; quoted by Neal, iii. 356.) And by a supplementary ordinance, dated the 28th of the same month (cap. 82), it is ordained, "that all windows of shops, warehouses, &c., shall be kept shut on the said day of recreation, from eight of the clock in the morning until eight of the clock at evening, on the said day: And that no master shall wilfully detain or withhold his apprentice or other servant within doors, or from his recreation, in his usual duty or service on the said day of recreation, unless market-days, fair-days, or other extraordinary occasion; yet so as such master shall allow unto such apprentice or other servant, one other day instead of such day employed in the service of his master, upon such occasion as aforesaid. And be it likewise provided

and ordained, that if such apprentice or other servant shall riotously spend or abuse such day of recreation, either to his own hurt or the damage of his master, and being thereof lawfully convicted and found guilty before any one Justice of the Peace, it shall and may be lawful for such master at his pleasure, to detain and withhold such apprentice or other servant from their recreation on such allowed days. And be it also provided and ordained, that if such apprentice or other servant shall cause any riotous or tumultuous assembly, to the disturbance of the peace, on such day of recreation, such apprentice or other servant, being thereof lawfully convicted and found guilty, upon the testimony of two witnesses upon oath, before one Justice of the Peace in any county, city, or town corporate, where such offence shall be committed, or before the Chamberlain of the City of London, for the time being, within the said City, who shall have power to administer such oath,—such Justices of the Peace, and the said Chamberlain of the City of London respectively, shall and may at their discretion inflict on such apprentice or other servant so convicted as aforesaid, any corporal punishment, by imprisonment or otherwise, so as the same imprisonment exceed not the space of three days." Both ordinances may be seen at full length in the appendix to a pamphlet entitled, *The Church's Holy-Days the only Safeguard against the Desecration of the Lord's Day.* By William Grapel, B.A. (Lond. 1848.)

Among the New England Puritans of the same period, as we learn from one of themselves, "not a few of the wiser sort held some other holidays [than Sundays] to be necessary and expedient," for the moderate recreation of youth and servants. (*Plain Dealing; or, News from New England.* By Thomas Lechford, of Clement's Inn. 1642. Reprinted in *Collections of the Hist. Soc. of Massachusetts*, 3d Series, iii. 79.)

119. DURHAM, JAMES, *Professor of Divinity at Glasgow (died* 1658).—A Practical Exposition of the Ten Commandments. Lond. 1675. 4to.

There is an Edinburgh edition, in 12mo, 1676. In this work the Puritan opinions about the Sabbath are inculcated. A Life of Durham will be found in Chambers's *Biog. Dict. of Eminent Scotsmen*, ii. 201.

120. PARKER, W.—The late Assembly of Divines' Confession of Faith Examined, as it was presented by them unto the Parliament. Wherein many of their excesses and defects, of their confusions and disorders, of their errors and contradictions, are presented both to themselves and others. Lond. 1651.

This writer expresses respect for the members of the Assembly as worthy and pious persons, many though not all of them men of much learning and abilities, and zealous for God, but in many

things not according to knowledge. "We hope," he adds, "you will not take this examen in evil part, when ye reflect upon these very words of yours, chap. xxxi. sect. 4: 'All synods or councils since the apostles' times, whether general or particular, may err, and many have erred; therefore they are not to be made the rule of faith or practice, but to be used as an help in both.'" At pp. 240–6 he argues against their Sabbath doctrine, which includes, he says, some "very rash and bold assertions." He denies that any time has been set apart by God for public worship by Christians, and maintains that the texts usually quoted from the New Testament to shew that the Sabbath-day was changed by Christ or his apostles afford no such proof. Lastly, the divines are entreated by him to consider impartially this among several other questions:—"Whether you do not worship God in vain, here teaching for doctrines the precepts of men, Matt. xv. 5; for the Lord hath neither instituted those duties for a set and solemn outward worship, which you make the several parts of his outward worship, nor hath he appointed any other worship but the serving him in spirit and in truth, John iv. 23, 24: and although the duties you insist upon are appointed by him as helps and furtherances to the attaining of that grace whereby we may so worship God, and may in that sense pass for a secondary worship, yet they are not limited by him to any set time, but rather are left to the Church's convenience and care, to her piety and prudence." (P. 244.) In support of the concluding assertion, he refers to Heb. x. 25; Acts xx. 7, 8; 1 Cor. v. 4; xi. 18, 20.

121. FISHER, EDWARD.—A Christian Caveat to the Old and New Sabbatarians; or, A Vindication of the Gospel Festivals. 4th ed. Lond. 1652. 4to, pp. 70.—5th ed. Lond. 1653.

A pithy and clever treatise, directed against the opinions held by the Puritans, of whom he affirms that "because they are neither able to produce direct Scripture nor solid reason for what they say, they labour to support their conceits by fallacies, falsities, and wresting of God's holy word, as upon scanning their proofs will be manifest to the meanest capacity." Portions of the *Caveat* have been reprinted by the American [Seventh-day] Sabbath Tract Society, in No. 5 of their volume of *Tracts on the Sabbath*, New York, 1853.

122. CAWDREY, DANIEL, *Rector of Great Billing, Northamptonshire* (*died* 1664); *and* HERBERT PALMER, *Master of Queen's College, Cambridge* (*died* 1647).—Sabbatum Redivivum: or the Christian Sabbath Vindicated; in a full Discourse concerning the Sabbath and the Lord's Day. Wherein, whatsoever hath been writ-

ten of late for or against the Christian Sabbath is exactly but modestly examined, and the Perpetuity of a Sabbath deduced from grounds of Nature and Religious Reason. Divided into Four Parts: 1. Of the Decalogue in general, and other Laws of God, together with the Relation of Time to Religion; 2. Of the Fourth Commandment of the Decalogue in special; 3. Of the Old Sabbath in particular; 4. Of the Lord's Day. The First Part, Lond. 1645, 4to, pp. 368. The Second, Third, and Fourth Parts, Lond. 1652, 4to, pp. 682.

Cawdrey and Palmer were members of the Westminster Assembly, and their book is the most elaborate defence ever published of the Sabbath-doctrine given forth by that famous body. It is written with great logical acuteness, perfect familiarity with the subject, and exemplary moderation and fairness; but its great length, the prolixity of many of the discussions which it contains, and perhaps the reaction which speedily ensued in England against the peculiar notions of the Puritans, have prevented the work from receiving the attention it deserves. It is seldom mentioned by subsequent writers on the Sabbath question, and has now become scarce.

In their Epistle to the Reader the authors say: "It may peradventure seem strange, why after so long silence (in the Sabbatical controversies) and after so many books of this subject, intended for the satisfaction of conscientious Christians, we should now again revive that contestation, and trouble the world with, not only a new, but a larger discourse of that kind: We shall therefore briefly give an account of our aims and intentions herein. And our first answer is, that this work was undertaken (as soon as any) many years ago, and well nigh finished, when nothing was written for, but all against the Sabbath. Secondly, Here thou shalt expect a larger undertaking, and find (we hope) a further performance, than in any, in all the tractates written for the Sabbath: for they commonly deal but with one single adversary, but we with all; and we being spectators of their combats, perhaps might see better than themselves where their weakness lay. What satisfaction they have given to themselves or others, we do not well know; but for ourselves we must (with all modesty and due respect to the authors), profess ourselves unsatisfied by either party. Thirdly, Here thou shalt find fuller grounds laid, for the clearing of this so much perplexed controversy, than the brevity of others would well permit, to say no more. Lastly, the professed non-satisfaction from those discourses, by some, not only opposites, but friends also to the cause: In so much as not only the adversaries to the Sabbath have been confident of their cause, as

impossible to be disproved; but also some well-willers to it have rather wished it might, than hoped it could, be strongly and convincingly maintained. And if we may be so bold as to give our reason (which we more largely shew in the following parts of this Discourse), we suppose that this is one of the chief: because they grant their adversary that the Saturday Sabbath was literally enjoined in the Fourth Commandment; which (we think) whosoever grants, he hath lost, not only the cause, but the Commandment too. Or if some do deny it, yet they do not sufficiently confute it, to ours, or others' satisfaction."

The contents of the work are as follows:—

"PART I., *Chap.* 1. Of the term of a Moral Law, and the distinction of laws into ceremonial, judicial, and moral.—2. Rules to know a law to be moral, though but positive.—3. Every law of the Decalogue is a moral and perpetual law.—4. The exceptions to the former argument answered.—5. Christ hath confirmed all the commandments of the Decalogue as perpetual.—6. Solemn worship is moral natural; both solitary and conjoined, in families and churches; and how far.—7. General considerations about time, and its profitableness, in reference to moral actions of importance.—8. Considerations of time in relation to religion, and the worship of God; how far it may be profitable thereunto.—9. A determinate solemn time for God's worship is moral natural, and that in the First Commandment; and what kind and manner of determination of time for religion may be proved necessary by the law or light of nature, and general rules of Scripture.—10. The determination of the chief solemn time of worship for all men, necessary and ordinarily sufficient for the chief time, as also of the particular day for it, belongs not to men, but to God.—11. Two corollaries from the former discourses about solemn time: (1.) All times and days are not equal under the Gospel; (2.) Time and place are not equal circumstances in religion.—12. The necessary sufficient chief time for religion, together with the particular day for it, is a part of worship, and not a mere adjunct or circumstance only.

"PART II., *Chap.* 1. A literal exposition of the Fourth Commandment.—2. The Fourth Commandment, in the letter of it, is a moral precept.—3. Two corollaries from the former Discourse: (1.) The Fourth Commandment (as the whole Decalogue) concerned the Gentles; (2.) The Fourth Commandment obliged servants, as well as others.—4. The moral substance of the Fourth Commandment is not the public worship, but the chief time conclusively determined by God for religion, for the continuance and frequency jointly.—5. Some time indefinite, is *not* the whole moral substance of the Fourth Commandment, but (1.), for *continuance*, a whole day;—6. (2.), For *frequency*, one day in seven.—7. The seventh day in *order*, or Old Sabbath, was not the subject or substance of the Fourth Commandment.

"PART III., *Chap.* 1. The Sabbath was instituted from the beginning.—2. The Sabbath begins in the morning.—3. The old seventh-day Sabbath is discharged and changed.

"PART IV., *Chap.* 1. The Lord's Day is of Divine institution.—2. The Lord's Day is to be observed as a Sabbath, with rest from labour and recreations.—3. The Lord's Day may be called the Christian Sabbath."

In maintaining these positions the authors frequently controvert the arguments of Walæus, Gomar, Broad, Brerewood, Brabourne, Rivet, White, Heylin, Primerose, Dow, Pocklington, and Ironside; and it must be allowed, that in contending with such of these writers as were members of the Church of England, and hence were trammelled by the Homilies, and obliged to assume the propriety of using the Fourth Commandment in the Liturgy, the two Puritan divines enjoy a considerable advantage, of which they abundantly avail themselves. Sometimes, perhaps, their arguments may be pronounced more ingenious than solid; as where they urge against recreations—or "*works* of pleasure" as they call them—the following original argument *à minore ad majus*:—"If *honest labour* be forbidden, much more *honest recreations*; for recreation is but the means to prepare and fit men for labour: therefore, if labour, which is the end of recreation, be forbidden, much more recreation, which is but the means to labour." (Vol. ii. p. 37; also p. 541.) They do not see that if this argument proves anything it proves too much; for, on the principle that men ought not to do upon the Sabbath what prepares and fits them for labour, the very rest which is *enjoined* in the Fourth Commandment must be still more objectionable than recreations.

It is curious to observe how differently the bearing of this precept on the question is apprehended by interpreters. "I have studied the Commandment for many years," says one, "without finding in it a syllable that prohibits recreations; nor have I succeeded better in trying to discover in it an injunction of the public and private exercises of God's worship, as either the whole or any part of the duties of the day: on the contrary, I have been forced to the conclusion, that since the very purpose of the law (as expressed in Exodus xxiii. 12) was the periodical refreshment of the labourer, and since 'worldly recreations' are highly conducive to that end, the Fourth Commandment, if it enjoins aught beyond the mere rest which it specifies, actually enjoins by implication those very recreations which we are told in the name of God that it forbids! That it enjoins also, by implication, more generous feeding than on other days, when the labourer cannot so well digest and assimilate his food, and expends more bodily substance than he gains, the Jews themselves have always believed; and there is equal reason to think, that if sufficient sleep be unattainable during the active portion of the week, a more than usual amount of it should be taken on the Sabbath. Bathing, also, which is a most excellent means of refreshment, may be regarded as another of the duties enjoined by implication in the Fourth Commandment."

None have acknowledged more explicitly than the Puritans themselves the utility as well as pleasantness of moderate and in-

nocent recreations (see above, pp. 150, 235, 236). If the Mosaic Law recognises this utility, and if the Fourth Commandment evidently contemplates the case of men habitually occupied *six whole days* of the week in labour, the conclusion seems to follow that it was not unlawful for the Jews to indulge in feasting and recreations on their Sabbath. Such at least is the doctrine of Michaelis in his *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, vol. iv. p. 46, and of Mr Holden in *The Christian Sabbath*, pp. 115, 379 (quoted in Cox's *Sabbath Laws*, pp. 435, 554, 555). That in fact they *did* thus indulge is generally allowed—as by Dean Milman in his *History of the Jews*, vol. i., p. 113; Dr M'Crie in his *Memoirs of Sir Andrew Agnew*, p. 194; and Dr Lorimer in *The Prôtestant or the Popish Sabbath?* p. 58 (Cox, pp. 436, 550). From the New Testament itself we learn that not only the *Pharisees*, but *Jesus and his disciples*, walked in the fields on the Sabbath-day (Luke vi. 1, 2); and that (as the Westminster Assembly was reminded by several of its members—see above, p. 229), he attended on a similar occasion a feast to which one of the chief Pharisees had invited him (Luke xiv. 1–12). Yet the Scottish clergy have for two centuries proclaimed that walking on the Lord's Day is an act of "heaven-daring profaneness"—"an impious encroachment on the inalienable prerogative of the Lord God" (*Acts of the General Assembly*, pp. 387, 1164); the former being their phraseology in an Act passed in 1705, and the latter in a Pastoral Admonition ordered to be read from every pulpit in 1834 (Cox, pp. 339, 341; see also 149, 310). A modern English writer affirms in a like strain, that the Sabbath "is awfully violated by visiting, feasting, travelling, worldly amusements," &c. (Buck's *Theological Dictionary*, art. SABBATH.) But, on the other hand, many clergymen of the Church of England have recorded their approval of walking and other innocent recreations in the afternoon of Sunday: see, for instance, Jeremy Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium*, B. II., ch. ii., rule 6, § 73; Horsley's 23d Sermon; Dr Vicesimus Knox's *Essays*, No. 20, "On the Amusements of Sunday;" Jones of Nayland, quoted by Southey in *The Doctor*, ch. 190; Bishop Porteus in his *Life* by Hodgson, p. 189; and Mr Holden in the places above cited (Cox, pp. 351, 120, 121, 556, 336, 435, 554, 555): also above, pp. 145, 165, 171, 172, 174, 183, 186, 192, 216.

Cawdrey and Palmer observe further: "The word recreation is equivocal, and so deludes the reader. There is a recreation which is a *mercy*, that is, *necessary* refreshment of the body, as eating, drinking, resting itself, to those that are hard laboured; yea to a sickly body, some ordinary moderate, inoffensive recreation, may be as necessary as food or physic. But there is a recreation, such as we call sports and pastimes, when there is none of the former necessity, and such some plead for; but to allow these is no work of mercy: and therefore God will have sacrifice, and not such kind of mercy; and in such a case we must be better friends to sacrifice, than to vain and pretended mercy." (Vol. ii., p. 650.)

At the time when this was written, the science of Physiology had not advanced so far as to make men so well aware as we are

now, that brisk exercise and respiration in a pure atmosphere, along with moderate agreeable excitement of the nervous system, is "as necessary as food or physic" to people leading dull sedentary lives during six days of the week; or that sunshine is one of the most healthful and invigorating influences to which human beings, the young above all, can be exposed. As knowledge of human nature and the constitution of the world is diffused, the privileged class of "works of necessity and mercy" becomes more and more comprehensive in the eyes of even the most pious Sabbatarians. "It is change of occupation that is true rest," says a writer in the *North British Review*: "what is wanted in a physiologically conceived Sabbath is the going to sleep of the week-day propensities, sentiments, and faculties, and the awaking rather of such as are too latent from busy day to day; and hence a natural right of each individual to the choice of his Sabbath occupations and enjoyments, always within proper social or sacred limits." (Vol. xviii., p. 414.) That the rational exercise of the religious emotions is extremely refreshing will be testified by those who have the requisite experience: but many others are little, or not at all, susceptible of religious feeling, and would act hypocritically if they affected to pass the day in devotional exercises; while to the majority of the pious themselves, it may be less beneficial to spend the whole time under the influence of one class of emotions, however elevated, than to vary their employments so as to give its due to every department of the constitution which God has bestowed on them. For we have social and æsthetical emotions as well as religious, and a body as well as a soul; all of which must be duly cultured if we would attain the highest degree of virtue, usefulness, and happiness of which we are susceptible.—But to return once more to Cawdrey and Palmer:—

In volume I. there is a great deal of tedious discussion about the "moral" character of the Fourth Commandment. In our time, "a moral law" is usually understood to be a law of God made known to man through his *conscience*; but theologians often make "moral duties" comprehend likewise such as are perceived by bare *reason* to be incumbent as arising out of the nature of the case itself—in other words, which are in themselves *rational and fit to be done*, though there be no express command to enjoin performance. (See above, p. 222.) All these duties,—whether known through conscience or reason, or both,—are correctly said to be incumbent by virtue of *the law of nature*. But the duties to which Cawdrey and Palmer apply the word "moral" are much more extensive than these natural duties. According to them, "A moral law is any law of God expressed in Scripture (whether it can be proved natural or not), which, from the time it was given, to the end of the world, binds all succeeding generations of their posterity to whom it was given; and more specially obliges the Church; because the Scriptures—the Word of God—was specially written for them, and comes specially to them." (Vol. i., p. 7.) "We do not say the Fourth Commandment is *properly*, that is, as our adversaries mean it, *naturally* moral; though we do say it is

entirely, that is *wholly*, and perpetually moral. Again, we do not say that it is in every respect *equal* to the other nine Commandments: for *obligation*, we say, it is equal with the other nine, depending upon the same authority; but for *quality* we do not think it equal, because we do acknowledge the other, for the most part, to be moral *natural*, but this to be but *moral positive*." (Vol. ii., p. 54.)

The latitude with which the words "moral law" thus came to be used, and the ambiguities and misapprehensions thereby introduced into the controversy, brought the phrase into disrepute among exact thinkers, and made them prefer the expression "natural law," as one less liable to be misunderstood. In our time the progress of ethical science has rendered it desirable that only those duties should be styled "moral" which the *conscience* dictates. Others, *in themselves fit to be done*, might be called "rational;" while "positive" would continue to describe those which are duties only because enjoined by the express law of a competent authority. But where wisdom presides at the enactment of a positive law, the precept will never be found wholly destitute of the *rational* or *useful* element.

With respect to cooking on the Sabbath, the authors say: "Our Saviour's practice is the best comment of the Fourth Commandment: now we read that he was at a feast on the Sabbath day; which it is not like he would have done, had it been unlawful for him that bade him to make a feast. If it be said (as it is), 'that he went in to eat bread, that is, to take his refection, which might be without any present preparation; and so it was no feast;' we answer, the text says there were many guests, and our Saviour observed how they chose the highest places, and thereupon spake a parable to them; and speaking to the master of the house, he saith not only, 'When thou makest a dinner or a supper,' Luke xiv. 12; but also, 'When thou makest a feast,' ver. 13, therefore, in all probability, it was a feast or large dinner. If it be further said, 'It is not said that the Pharisee had caused the repast to be made ready on the same Sabbath day; so that the provision was made ready before, as the manner of the Jews seems to have been;' we answer, this is little to the purpose; for the pains to fetch it out, and set it on the table, and the attendance of the servants (especially at a feast), is many times as troublesome as the cook's preparing of the meat." (Vol. ii., p. 91.)

Christ's obedience to the Law is thus maintained:—"Christ had power indeed over the ceremonials thus far, as in due time to abrogate them; but not in his lifetime to violate them himself, or to dispense with others for breaking of them: For he says expressly, 'I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it,' ceremonial as well as moral. Nor do we read that ever he dispensed with any for a ceremonial, but rather enjoined them to observe them, sending the leper to the priest, &c. That command to the man to carry his bed, was not a violation of the law, but a work of piety, or tending to it, namely, the manifestation of the glory of God, in his sudden and perfect cure. (John v. 8.) He may as well be said to dispense

with a moral law as a ceremonial, that is, the Eighth Commandment; for he sends his disciples to fetch him an ass, without asking leave of the owners.

"Secondly, Christ was not absolutely Lord of the ceremonials, but being under the law, he was for a time subjected to the ceremonial law. And receiving circumcision, he engaged himself to the obedience of the whole law. And it is a dangerous thing to say that Christ either himself took liberty to break, or gave liberty to others to neglect the ceremonial law; seeing he that was to satisfy for sin, and to fulfil all righteousness, must not be suspected in the least tittle to violate that law which he came to fulfil." (Vol. ii., p. 106.)

The ancient Gentiles, it is contended, were, equally with the Jews themselves, obliged by the law of Moses:—"As the infidels now are bound to take notice of and inquire after the Gospel, the only means of salvation, so (for aught appears) were the Gentiles then bound to hearken after the Law. All men are God's servants, and all men are bound, and ever were, to join themselves to God's Church, and so to submit to his laws, made known unto them." (Vol. ii., p. 122.) According to this view, every Gentile who became acquainted with the Law of Moses was bound to inquire into the evidence of the Divine authority which it claimed, and, being of course convinced of the validity of that claim, to submit himself in all things to the Mosaic injunctions, though addressed solely to the Jews.

Of this doctrine, which implies that Hiram and Cyrus, Alexander the Great and the Ptolemies, ought to have become circumcised proselytes to Judaism, Baxter was a leading opponent. He maintains that the Decalogue, with the rest of the Hebrew code, was "the law of Moses for the Jews, and bound no other nations, and is done away by the dissolving of their republic, and by Christ. As Moses was ruler, or mediator, to none but the Jews, the words of the Decalogue are appropriate to them as redeemed from Egyptian bondage; so the tables were delivered to no other, and a law cannot bind without any promulgation. All the world was not bound to send to the Jews for revelation, nor to be their proselytes." (*Works*, xix. 190; see also v. 544–547; vi. 322; xv. 62.) This point is amply discussed in Cox's *Sabbath Laws*, pp. 164–166, 183–188, 502.

123. COLLINGS, JOHN, *Preacher of the Gospel in Norwich.*—Responsoria ad Erratica Piscatoris: Or, a Caveat for Old and New Profaneness. By way of a Reply to two over-confident Pamphlets; the one called a Caveat for Old and New Sabbatarians, published by Edward Fisher, Esq.; the other called Festorum Metropolis, &c. Lond. 1653. 4to. Pp. 144.

The chief object of Collings in this treatise is to controvert the

arguments of Fisher (No. 121) for the obligation to observe Christmas-day; the Sabbath question having been so fully discussed by others that he thinks it needless to devote more than a short space (the 21st to the 24th chapters) to that subject. In chap. xxi. he maintains "that the Lord's Day may properly be called the Christian Sabbath;" referring for proof to Ley's *Sunday a Sabbath* (No. 102), and Dr Young's "learned book called *Dies Dominica* (No. 99), where the reverend and learned author also gives the reasons why the primitive fathers did more rarely use the term 'Sabbath,' yet he makes good that it was so used, and often enough to let the reader know Master Fisher's tongue was a little too long, when he says it is 'senseless,' 'Jewish,' &c., to call it so." In chap. xxii. he professes "to prove by nine arguments out of Mr Cawdrey that the Lord's Day is not of human, but Divine institution, and so of greater right than Christmas-day, whose institution Mr Fisher confesseth but human." Chap. xxiii. is entitled, "The Lord's Day proved against Mr Fisher to be of greater antiquity than Christmas-day;" while in chap. xxiv., "Whatsoever Mr Fisher hath said against the application of the name 'Sabbath' to the Lord's Day, and against the morality and Divine institution of it, is answered, and the vanity of several notes of his concerning it discovered."

124. BRAYNE, JOHN.—The New Earth; or, the True Magna Charta of the Past Ages, and of the Ages or World to Come, called the Jews' Commonweal. Written by an unworthy witness of the truth of the great God, JOHN BRAYNE. Lond. 1653. 4to. Pp. 100.

This book deserves notice only as an odd attempt to reconcile the supposed abiding obligation of the Mosaic law with the admitted Christian duty to follow the Gospel. The author's theory is, that the law of Moses continues to bind all but the true believers in Christ—who, being under grace, are freed from its yoke; and that, in regard to the unregenerate multitude, it ought to be established in preference to all other codes, borrowed mainly from the laws of heathen Rome. "As in the beginning," says he, "God divided government, committing some to Moses in the judicials, and others to Aaron in the ceremonials, 1. Moses' government in the law is not destroyed, Matt. v. 17, and xxiii.; 2. Aaron's priesthood, and with that his government, ceaseth; and in the place thereof Jesus Christ, by the Father's appointment, is set up, Heb. vii. 11, 12, 15, 16; 3. So that now, as first there was Moses and Aaron, so now there is to be, to the end of the world, Moses and Christ, to rule and govern the world by: (1.) Moses in the world or state, under the covenant of works, also the servant of Jesus Christ, ruling for him because he is not of the world; (2.) Christ in the Church, among the saints or believers, under the new covenant of grace, among whom the Lord himself is, being one of them." (P. 10.)

As to the Sabbath, he teaches that men who "know not Christ, but are in the state of the world," are bound to keep holy the *seventh* day of the week; while those under grace ought to observe the *first* day, or Gospel Sabbath, into which all must *strive* to enter (Heb. iv. 9, 10), though under no such *compulsion* as that distinguishing the requirements of the law. It thus appears that in Brayne's "new earth" the saints are to be free from every law but that of Christ, to be administered by "those powers set up of God therein."

He observes with truth that after Christ's resurrection the Scriptures call the seventh day the Sabbath; but in adding, "as well as the first," he makes an assertion which is groundless. He proceeds to urge, for the continuance of the seventh-day Sabbath, that upon it usually the Apostles met with and taught the Jews; that no Scripture shows the abolition of it; and that those whom he supposes to be under the old covenant, need as much a day to serve God in as those under the new. "Thus," he adds, "not an iota or tittle of the law perisheth; the morality of the seventh-day Sabbath is continued; and yet no Judaizing in the thing: for this was no part of the ceremonial law, the ground of the seventh day being from the creation; but of the ceremonies, from the redemption of Christ."

It does not seem that Brayne had followers enough to bring his views into general notice or discussion.

125. GOODWIN, PHILIP.—Dies Dominicus Redivivus; or, The Lord's Day enlivened: Or a Treatise, as to discover the practical part of the Evangelical Sabbath, so to recover the spiritual part. Lond. 1654. 8vo.

126. COLLINGS, JOHN, B.D. (*see* No. 123).—Indoctus Doctor Edoctus: Or a Short Answer to a little Tract of Theophilus Brabourne's, concerning the changing of Church-Discipline. Wherein the pitiful simplicity of the said Tract is discovered, and the Author's folly made manifest to all men; and it is made fully appear that he hath said nothing to the purpose in attempting to prove that the Government of the Church ought to be put into the hands of the Magistrate. With an Answer to what the said Author hath said in it concerning the Sabbath; together with a copy of his Recantation of the very same doctrine in the High Commission. Lond. 1654. 4to. Pp. 47.

The short concluding chapter of this bitter pamphlet is the only one relating to the Sabbath. From it we learn that Brabourne, in

the tract replied to, "twice or thrice at least flings at the Sabbath, p. 35, where he denounceth 'a wo to the reverend Assembly for abusing the honest-hearted Parliament in making them believe that those three texts, Acts xx. 7, Rev. i. 10, 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, prove that the Lord's Day ought to be kept as the Christian Sabbath; and another wo to all us ministers,' whom he calls 'blind guides, for teaching our people so, and tells us that without repentance our reckoning will be fearful at the day of judgment.' Again, pp. 56, 57, where he is cursing us again (like a Pope, with bell, book, and candle), and tells us 'that the Lord's Day is no more like the Sabbath, than a cock is like a bull, or a man like a mouse.'" On which Mr Collings observes: "I do not intend to enter into a large discourse about the Divine right of the Lord's Day; there hath been enough said to prove it, by Dr Bound, Dr Young, Mr Bernard, Mr Shepard, Dr Twisse, and many others, especially by those two reverend and learned men, Mr Cawdrey and Mr Palmer, which made me waive that discourse last year in my answer to Mr Fisher. It is sufficient to me, that the Fourth Commandment may be translated thus: 'Remember to keep holy a day of rest unto me. Six days shalt thou labour, and do in them all thou hast to do; but a seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God.' The precept as moral required only one day of seven, and Christ is the 'Lord of the Sabbath,' and those three texts will prove Apostolical practice, and it is easy to prove the day of the resurrection was kept holy, and that day sen-night again, as I have proved against Mr Fisher, and Dr Young hath sufficiently proved the practice of the primitive Church in it." (P. 45.)

He concludes by affirming that even if Brabourne was in the right, it ill befitted him to propound the denunciations objected to; since, in so doing, he "hath but lickt up an old vomit which he once threw up in the High Commission Court." But this elegant allusion to Brabourne's recantation of his seventh-day Sabbatarianism (see above, pp. 162, 173) is a groundless imputation of inconsistency; for although *it* was recanted, he went no farther "as touching the Sunday or Lord's Day," than to "confess and acknowledge that the same is an holy-day of the Church; yea, and a most ancient holy-day, and very honourable; . . . and further, that this day is religiously to be observed, and that upon the same grounds, and in the same manner, as is directed by the Canons of our Church, and Statutes of the land." Now this by no means amounts to an admission that "the Lord's Day ought to be kept as the Christian *Sabbath*;" on the contrary, it is just what Heylin and White, and all their School, taught in opposition to the Puritan doctrine that the Lord's Day is the Sabbath, with a change only of the day.

127. FULLER, THOMAS, D.D., *Prebendary of Sarum, &c.* (*died* 1661).—The Church History of Britain, from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the year 1648. Lond. 1655. 2 vols. fol.

There is an edition in three volumes 8vo, Lond. 1837, edited by Mr James Nichols.

In B. ix., sect. viii., §§ 20–22 (A.D. 1595), this genial and witty historian gives an account of Dr Bound's opinions about the Sabbath, and of the controversies which followed the publication of his treatise. (See above, pp. 145–151.) In B. xi. sect. ii., §§ 32–44 (A.D. 1633–4), he relates the revival of these disputes by Brabourne, gives a synopsis of the various opinions maintained by those who engaged in them, and tells the occasion and consequences of the issuing of the Declaration of Sports by the King in 1633. (See above pp. 157, 162 *et seq.*) The passages referred to are in vol. iii. of the 8vo edition, pp. 143–6, 372–9. As to the consequences of the Declaration, he says:—

"Many complain that man's badness took occasion to be worse, under the protection of these sports permitted unto them. For, although liberty on the Lord's Day may be so limited in the notions of learned men as to make it lawful, it is difficult (if not impossible) so to confine it in the actions of lewd people, but that their liberty will degenerate into licentiousness.

"Many moderate men are of opinion that this abuse of the Lord's Day was a principal procurer of God's anger, since poured out on this land, in a long and bloody civil war. Such observe, that our fights of chief concernment were often fought on the Lord's Day, as pointing at the punishing of the profanation thereof. Indeed, amongst so many battles which in ten years' time have rent the bowels of England, some on necessity would fall on that day (seeing we have be-rubricked each day in the week, almost in the year, with English blood), and therefore to pick a solemn providence out of a common casualty, savours more of curiosity than conscience. Yet, seeing Edgehill-fight (which first brake the peace, and made an irreconcilable breach betwixt the two parties) was fought on that day, and some battles since of greatest consequence, there may be more in the observation than what many are willing to acknowledge. But, whatsoever it is which hence may be collected, sure I am, those are the best Christians who least censure others, and most reform themselves.

"But here it is much to be lamented, that such who, at the time of the Sabbatarian controversy, were the strictest observers of the Lord's Day, are now reeled by their violence into another extreme,—to be the greatest neglecters, yea, contemners thereof. These transcendents accounting themselves mounted above the predicament of common piety, aver they need not keep any, because they keep all days Lord's Days in their elevated holiness. But, alas! Christian duties, said to be ever done, will prove never done, if not *sometimes* solemnly done. These are the most dangerous levellers, equalling all times, places, and persons, making a general confusion to be Gospel-perfection. Whereas, to speak plainly, we in England are, *rebus sic stantibus*, concerned now more strictly to observe the Lord's Day than ever before. Holy days are not, and holy eves are not, and Wednesday and Friday litanies are not, and Lord's Day eves are not; and now some out of error, and

others out of profaneness, go about to take away the Lord's Day also. All these things make against God's solemn and public service. O let not his public worship, now contracted to fewer channels, have also a shallower stream! But enough of this subject: wherein if I have exceeded the bounds of a historian, by being too large therein, such will pardon me who know (if pleasing to remember) that divinity is my proper profession."

The foolish and offensive manner in which the Sunday sports were practised under the influence of the bitter party-spirit of the times, appears from a well-known passage in the Works of Baxter, vol. xiii., p. 444, which is quoted in Cox's *Sabbath Laws*, p. 143, and in Chambers's *Hist. of English Literature*, vol. i., p. 457.

.128. SHEPARD, THOMAS, "*Pastor of the Church of Christ at Cambridge, in New England*" (*died* 1649).—Theses Sabbaticæ; or, The Doctrine of the Sabbath. Wherein the Sabbath's Morality, Change, Beginning, and, Sanctification, are clearly discussed; which were first handled more largely in sundry Sermons in Cambridge, in New England, in opening of the Fourth Commandment. In unfolding whereof many Scriptures are cleared, divers Cases of Conscience resolved, and the Moral Law, as a Rule of Life to a Believer, occasionally and distinctly handled. Lond. 1655. 8vo. Pp. 320. (Reprinted in the author's Works, vol. iii., pp. 6-271; Boston, U. S., 1853.)

In the list of Shepard's works given by Mr Brook in his *Lives of the Puritans*, iii. 107, the date of publication of the *Theses* is said to be 1649; my copy, however, has 1655 on its title-page.

The treatise is an able defence of the Puritan opinions. In the Preface, the alleged blindness of the Reformers to the true character of the Lord's Day institution is thus treated of:—

"The Day-star from on high visiting the first Reformers in Germany enabled them to see many things, and so to scatter much, yea most, of the popish and horrible darkness which generally overspread the face of all Europe at that day; but divers of them did not (as well they might not) see all things with the like clearness, whereof this of the Sabbath hath seemed to be one. Their chief difficulty lay here: they saw a moral command for a seventh day, and yet withal a change of that first seventh day, and hence thought that something in it was moral in respect of the command, and yet something ceremonial, because of the change; and therefore they issued their thoughts here, that it was partly moral and partly ceremonial, and hence their observation of the day hath been (answerable to their judgments) more lax and loose; whose arguments to prove the day partly ceremonial, have (upon narrow

examination) made it wholly ceremonial; it being the usual unhappiness of such arguments as are produced in defence of a lesser error, to grow big with some man-child in them, which in time grows up, and so serve only to maintain a far greater; and hence by that part of the controversy they have laid foundations of much looseness upon that day among themselves, and have unawares laid the corner-stones of some gross points of Familism, and strengthened hereby the hands of Arminians, Malignants, and Prelates, as to profane the Sabbath, so to make use of their principles for the introduction of all human inventions under the name and shadow of the Church, which, if it hath power to authorize and establish such a day of worship, let any man living, then, name what invention he can but that it may much more easily be ushered in upon the same ground; and therefore, though posterity hath cause for ever to admire God's goodness for that abundance of light and life poured out by those vessels of glory in the first beginnings of reformation, yet in this narrow view of the Sabbath it is no wonder if they stept a little beside the truth; and it is to be charitably hoped and believed that, had they then foreseen what ill use some in after ages would make of their principles, they would have been no otherwise minded than some of their followers and friends, especially in the churches of Scotland and England, who might well see a little farther (as they use to speak) when they stood upon such tall men's shoulders. . . .

"But why the Lord Christ should keep his servants in England and Scotland to clear up and vindicate this point of the Sabbath, and welcome it with more love than some precious ones in foreign churches, no man can imagine any other cause than God's own free grace and tender love, whose wind blows where and when it will. *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*, and the times are coming wherein God's work will better declare the reason of this and some other discoveries by the British nation, which modesty and humility would forbid all sober minds to make mention of now."

We are so much accustomed to hear of the superstitious strictness with which the first settlers in New England observed the Sabbath, that the following passage may take the reader by surprise:—"Works of necessity," says Shepard, "not only for preservation of life, but also for comfort and comeliness of life, are not unlawful; for it is a gross mistake to think that works only of absolute necessity are allowed only upon this day: for to lead an ox to water, which in the strictest times was not disallowed of, is not of absolute necessity, for it may live more than a day without it; only it is necessary for the comfort of the life of the beast: how much more is allowed to the comfort of the life of man! The disciples possibly might have lived longer than the Sabbath without rubbing corn-ears, and men may live on Sabbath days generally without warm meat, yea they may fast perhaps all that day; yet it is not unlawful to eat such meat, because it is necessary for the comfort of life. Hence, also, to put on comely garments, to wash hands and face, and many such things as are necessary for the

comeliness as well as the comfort of life, are not unlawful now." (P. 305.) Even the Jews, he argues, were not restrained from kindling fires and cooking their meals on the Sabbath; which, says he, "not being a fast but a feast in those times as well as these, it is not unsuitable to the time to have comfortable provisions made ready, provided that the dressing of meat be not an ordinary hindrance to public or private duties of holiness upon this day." (P. 301.)

The doctrine which still lingers among some religious persons, that the magistrate is bound to enforce performance of the duties of the first as well as the second Table of the Law, is maintained by Shepard in Part IV., Thesis 20, p. 310. In another passage he thus asserts the claims of the Decalogue, and especially the Fourth Commandment, in opposition to those who consider the Gospel to be the sole law of Christians:—"It is a truth as immovable as the pillars of heaven, that God hath given to all men universally a rule of life to conduct them to their end. Now, if the whole Decalogue be not it, what shall? The Gospel is the rule of our faith, but not of our spiritual life, which flows from faith, Gal. ii. 20, John v. 24. The law, therefore, is the rule of our life; now if nine of these be a complete rule without a tenth, exclude that one, and then who sees not an open gap made for all the rest to go out at also? For where will any man stop if once this principle be laid, viz., that the whole law is not the rule of life? May not Papists blot out the second also, as some of Cassander's followers have done all but two, and as the Antinomians at this day do all? And have they not a good ground laid for it, who may hence safely say, that the Decalogue is not a rule of life for all?" (Part I., Thesis 146, p. 145.) In reference to the capital punishment of him who gathered sticks on the Sabbath-day (Numb. xv. 32), Shepard seems to favour the notion that Christian magistrates ought to punish presumptuous Sabbath-breaking with the same extreme penalty. "Although," says he, "it be doubted whether such a law is not too rigorous in these times, yet we do see that where the magistrate neglects to restrain from this sin, the Lord takes the magistrate's work into his own hand, and many times cuts them off suddenly who profane his Sabbath presumptuously; and it is worth inquiring into, whether presumptuous Sabbath-breakers are not still to be put to death; which I doubt not but that the Lord will either one day clear up, or else discover some specialty in the application of this judicial law to that polity of the Jews, as most fit for them, and not so universally fit for all others in Christian commonwealths. But this latter I yet see no proof for, nor do I expect the clearing up of the other while the temper of the times is loose and lukewarm." (Part IV., Thesis 8, p. 302.) Hutchinson, in his *History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (Lond. 1765), states that in the first draught of the laws of the Colony by the Rev. John Cotton, not only murder, witchcraft, arson, blasphemy, &c., were made capital offences, but also "profaning the Lord's Day in a careless or scornful neglect or contempt thereof." Governor Winthrop, however, erased the punishment of death for

Sabbath-breaking and several of the other offences, leaving to the discretion of the court the infliction of any minor punishment. (Vol. i. p. 442; see also pp. 161, 173, 193, 215.) Hutchinson mentions another law, by which Cotton and his friends desired to restrain people from walking in the streets or fields on the Sabbath: exception was taken to it in England; "but although," says the historian, "their charter was in danger, they refused to make any alteration in the law." (P. 443.) Among the capital laws of the Colony of New Plymouth, as revised in 1671, presumptuous Sabbath-breaking stands as an offence for which the perpetrators "shall be put to death, or grievously punished at the judgment of the court." (*The Blue Laws of New Haven Colony*, &c., p. 55.) In Connecticut also, the punishment appears to have been capital. (*Ib.* pp. 128, 206). I do not know that under these laws any American Sabbath-breaker was ever put to death. Even in the Jewish history, we find but the solitary instance of the man who gathered sticks in the wilderness during the life of Moses.

But the most notable feature of Shepard's doctrine is his advocacy of the Jewish custom of observing the Sabbath from sunset to sunset. Part III. is entitled, "The Beginning of the Sabbath: wherein five several opinions about the beginning of the Sabbath are set down; the arguments commonly used for the four first of them are answered; and the truth of the fifth, for its beginning in the evening, confirmed." In Thesis 47 he says: "If God hath set any time to begin the Sabbath, surely 'tis such a time as may be ordinarily and readily known, that so here (as well as in all other ordinances) the Sabbath may be begun with prayer, and ended with praise; but if it should begin at midnight, what man of a thousand can readily tell the certain time when it begins, that so they may in a holy manner begin the Sabbath with God? All men have not the midnight clocks and bells to awaken them, nor can the crowing of cocks herein give a certain sound; a poor Christian man had need be a good and watchful mathematician that holds this opinion, or else I see not how he will know when midnight is come; and if he cannot, then it is very considerable, and to me unquestionable, that that cannot be the beginning of holy time which cannot be begun in a holy manner: there was never any ordinance of God but it was so ordered as that it might ordinarily be begun and ended with God; which makes me question that the beginning of it at morning midnight cannot be of God." (Pp. 265–6.) Again, in Thesis 70: "If the Jewish Sabbath began and ended at even, and the Christian Sabbath began at morning, what must become of that night which is between them both, and to what day of the week must it belong? If any say, 'that 'tis no matter whether it belong to any or no, so long as time runs on,' this answer will not suffice; for though time runs on, yet what orderly time is there here which is running on? Time consists of years, and years of months, and months of weeks, and weeks of days; to what day or what week then must this night belong? They that maintain this opinion do roundly affirm,

that it is no absurdity to leave that one night out from weekly, nor as pertaining to any week before or after, but say it was lost: alas, poor forlorn night, that art thus strangely forsaken; what a strange kind of night is this which belongs to no day! what a misshapen lump of time art thou, and yet how canst thou be part of time, that art part of no day, but only (as they say) of time flowing and running on, without head or foot, week or day!" (P. 281.)

The custom of beginning and ending the Lord's Day at sunset, continues still to distinguish New England from the rest of Christendom. Its rise there in the time of the first settlers is noticed by Hutchinson (*History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, vol. i. p. 428); and so early as 1629, we read in a letter from the Company of Massachusetts Bay, dated Gravesend, 17th April in that year, the following strict injunction: "To the end the Sabbath may bee celebrated in a religious manner, we appoint that all who inhabit the Plantacon, both for the generall and particuler imployments, may surcease their labor every Satterday throughout the year at 3 of the clock in the afternoon, and that they spend the rest of that day in catichising and preparacon for the Saboth, as the ministers shall direct." (*Annals of Salem*, by Joseph B. Felt; Salem, 1845, vol. i., p. 85.) "This order," observes Mr Felt, "furnishes a striking and ominous contrast to the present general practice." The same letter desires the council in the Colony, in case any theological controversies should arise there, to "suppress them, and bee carefull to maintain peace and unitie." (P. 83.)

In Gòvernor Winthrop's *History of New England from* 1630 *to* 1649, there is mentioned an occasion at Boston in 1633, when, "on Saturday evening, the congregation *met in their ordinary exercise*." (Vol. i., p. 109; Boston, 1825.) This was the occasion on which the Rev. John Cotton, who had just arrived from England, was admitted as a member of the congregation. To the arguments and example of that famous divine, who, before going to America, had written in favour of the practice in question, his namesake Cotton Mather seems to ascribe the introduction of it at Boston. (Mather's *History of New England*, B. III., p. 27.) It was not till the following year that Shepard sailed from England to Massachusetts. Mr James Savage, a well-informed American antiquary, by whom Winthrop's *History* is edited, mentions, in a note to the passage quoted above, that he knows of no other place in which there is evidence of a regular religious assembly on the evening before the first day of the week. "The time," he adds, "was observed as holy in private families for many years; and writings in favour of the custom, nearly a century [later], are recollected, particularly in 1722, by Stoddard of Northampton, one of the greatest divines of that age in our country. The practice still subsists, with greater or less punctuality, in Connecticut, where, on the evening of Sunday, it is said, many recur to their secular labours." In Vermont, the lawfulness of resuming labour at sunset appears from an enactment in which the interval "between 12 o'clock of the night preceding the first day of the week, and the setting of the

sun the same day," is specified as the time in which it shall be unlawful to exercise any secular business or employment except works of necessity and charity. (*Revised Statutes of the State of Vermont*, 1840, tit. xxi., ch. 82, § 1, p. 394.) By § 4, however, it is made illegal from sunset on Saturday till midnight on Sunday, to "hold or resort to any ball or dance, use or exercise any games, sports, or plays, or resort to any tavern, inn, or house of entertainment, for amusement or recreation."

In Scotland, the practice of beginning the observance of the Sabbath at sunset was enjoined so early as 1590 by the Presbytery of Glasgow, if this be the meaning of their ordinance that the Sabbath should be "from sun to sun;" a law which they afterwards not very clearly explained to signify that "no work should be done from light to light in winter, and betwixt sun and sun in summer." (Wodrow's *Biographical Collections*, printed for the Maitland Club, vol. ii. part 2, p. 35.) Fifty years afterwards (Aug. 18, 1640), it is recorded that "the session make a very strict act against profaning the Sabbath, and declare it to be from 12 on Saturday's night to 12 on Sunday's night." (*Ibid.*) The habit of regarding sunset as its termination appears to have lingered for some time among the people: thus we read of a miller at Crawfordjohn, who was cited in September 1666 before the Presbytery of Lanark, "for Sabbath-breaking by grinding of meal on Sabbath after the sun set;" and of another who complained in 1667 of having been sent to the pillar by the kirk-session, to make repentance for suffering his mill "to go on before the time upon the Sabbath's night." (*Selections from the Register of the Presbytery of Lanark*, printed for the Abbotsford Club, pp. 107, 108; Edin. 1839.) I am not aware that the Jewish practice was ever publicly recognised in England; in 1656, however, it was thought fit by the Parliament to define the Lord's Day to be the time between 12 of the clock on Saturday night and 12 of the clock Lord's Day night. (Scobell's *Collection*, p. 483.)

129. PYNCHON, WILLIAM, "*late of New England.*" —A Treatise on the Sabbath. Lond. 1655. 4to.

—130. PRYNNE, WILLIAM (*see* No. 114).—A Brief Polemical Dissertation concerning the true Time of the Inchoation and Determination of the Lord's Day Sabbath. Lond. 1655.

131. COLLIER, GILES, M.A., *Vicar of Blockley in Worcestershire.*—Vindiciæ Thesium de Sabbato. Lond. 1656.

This writer maintains shortly, but, if we may believe Collings, "fully and learnedly," in reply to Fisher's *Christian Caveat* (No. 121), the name, morality, and Divine institution of the Christian

Sabbath. There must have been an earlier edition of his book, or a former treatise by him on the same subject, as Collings' answer to Fisher, where he is mentioned as a champion of the Sabbath, was published in 1653.

132. SALLER, W., and J. SPITTLEHOUSE.—An Appeal to the Consciences of the Chief Magistrates of this Commonwealth touching the Sabbath-day. 1657.

133. ASPINWALL.—The Abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath. Lond. 1657. 4to.

134. USSHER (or USHER), JAMES, *Archbishop of Armagh* (*died* 1656).—The Judgment of the late Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, 1. Of the Extent of Christ's Death, and Satisfaction, &c.; 2. Of the Sabbath, and Observation of the Lord's Day, &c. By N. Bernard, D.D., and Preacher to the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn, London. Lond. 1657. 8vo, pp. 163.

From the Reformation, the Church of Ireland was in perfect agreement with the Church of England till 1615, when some of the Irish clergy, actuated, says Bishop Mant, "by that innovating spirit, which, having failed some years before in the attempt to engraft the doctrines of Calvin on the profession of faith of the Anglican Church by means of the notorious Lambeth Articles," endeavoured to substitute, in the Irish Church, a new profession, with which those articles should be incorporated. (Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, p. 383; Lond. 1840, 8vo.) Although the Lambeth Articles had been rejected by King James at the Hampton Court Conference, "the attempt, which had been defeated in England, was, for the present, more successful in Ireland. And accordingly, under the influence of James Usher, not yet weaned from the consequences which prevailed some time after the Reformation, of studying divinity in the systems of modern divines, instead of learning the true doctrines of Christianity, and the real sense of Scripture in difficult or controverted passages, by having recourse to the guidance of the primitive church and the writings of the early fathers, the Lambeth Articles were adopted." (Ib., p. 384.) The new articles were entitled "Articles of Religion agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy of Ireland, in the Convocation holden at Dublin in the year of our Lord God 1615, for the avoiding of Diversities of Opinions, and the establishing of Consent touching True Religion." They will be found in the Rev. Peter Hall's *Harmony of Protestant Confessions*, p. 521, *et seq.*; Lond. 1842, 8vo. The last section of Article 10 is as follows: "The first day of the week, which is the Lord's Day, is wholly to be dedicated to the service of God, and there-

fore we are bound therein to rest from our common and daily business, and to bestow that leisure upon holy exercises, both public and private." (Hall, p. 531.)

Dr Elrington, in his *Life of Usher*, is puzzled to account for the consent of James to this article. "It must at that time," says he, "have been considered at direct variance with the Book of Sports, and this opposition might justly be considered as sufficient to rouse his notions of prerogative into open hostility against such doctrines." (P. 47.) Dr Elrington forgets that the Book of Sports was not issued till 1618, three years after the date of the Articles.

The article just quoted, says Mant, "inoffensive as it might appear to us, and unexceptionable in its general bearing, was yet, with reference to the then existing controversies, not unreasonably open to objection, as soon after it was objected to by Heylin, for appearing to inculcate the Sabbatarian doctrine of a Judaical rest being necessary to be observed on the Lord's Day, and to establish that doctrine as an article of faith." (P. 386.) See Heylin's *History of the Sabbath*, Part II., ch. viii., § 9, p. 259; quoted in Cox's *Sabbath Laws*, p. 296.

In the passage referred to, Heylin states that the Articles were passed by the King's Commissioners employed about the settling of the Irish Church in 1615; and adds: "What moved his Majesty's Commissioners to this strict austerity, that I cannot say; but sure I am, that, till that time, the Lord's Day never had obtained such credit as to be thought an article of the faith, though of some men's fancies. Nor was it like to be of long continuance, it was so violently followed; the whole book being now called in, and, in the place thereof, the Articles of the Church of England confirmed by Parliament in that kingdom, *anno* 1634."

One of the objects of Dr Nicholas Bernard in publishing the volume before us was to contradict some of these statements; for which purpose he has printed a letter written by Usher in 1640 to Dr Twisse (see above, p. 214), two copies of which, corrected throughout with the primate's own hand, were in his possession. He gives also a portion of Twisse's reply, and "a clause in a letter of the primate's to Mr Ley, of the Sabbath." Both of these are mentioned above, pp. 179, 199. Bernard, it should be stated, had filled the office of chaplain and literary assistant to the archbishop. He became rector of Whitchurch in Shropshire, and died in 1661.

Twisse, when engaged in the preparation of his work on *The Morality of the Sabbath*, had written a letter to Usher, the answer to which is what Dr Bernard publishes. Living in retirement at the time, at a distance from his library, Usher says that in these circumstances "I can rather signify to you how fully I concur in judgment with those grounds which you have so judiciously laid in this question of the Sabbath, than afford any great help unto you in the building which you intend to raise thereupon. For when I gave myself unto the reading of the Fathers, I took no heed unto anything that concerned this argument; as little dreaming that

any such controversy would have arisen among us. Yet generally I do remember, that the word *Sabbathum*, in their writings, doth denote our *Saturday;* although by analogy from the manner of speech used by the Jews, the term be sometimes transferred to denote our Christian festivities also. . . . And because the τὸ ῥητὸν of the fourth commandment pointeth at the *Sabbath*, as it was in the first institution, the seventh day from the creation; therefore, they held that Christians were not tied to the observance thereof. Whereupon you may observe, that St Augustin in his *Speculum* (*in Operum tomo* 3°), purposely selecting those things which appertained unto us Christians, doth wholly pretermit that precept in the recital of the commandments of the Decalogue. Not because the substance of the precept was *absolutely* abolished; but because it was in some parts held to be *ceremonial* (*vid.* Augustin, *Præfat. in Speculum*), and the time afterwards was changed in the state of the New Testament, from the seventh to the first day of the week: as appeareth by the author of the 25th sermon, *De Tempore*, (*in* 10° *tomo Operum Augustini,*) and that place of Athanasius *in homil. de Semente*, where he most plainly saith, touching the Sabbath, Μετεθηκε ὁ Κύριος τὴν του σαββάτου ἡμέραν εἰς τὴν κυριακήν." *

* Undue importance is here, and has often been, attributed to this assertion of Athanasius in the middle of the fourth century, that "the Lord has transferred the day of the Sabbath to the Lord's Day." For, not to insist that such a dictum is no further of value than as it is found to rest on the Scriptures, which are the rule of faith, the fact is evident and admitted, that Athanasius means to say, not that Christ appointed the transference, but merely, that by rising from the dead on the first day of the week he effected the transference, or rather gave occasion to its being made by his followers. (See the works referred to above, p. 122, particularly James, p. 195, and Domville, i. Supp. p. 9; also remarks above, p. 125.) The early Fathers give no support, direct or indirect, to the notion that the Sabbath had been transferred at all; but it is not surprising that those who wrote after the enactment by Constantine that Sunday should be kept as a *Sabbath*, were more apt to discover reasons for such observance of it than their predecessors had been while the imperial edict had no existence.

This celebrated law of Constantine is as follows:—"Omnes judices, urbanæque plebes, et cunctarum artium officia venerabili die Solis quiescant. Ruri tamen positi agrorum culturæ liberè licenterque inserviant; quoniam frequenter evenit, ut non aptius alio die frumenta sulcis aut vineæ scrobibus mandentur, ne occasione momenti pereat commoditas cœlesti provisione concessa."—(*Corp. Jur. Civ., Codicis* lib. iii. tit. xii. 3.) "Let all judges, inhabitants of the cities, and artificers, rest on the venerable Sunday. But husbandmen may freely and at their pleasure apply to the business of agriculture; since it often happens that the sowing of corn and planting of vines cannot be so advantageously performed on any other day: lest by neglecting the opportunity they should lose the benefits which the divine bounty bestows upon us." No evidence has been adduced, that before the enactment of this law there was *Sabbatical* observance of the Lord's Day in any part of Christendom.

Usher's other authority, the sermon *De Tempore*, is not ascribed even by himself to Augustine. See respecting it, above p. 123.

He adds: "The text, Gen. ii. 3 (as you well note), is so clear for the ancient institution of the Sabbath, and so fully vindicated by Dr Rivet from the exceptions of Gomarus, that I see no reason in the earth why any man should make doubt thereof; especially considering withal, that the very Gentiles, both civil and barbarous, both ancient and of later days, as it were by an universal kind of tradition, retained the distinction of the seven days of the week, which if Dr Heylin had read, so well proved as it is by Rivetus and Salmasius, he would not have made such a conclusion as he doth, that because the 'heathen (of the four great monarchies at least) had no distinction of weeks, therefore they could observe no Sabbath,' (Part I., c. iv., §§ 8, 10, pp. 83, 84, 90); whereas he might have found, that the distinction of the days of the week did reach *etiam ad ipsos usque Sauromatas*: for even of the Slavonians themselves (while they yet continued in their ancient Paganism), thus writeth Helmoldus, *Chronic. Slavor.* lib. 1, cap. 84: 'Illic secundâ feriâ populus terræ, cum flamine et regulo, convenire solebant propter judicia,' the same order of the days of the week being retained by them, which Theophilus the old Bishop of Antioch noteth to have been observed by all mankind." After quoting Theophilus, Usher proceeds:—"We see it almost generally observed in all nations, though never so far distant, and strangers to one another, that in their reckoning of numbers, when they come to ten, they return to their addition of 1, 2, and 3 again. If it should be demanded how they did all come to agree upon this kind of arithmetic, and not some place their period at 8, some at 12, some at 15, I suppose this could not be better resolved, than by saying they had this by tradition from the first fathers that lived before the dispersion; and that this is not an improbable evidence of that truth propounded by the Apostle unto the philosophers of Athens, Acts xvii. 26, that God 'made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth.' How much more when we find a far greater agreement among the nations in the computation of the seven days of the week (the self-same day which is accounted the *first* by one, being in like manner reckoned so by all, notwithstanding that great variety of differences which is betwixt them in the ordering of their years and months); how much more strongly, I say, may we conclude from hence, that the tradition of the seventh day was not of Moses, but of the fathers, and did not begin with the commonwealth of Israel, but was derived unto all nations by lineal descent from the sons of Noah?

"Add hereunto, that those heathens who were strangers from the commonwealth of Israel, though they made not the seventh day a festival as the Jews did, yet did they attribute some holiness to it, and gave it a peculiar honour above the other days of the week; wherein they retained some relics, and preserved still some clear footsteps of the first institution." (Pp. 78–83). In proof of this the Archbishop quotes the passages which have been so often adduced from Josephus, Homer, Callimachus, and others; as to the conclusiveness or inconclusiveness of which see above, p. 113.

The opinion which he favours about the origin and universal use of the week, is now more doubtful than it was two hundred years ago (see above, pp. 113, 114); and those who see in the four phases of the moon such a natural origin for the week as that which the lunar revolutions undoubtedly gave to the month, will marvel how the Archbishop could be blind not only to the possibility of such an explanation, but to the fact which, but for the passage above quoted, might be styled self-evident, that numbers are reckoned by tens because the fingers are ten, which all men naturally employ at first in calculating. The fact that all the nations which use the week begin it *on the same day*, is however a proof, if not of the common origin of those nations, at least of their having followed in this respect the practice of one which took the lead in abandoning the lunar week for the civil one of *precisely* seven days.

He refers to the Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians, as shewing that in that Father's time the Lord's Day was "a weekly holiday, observed by Christians, in the room of the abrogated Sabbath of the Jews." (P. 93.) But, as we saw above (p. 119), it is extremely doubtful if Ignatius there speaks of the Lord's Day at all. Usher also communicates to Dr Twisse his discovery, that in the common edition of Ignatius, "the genuine epistles are foully depraved, by a number of beggarly patches added unto his purple by later hands;" among which patches are "all those words alleged by Dr Heylin (Part II., p. 41), to prove that Ignatius would have both the Sabbath and the Lord's Day observed." These, says the Primate, were "afterwards added by some later Grecian, who was afraid that the custom of keeping both days, observed in his time, should appear otherwise to be directly opposite to the sentence of Ignatius; whereas his main intention was to oppose the Ebionites of his own time, who, as Eusebius witnesseth in the third book of his Ecclesiastical History, did both keep the Sabbath with the Jews, and also the Lord's day." (Pp. 94–96.)

Bernard's volume contains, moreover, "Part of a letter of the Primate's to an honourable person, not long after the coming forth of Dr Heylin's book of the History of the Sabbath, which I found wrote in the same paper with the former." It occupies pp. 108–112. Here Usher states, in opposition to the historian, that the Irish Articles of 1615 were published some years before the King's Commissioners went to Ireland; that neither the Ten Commandments, nor any articles agreed on for avoiding differences, are articles of faith; that the Homilies of the Church of England go as far as the Irish Articles in regard to the Lord's Day; and that these Articles were never called in, nor those of the Church of England confirmed, by Parliament in 1634. To which Bernard himself adds some observations (pp. 113–122), asserting, among other things, that the English Articles were received in 1634 by the Church of Ireland, not as superseding, but as being in substance identical with, the Irish ones of 1615.

The reply of Heylin to Bernard's book will form the subject of our next article (No. 135.)

It is said that Usher himself was appointed to draw up the Irish Articles in 1615; but, says Dr Elrington, whether or not "such a formal appointment were made, he must have had the principal share in their formation, from his high character, and from the situation he held as Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin." (*Life of Usher*, p. 43; Dublin, 1847.)

During the Primate's residence in Wales, a book was published under his name by John Downame, entitled, "A Body of Divinity, or, the Sum and Substance of Christian Religion, catechistically propounded and explained by way of Question and Answer. Composed long since by James Usher, Bishop of Armagh, and at the earnest desire of divers godly Christians printed and now published;" Lond. 1645, fol. Here the Sabbath is largely treated of (pp. 241–254), and its multifarious duties set forth according to the views, and with all the prolix particularity, of the Puritan School; and this in language so similar to what is found on the same subject in the Larger Catechism of the Westminster Assembly, that the framers of the Catechism must have taken for a chief model either this part of the *Body of Divinity*, or one of the earlier works from which it was compiled. For, after all, the book is none of Usher's, but was published without his sanction, and immediately disclaimed by him in a letter to the editor, in which he says "it was transcribed out of Mr Cartwright's Catechism and Mr Crook's, and some other English divines, but drawn together in one method, as a kind of common-place-book, where other men's judgments and reasons are strongly laid down, although not approved in all places by the collector,"—by whom therefore, he adds, "it may not by any means be owned." (*Life* by Elrington, p. 249.) The treatise is consequently not included by Dr Elrington in the collected works of the Archbishop (Dublin, 1842–50, 16 vols. 8vo); but he mentions, that notwithstanding the Primate's disclamation, "many editions of the *Body of Divinity* have been published by those who were aware of the facts, and yet affixed to it the name of Usher. Dr Bernard, who could not have been offended by the extreme doctrines contained in the work, says of it, 'Being so-unpolished, defective, and full of mistakes, he was much displeased at the publishing it in his name.' An edition was published in London so lately as the year 1841, and the attention of the editors was drawn to the letter of Archbishop Usher. They promised to prefix the letter to the work, but they never fulfilled the promise." (Elrington, p. 249.)

Some short extracts from this spurious *Body of Divinity* may nevertheless be given:—

"Q. Are we as strictly bound to rest from all our outward businesses, and to forbear all worldly labour upon this day, as the Israelites?

"A. Yea, so far forth as the morality of the commandment

reacheth: but by the ceremonial law there was enjoined unto the Jews a more exact observation of outward rest, which to them was a part of their ceremonial worship; whereas unto us the outward rest is not properly any part of the sanctification of the day, or of the service of God, but only a means tending to the furtherance of the same—even as in fasting and prayer, fast is of itself no part of God's service, but a thing adjoined thereunto, and so far forth only acceptable in the worship of God, as it maketh a way and readier passage for the other, 1 Cor. viii. 8." (P. 246.)

"Q. What is the magistrate's part [in regard to the Fourth Commandment]?

"A. To see that all within his gates keep the Lord's Day, Jo. xxiv. 15; even strangers, though Turks and Infidels, Neh. xiii. 15, causing them to cease from labour, and restraining them from all open and public idolatry, or false worship of God; much more all his own subjects, whom he ought to force to hear the Word, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 33." (P. 249.)

It is explained that "the second and greater part of this commandment is the sanctifying of this rest, and keeping it holy unto the Lord, by exercising of ourselves wholly in the service of God, and performing the duties of that day." The question is then put, "Are we as strictly bound to these duties as the Jews?" To which it is answered—"Yes, verily, and more than they, because of the greater measures of God's graces upon us, above that which was upon them." (P. 249.)

To the question, What proof have we of the duty of spending the whole Sabbath-day in religious exercise and employment? the answer is as follows:—

"1. In the Law; every evening and every morning were sacrifices, which on the Sabbath were multiplied. (Numb. xxviii. 9.) 2. The 92d Psalm, entituled 'A Psalm for the Sabbath,' to be sung that day, declareth, that it is a good thing to begin the praises of God early in the morning, and to continue the same until night." (P. 251.)*

* The words of the Psalm are these: "It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord, and to sing praises unto thy name, O most High: to shew forth thy loving kindness in the morning, and thy faithfulness every night; upon an instrument of ten strings, and upon the psaltery; upon the harp with a solemn sound." Now, even on the assumption that the poetical language of an oriental song may rationally be interpreted like a formal statute, it has been doubted whether the shewing forth of God's loving kindness *in the morning*, and his faithfulness *every night*, is here mentioned as a good thing for the Sabbath-day in particular, though recommended in a Psalm designed to be sung on that day; and whether the recommendation of morning and evening praises to God is a recommendation of this and other devotional exercises *continued from morning till night*. Some, also, have wondered why the Puritans, acknowledging the divine authority of this Psalm, and appealing to it in support of their views, were and are so frequently hostile to the use of instrumental music in the worship of God.

Again:—

"Q. Wherein shall they be blessed that keep the Sabbath-day?

"A. 1. In all the holy exercises of the Sabbath, which shall serve for their further increase both of the knowledge and fear of God, and all other spiritual and heavenly graces accompanying salvation. 2. In matters of this life, we shall not only not be hindered by keeping the Sabbath, but more blessed than if we did work that day: as on the other side, the gain on the Lord's Day shall, by the curse of God, melt and vanish away, what shew of profit soever it have, and bring some curse or other upon our labours in the week days, which in themselves are lawful and honest." (P. 254.)

Feasting and pastimes on the Sabbath are prohibited in the *Body of Divinity*, as tending more than our ordinary labours to draw our minds from God. To recreation in itself, however, Archbishop Usher was by no means hostile. "While he was ever ready," says Dr Elrington, "to urge upon those who came within his observation the duty of diligence in their respective vocations, and the pernicious effects of idleness upon the individual himself, and all around him, setting himself an illustrious example of the most devoted application, yet he never exhibited any moroseness or severity in checking innocent recreations; on the contrary, he recommended their moderate use as necessary to unbend the mind, and keep it from melancholy, or too deep attention to business." (P. 281–2.)

135. HEYLIN, PETER (*see* No. 88).—Respondet Petrus: or the Answer of Peter Heylin, D.D., to so much of Dr Bernard's book, intituled "The Judgment of the late Primate of Ireland," &c., as he is made a party to by the said Lord Primate in the point of the Sabbath, and by the said Doctor in some others. Lond. 1658.

After defending himself (pp. 65–85) from an accusation by Dr Bernard, that his doctrine of the Lord's Day was at variance with that of the Church of England, Heylin acknowledges that he had erred in attributing the Irish Articles of 1615 to the King's Commissioners; and he accepts the information of Bernard that they were subscribed by the Archbishop of Dublin, then speaker of the House of Bishops in convocation, by the prolocutor of the House of the Clergy in their names, and by the Lord-Deputy Chichester in the name of King James. "If so," says Heylin, "(as now I believe it was), I must needs say that the Sabbatarians, and the rest of the Calvinian party in England, were wiser in their generation than the children of light, who, seeing that they had no hopes of thrusting the nine Articles of Lambeth, their Sabbath speculations, and the rest of their heterodoxies, on the Church of England, they began to cast their eyes on Ireland, which, lying further off, might be less looked after. And in that realm they made themselves so strong a

party, that they obtained those points in the convocation held at Dublin, *anno* 1615, which neither their seditious clamours in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, nor their petition to King James at his first entrance on this kingdom, nor their motion at the conference in Hampton Court, nor their continual addresses to the Houses of Parliament, were able to effect in England. The outworks being thus easily gained, they made from thence their batteries on the fort itself, of which they doubted not to make themselves masters in a short time, as in fine they did. For after this, when the Sabbath quarrels were revived, and the Arminian controversies in agitation, no argument was more hotly pressed by those of the Puritan faction than the authority of these Articles, and the infallible judgment of King James, to confirm the same." (P. 87.)

Another point maintained by Bernard is, that the Articles were never "called in;" nor was it the *Parliament*, but the House of *Convocation*, which, "for the manifestation of their agreement with the Church of England in the confession of the same Christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments as themselves profess, and for no other end in the world, did receive and approve of the Articles of England." But Heylin rejoins that this reception imports the repeal of the Irish Articles, whether or not the intention of the receivers was, that such should be its effect. This question as to repeal was largely discussed at the time, the views of the different parties being recorded in Bishop Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, pp. 482–493. This writer thinks it "to have been the intention of the two governments that, whilst no violence should be offered to the Primate's feelings, nor any slur cast upon his character, by the avowed repeal of the Articles which he had himself composed, the establishment, nevertheless, of the English Articles being, as they conceived them to be, inconsistent with the others, should give, silently and effectually, a death-blow to those previously established in the Church of Ireland."

In the Appendix to Parr's *Life of Usher*, there was published by the Archbishop's grandson, Mr James Tyrrel, "A Vindication of the Opinions and Actions of the Lord Primate Usher, in reference to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, and his Conformity thereunto, from the Aspersions of Peter Heylin, DD., in his pamphlet called 'Respondet Petrus.'" It is reprinted by Dr Elrington in the Appendix, No. VII., to his *Life of Usher*, p. cxlvii. Tyrrel stoutly argues that the Primate's views concerning the Lord's Day coincide with those expressed in the Homily of the Church of England, and accuses Heylin of having been so careful in his quotations, as not only to take what in this homily he thinks makes for his purpose, but also to be "so wary as to leave out whatsoever he thinks is against him." Tyrrel supplies the omitted passages, and adds: "From all which, put together, I shall leave it to the ingenuous reader to judge who hath most perverted the sense of this homily, the Lord Primate, or the Doctor? and whether or no these conclusions following do not clearly follow from the passages above cited: 1. That, by the Fourth Commandment,

it is God's perpetual will to have one solemn and standing day in the week for people to meet together to worship and serve Him. 2. That this day, though it be not the seventh day from the creation, yet is still the Christian Sabbath, or day of rest, being still the seventh day, and still observed, not only because of our Saviour Christ's resurrection on this day, but also that we keep the Christian Sabbath, which is the Sunday, as well for that it is God's express commandment, as also to show ourselves dutiful children in following the example of our gracious Lord and Father, who rested on the seventh day. 3. That, on this Christian Sabbath, or Sunday, we ought to rest from our lawful and needful works, and common and daily business, and also give ourselves wholly to heavenly exercises of God's true religion and service." He maintains that the homily, in the very statement that "the Christian people chose a standing day of the week," assumes that *one day in seven* must be observed as an immutable and moral institution.

In another work, published by Heylin in 1659, and entitled, *Examen Historicum; or a Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes, Falsities, and Defects in some Modern Histories*, he reflects on the noted John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, for treating with severity Dr Pocklington and a Dr Bray, because the former had preached and printed, and the latter had licensed, two books called *Sunday no Sabbath* (No. 93) and *The Christian Altar*. Herein, says Heylin, the Bishop "ran cross to his former practice: who had been not long since so far from those Sabbatarian rigors (which now he would fain be thought to countenance), that he caused a comedy to be acted before him at his house at Bugden, not only on a Sunday in the afternoon, but upon such a Sunday also on which he had publicly given sacred orders, both to priests and deacons. And to this comedy he invited the Earl of Manchester, and divers of the neighbouring gentry, though on this turning of the tide he did not only cause these doctors to be condemned for some opinions which formerly himself allowed of, but moved at the Assembly in Jerusalem Chamber that all books should be publicly burnt which had disputed the morality of the Lord's-day-Sabbath." (P. 243.) In reply to which accusation Ambrose Philips, in his *Life of Bishop Williams* (Camb. 1700), has nothing more to say than this: "What some censured him for was, his permitting a comedy to be acted once or twice before him in his hall; nay, and upon a Sunday evening, upon which he had ordained too, as one affirms: which circumstance, if true, I wonder how it came to be omitted by the author of his Life, who doubtless knew the Bishop's private actions the best of any man. And he affirms, that Lincoln did no more in recreating himself with such diversions, than he had seen that grave prelate Archbishop Bancroft do at Lambeth." (Pp. 253-4.) Mr J. Payne Collier, in his *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, &c., vol. ii. p. 30 (Lond. 1831), has published, from MSS. in the Library at Lambeth Palace, the more specific statement, that the *Midsummer Night's Dream* was the comedy performed, and that Sunday, 27th September 1631, was the date of the performance.

136. WILKINSON, HENRY, D.D., *Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford* (*died* 1690).—Conciones Sex ad Academicos Oxonienses Latinè habitæ. Accedunt Tractatus duo: quorum unus est, De Jure Divino Dici Dominicæ; alter, De Impotentia Liberi Arbitrii ad Bonum Spirituale, &c. Oxon. 1658. 8vo. Pp. 200 et 210.

The treatise on the Divine Authority of the Lord's Day occupies 94 pages. Its full title is, "Thesis discussa Oxonii in Comitiorum Vesperiis Julii 9, 1653, De Jure Divino Christiani Sabbati, i.e. Diei Dominici. Respondente pro gradu Doctoratus in Theologiâ Henr. Wilkinson, S. Theol. D. et Aulæ Magd. Princip. Thesis affirmatur Diem Dominicum esse jure divino sanctificandum."

This apparently is the "Dr Henry Wilkinson younger of Oxford," who appears in the list of members of the Westminster Assembly, prefixed to their Confession of Faith.

His Thesis is a warm assertion of the Puritan opinions about the Sabbath, and a somewhat intemperate attack on the School of White and Heylin. He reproduces much that had recently been urged by preceding writers, more especially Cawdrey and Palmer, and Dr John Ley "in libro perdocto cui titulus Dies Dominica Sabbatum." (Nos. 122, 102).

The name which he prefers to give to the first day of the week is "the Lord's Sabbath," "Sabbatum Dominicum;" though the phrases "Christian Sabbath" and "Lord's Day" are allowed to be sufficiently applicable. There was no need, he thinks, for any new commandment enjoining its observance; seeing that "the ancient precept remained entire, and was to continue in full force even to the end of the world:" in Jewish times it regarded the Christian Sabbath prospectively, and now it regards the Jewish Sabbath retrospectively. "Expirante vero Sabbato Judaico, de jure in hæredem adoptatur Dies Dominica." (P. 7.)

Much stress is laid by him on the name of "the Lord's Day," as a proof of its institution by Jesus, "the Lord of the Sabbath:" unless it was so instituted, the name, he maintains, could never have been bestowed on it. Fisher's reply to this argument, as urged previously by Richard Byfield, p. 123, and Dr Young, p. 24 (see the works Nos. 78 and 99), is, that "the Lord's Day is not so called because it was *instituted by the Lord*, but because it is *dedicated to the Lord*; as we commonly say St Mary's Church or St Peter's Church, which no man ever did imagine were built or founded by St Mary or St Peter." (Fisher's *Christian Caveat*, p. 8.)

The toleration of Sunday sports by royal authority in 1633, with the privations endured by many of the clergy who declined to read the king's Declaration, are deplored most bitterly by Wilkinson as things which "satis deflere et ingemiscere haud valeamus."* (P. 64.) And he represents its defenders as "roaring

* *Toleratio* is the word used by Wilkinson in reference to the Sunday sports. He was too well acquainted with the facts to say, what so many

themselves hoarse" in asserting the purely ecclesiastical authority of the Lord's Day: "Ad raucedinem usque eboant, et voce plusquam stentoreâ declamitant Diem Dominicam esse juris tantummodo ecclesiastici." (P. 51.) Strong writing like this was but ill fitted to gain over his readers of the opposite party, especially as their tongues were now tied by an act of Parliament for the better observation of the Lord's Day, passed in 1656, and enacting, among other things, "that all persons contriving, printing, or publishing any papers, books, or pamphlets, for allowance of sports and pastimes upon the Lord's Day, or against the morality thereof, shall forfeit the sum of five pounds, or be committed to the house of correction." This clause, and another already cited from the same act (see above, p. 234), are curious illustrations of the blindness of the Puritans, equally with their Episcopalian adversaries, to the principles of religious liberty.

The preamble of the act is carefully expressed, so as to render it unobjectionable to various classes of disputants:—"Forasmuch as God hath appointed one day in seven to be kept holy unto himself, and that in order thereunto man should abstain from the works of his ordinary calling, and hath intrusted the magistrate, amongst others, to take care thereof within his gates; and whereas it is found by daily experience, that the first day of the week (being the Lord's Day, and since the resurrection of Christ to be acknowledged the Christian Sabbath) is frequently neglected and profaned, to the dishonour of Christ, and profession of the Gospel; therefore, for the better observation of the said day, and preventing in some measure such profanation thereof for the future, be it enacted by His Highness the Lord Protector, and the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, that whatsoever person," &c.

Time works wonders. The doctrine of the morality of the Sabbath, which it was criminal to write against in 1656, is now openly repudiated by a leader in one of the Scottish churches—a friend and abettor of the late Sir Andrew Agnew, and the preacher of his funeral sermon. This is done in a discourse entitled *Man's Right to the Sabbath: The Sabbath made for Man; the Son of Man Lord of it;* by Rob. S. Candlish, D.D. Edin. 1856. See especially pp. 35, 51, 69; and more strongly to the same effect *The Presbyterian Review*, vol. i. p. 503, quoted in Cox's *Sabbath Laws*, p. 490.

As was usual in his time, Dr Wilkinson holds up as a warning to his countrymen those divine judgments which the Puritans so readily discovered to fall upon Sabbath-breakers. Dr Hackwill, Rector of Exeter College, and Dr Wilkinson, President of Magdalen College, are referred to as grave dignitaries who had observed during their long lives that innumerable bathers on the Lord's Day

writers now affirm, that the royal Declaration *commanded* the people to indulge in the permitted pastimes. Even the late Dr M'Crie speaks of "sports and pastimes *appointed by authority* (of James I.) to be held on the Sabbath." (*Miscellaneous Writings*, p. 274.)

had sunk to rise no more. "Doctores duo veneranda canitie honorandi solebant observare enatantes plurimos die Dominicâ aquis submersos fuisse." (P. 40.) But it does not appear that any inquiry was made whether the *proportion* of the drowned to undrowned swimmers on Sunday was greater than at other times; or whether, if so, the increased mortality was in any degree caused by staying longer in the water than on busier days.

The duty of rising early on the Sabbath, in order that its sanctification may be commenced betimes, is strongly inculcated. "Die Dominico oportet diluculo surgere, et prius orto sole ad divinum cultum nosmetipsos alacrius accingere: torpore, desidia, et somnolentia discussis, primo mane opus diei præstandum est. Precibus, meditationi seriæ, Scripturarumque lectioni, et Psalmis canendis incumbendum est. Maria cum diluculo surrexerit Christi potitus est aspectu gratissimo. Atat proh dolor! proh summa ignavia! Quamplurimi vel ipsis gliribus somnolentiores altum mane obdormiscunt ægrius hodie expergefaciendi et e lectis exsuscitandi. Quid aliud est desidia quam Diaboli barathrum, vivique hominis sepultura? Utrum horum sit deterius quæritur, vel ignavia spiritualis, vel labor corporalis: Imo è duobus malis minus esse malum (neutrum tamen esse eligendum velim) laborem corporalem arbitror. Otiosi sanè ee præ aliis Satanæ exponunt tentationibus, ejusque sunt mancipia perditissima." (Pp. 74, 75.) This very liability of the idle to temptation was, however, an argument among Wilkinson's opponents for the lawfulness, and even the *utility*, of Sunday recreations to persons too weak or frigid to spend the whole day, from dawn till evening, "in the public and private exercises of God's worship, except so much as is to be taken up in the works of necessity and mercy."

137. BILLINGSLEY, NICHOLAS.—ΚΟΣΜΟΒΡΕΦΙΑ, or the Infancy of the World; with an Appendix of God's Resting Day, &c. Lond. 1658. 8vo.

138. STENNET, EDWARD, *an English dissenting minister*.—The Royal Law contended for: or, Some Brief Grounds serving to prove that the Ten Commandments are yet in full force, and shall so remain till Heaven and Earth pass away; also, The Seventh Day Sabbath proved from the Beginning, from the Law, from the Prophets, from Christ and his Apostles, to be a Duty yet incumbent upon Saints and Sinners. Lond. 1658.

This work was reprinted by the American [Seventh-day] Sabbath Tract Society in 1848 (12mo, pp. 57), and is included in their volume of Tracts on the Sabbath (New York, 1853). A prefatory notice informs us that "Edward Stennet, the author, was the first

of the series of Sabbatarian ministers of that name, who for four generations continued to be among the foremost of the Dissenters in England, and whose praise is still in all the churches. He was an able and devoted minister, but dissenting from the Established Church, he was deprived of the means of support; and, his family being large, he applied himself to the study of medicine, by the practice of which he was enabled to give his sons a liberal education. He suffered much of the persecution which the Dissenters were exposed to at that time, and more especially for his faithful adherence to the cause of the Sabbath. For this truth, he experienced tribulation, not only from those in power, by whom he was a long time kept in prison, but also much distress from unfriendly dissenting brethren, who strove to destroy his influence, and ruin his cause. He wrote several treatises upon the subject of the Sabbath besides this, but they are very rare, and perhaps cannot all be found in a perfect state of preservation. They all breathe the genuine spirit of Christianity, and in their day were greatly conducive to the prosperity of the Sabbath-keeping churches."

Besides asserting the duty of keeping the seventh-day Sabbath, Stennet teaches that its observance ought to be commenced, after the manner of the Jews, at sunset on Friday.

In *The Seventh-day Baptist Memorial*, a quarterly magazine published at New York in 1852-3-4, by the Seventh-day Baptist Publishing Society, vol. i. pp. 26-28, there are printed two letters, dated Abingdon, Berkshire, 1668 and 1670, from Edward Stennet to "the remnant in Rhode Island who keep the commandments of God and the testimonies of Jesus." In the first of them he says: "Here are in England about nine or ten churches that keep the Sabbath, besides many scattered disciples, who have been eminently preserved in this tottering day, when many once eminent churches have been shattered in pieces. The Lord alone be exalted, for the Lord hath done this, not for our sakes, but for his own name's sake."

Another of his publications is noticed below, No. 148.

139. CAPPELLUS, LOUIS, *Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Saumur* (*died* 1658).—Commentarii et Notæ Criticæ in Vetus Testamentum. Amst. 1689. Fol.

This volume includes De Sabbatho integra Disputatio (pp. 263-304), wherein the author discusses with remarkable precision, discrimination, and clearness, the questions here stated:—

"1. An Sabbathum statim à mundi exordio Adamo fuerit à Deo mandatum, et ab eo observatum? (P. 263.)

"2. An præceptum de septimo die observando sit morale, nec ne? (P. 266.)

"Argumenta quibus Sabbathum esse morale probari posse putatur, expenduntur et refutantur. (P. 269.)

"3. An sit Sabbathum sub Nov. Testamento observandum? (P. 279.)

"An Diei Dominicæ sub Nov. Testamento observatio nitatur expresso et exserto Christi vel Apostolorum mandato, atque instituto? (P. 281.)

"4. Qua in re posita sit Sabbathi sanctificatio. (P. 289.)

"Quæ et qualis sit Sabbathariorum sententia. (P. 295.)

"Quibus, quot, et quantis laboret, et obnoxia sit hæc Sabbathariorum sententia, incommodis. (P. 296.)

"Quæ sit vera et orthodoxa de Sabbatho sub Nov. Testamento sententia." (P. 303.)

His conclusions are mainly those of Luther, Melancthon, Beza, and Grotius, and consequently agree for the most part with the tenets of White and Heylin in England. The seventh day is however thought by him to have been sanctified at the creation, though without any injunction to abstain from work; which abstinence he yet admits to have been *so far* needful as to give leisure for the solemn worship of God. On this point he agrees with Grotius, whose doctrine of the difference between the patriarchal and Jewish Sabbaths is quoted above, pp. 219–221.

In another work, entitled *Critica Sacra*, Cappellus gave so much offence to his fellow-Protestants in France by arguing against the then received opinion of the absolute integrity of the text of the Hebrew Scriptures, and collecting the errors which had crept into it, that they did everything in their power to prevent it from being printed. In 1650, however, it was published at Paris by his son, who had become a member of the Church of Rome. It was answered by the younger Buxtorf, and opposed by many English Protestants; Dr Owen declaring that those who asserted that the Scriptures had suffered like other ancient books, were on the very borders of atheism. (Orme's *Life of Owen*, p. 208.) At this time the prevalent belief among Protestants was that expressed in the *Westminster Confession*, Ch. I. § viii.: namely, that "the Old Testament in Hebrew, and the New Testament in Greek, being immediately inspired by God, and *by his singular care and providence kept pure in all ages*, are therefore authentical." But Grotius, in a letter to Cappellus, commended the treatise highly; and the question has long since been settled in the author's favour.

It was no part of his design to point out or explain any discrepances between passages in the Scriptures themselves—such as those which some find between Exod. xx. 8–11 and Deut. v. 12–15, and between both and Exod. xxxiv. 17–28. (See above, pp. 11, 17–18, 25, 156; and Cox, pp. 95–99, 182.)

140. Hammond, Henry, D.D., *Sub-Dean of Christ Church, Oxford* (*died* 1660).—A Practical Catechism. 7th edit. Lond. 1662.

Having been first published about 1644, this popular work ought

to have been mentioned sooner. It has gone through many editions, and may be seen in vol. i. of Hammond's *Works* (Lond. 1774, fol.), and in vol. i. of his *Miscellaneous Theological Works*, in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology* (Oxf. 1847.)

In regard to the Lord's Day, he agrees with White, Heylin, &c.; the question, "What is the importance of the Fourth Commandment?" being answered as follows:—"It is a designation of time for the special performing of God's public worship. For the worship itself being first settled, the branches, together with the object of it agreed on, in all reason some time should be set apart for the public special performance of it. And the precept in this matter given to the Jews, although it have something in it typical, viz., the strict rest for that whole day, which imported a rest wherein all Christians are concerned, the ceasing of our whole life from our own works, *i.e.* from sin, the true meaning of the Christian Sabbath, Isa. lviii. 13, (and therefore the Fourth Commandment is interpreted by our Church Catechism to signify to us the necessity of our 'serving God truly all the days of our life'); and, secondly, although being a positive precept, given particularly to the Jews, it be not punctually in every particular obligatory to us Christians (that live not by their laws), yet will it conclude, from the equity of that Command, many things of use unto us. As,—1. That it is not only lawful, but (for a public community of men) necessary to set apart some set times for God's service, and by the same reason some set places, set vestments, gestures, and other the like ceremonies, such as may best both comply with and help, accompany and heighten our spiritual performances unto God. 2. That what is thus set apart to God's use is said to be sanctified or hallowed, *i.e.*, to have a separate respect due to it, such as that it must not ordinarily be mixed with profane and common uses; which is also the importance of the rest joined with the hallowing, the not mixing our worldly employments with our divine performances. 3. That the remembrance of God's special mercies is a fit hint or occasion to pitch upon some day, or time, or place, &c., in relation thereto, and thus to discriminate it from others. Such was the creation of the world mentioned there, and the resurrection of Christ in the Christian Church; and yet this latter not appointed to supplant or swallow up the former, but only, as it deserved of us Christians, to be preferred before it, as for some hundreds of years in the ancient Church, the Jewish Sabbath was retained in (a great part at least of) the Christian Church together with the Lord's Day, and the services proportioned to them both, but the latter preferred before the former; and if in every week, or month, or year, we should set some time apart to commemorate God's mercy in the creation, and all his other acts of gracious providence belonging to our preservation, it would be no superstition, but an act of piety, in any single Christian, or (if authority should think good) in any public society of them. So likewise the birth, passion, ascension of Christ, the descent of the Spirit, the birth or martyrdom of the apostles and saints of Scrip-

ture, and any remarkable temporal deliverance, or (by proportion also) any matter of humiliation, any sin or judgment on a kingdom, &c., will by the example of God himself (both in that fourth commandment, and in other feasts and fasts prescribed by him) be resolved on to be fit seasons and opportunities to consecrate some considerable part of our time, yea, and of our wealth also, unto God. 4. That as God did then, so (Christ having transmitted his power to them) the Apostles and succeeding Church of God now may very reasonably dispose of us in matters of this nature, and direct all its members into some uniform way, at such set times, in such set places of the worship of God; and that they have so done appears both by some mentions of the Lord's Day in holy Scripture, and by the constant suffrage of the Fathers of the Church since that time; which is a sufficient obligation on all Christians to a due, constant, diligent observation of it, over and above that of the Fourth Commandment."

The next question, "How is the time thus set apart to be employed?" is replied to by the usual specification of public and private exercises of religion, and works of mercy and charity. This is followed by a vindication of the other festivals of the Church of England.

Hammond was one of those royalist divines who, when nominated to be members of the Westminster Assembly, declined to take their seats. The king had issued, on 22d June 1643, a proclamation forbidding the Assembly to meet for the purposes mentioned in the Parliamentary ordinance, declaring that no acts done by them ought to be received by his subjects, and threatening that in case of disobedience he would proceed against them with the utmost severity of the law. Archbishop Usher stood, on this occasion, in the same predicament.

SUPPLEMENT TO VOLUME I.

PAGE 113.

The supposed Traces of a Primeval Sabbath among the Ancient Heathen.

"THAT all the ancient patriarchs, before the giving of the Law," says Dr John Owen in the passage referred to in the text, "diligently observed the solemn worship of God in and with their families, and those under their rule, or any way belonging to their care and disposal, both their own piety forbids us to question, and the testimony given them, that they walked with God, and by faith therein obtained a good report, gives us the highest assurance. Now, of all obedience unto God, faith is the principle and foundation, without which it is impossible to please him (Heb. xi. 6). This faith doth always, and must always, respect the command and promise of God, which gives it its formal nature. For no other principle, though it may produce the like actions with it, is divine faith, but what respects the command and promise of God, so as to be steered, directed, guided, and bounded by them. Unto this solemn worship of God, which in faith they thus attended to, some stated time is indispensably necessary. And therefore that some portion of time should be set apart to that purpose, is acknowledged almost by all to be a dictate of the law of nature; and we shall afterwards prove it so to be. What ground have we now to imagine, that the holy men of old were left without divine direction in this matter? That a designation and limitation of this time was or could have been of great use and advantage unto them, none can deny. Considering therefore the dealings of God with them, and how frequently he renewed unto them the knowledge of his will by occasional revelation, it cannot be supposed that divine grace was wanting unto them herein. Besides, in what they did in this kind, they are expressly said to keep the way of the Lord (Gen. xviii. 19), and in particular, his charge, his commandments, his statutes and his laws (ch. xxvi. 5), which comprise all the institutions and ordinances of divine worship. That they did any thing of themselves from their own wisdom and invention in the worship of God, is nowhere intimated, nor are they

anywhere commended on the account thereof: yea, to do a thing in faith, as they did whatever of this kind they did, and that as a part of the worship of God, is to do it upon the command of God. And the institution mentioned, upon the reason of God's rest joined with it, is so express, as that none can doubt that there was a practice conformable unto it, by all that truly feared the Lord, although the particulars of it should not be recorded.

"It was from no other original that the tradition of *the sacredness of the septenary number*, and the fixing of the first period of time to a septenary revolution of days, was so catholic in the world. For next to that of night and day, which is absolutely natural, and which appears so to the senses, with the composition of the night and day into one measure of time, which was also from the original creation and conjunction of evening and morning into one day; the division of time by periods of seven days has prevailed amongst nations in general, and particularly amongst individual persons, that were inquiring and contemplative. Not only that sort of philosophers who expressed their apprehensions mystically by numbers, as the Pythagoreans and some of the Platonics, who from hence took the occasion of that way of teaching and instruction, esteemed the septenary number sacred; but those also did so who resolved their observations into things natural or physical. For in all their notions and speculations about the Pleiades, and Triones in heaven, lunar changes, sounds of instruments, variations in the age of man, critical days in bodily distempers, and transactions of affairs private and public, they found a respect thereto. It must therefore be granted, that there is a great impression left on the whole creation of a regard to this number, whereof instances might be multiplied. The ground hereof was no other but an emanation from the old tradition of the creation of the world, and the rest that ensued on the seventh day. So say the ancient verses, which some ascribe to Linus, others to Callimachus:—

Ἑπτὰ δὶ πάντα τέτυκται ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντι
Ἐν κυκλοῖσι φανέντ' ἐπιτελλομένοις ἐνιαυτοῖς.

'In seven all things were perfected, in the starry heavens which appear in their orbs, or circles, in the rolling or voluble years.' This was the true original of their notions concerning the sacredness of the number seven. But when this was obscured or lost amongst them, as were the greatest and most important sacred truths communicated to man in his creation, they, many of them, retaining the principle of the sacred number, invented other reasons for it of no importance. Some of these were arithmetical, some harmonical or musical notions. But were their reasons for it never so infirm, the thing itself they still retained. Hence were their notations of this number; it was termed by them the virgin, and Pallas; and καιρός, which sacredly is, saith Hesychius, ὁ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀριθμός, 'the number of seven.' It is hard to give any other account whence all these conceptions should arise, besides

that insisted on. From the original impression made on the minds of men, by the instruction of the law of creation, which they were made under, and the tradition of the creation of the world in six days, closed with an additional day of sacred rest, did these notions andobscure remembrances of the specialty of that number arise. And although we have not yet inquired what influence into the law of creation, as instructive and directive of our actions, the six days' work had, with its consequential day of rest; yet all will grant, that whatever it were, it was far more clear and cogent to man in innocence, directly obliged by that law, and able to understand its voice in all things, than it could be to them who by the effects of it made some dark inquiries after it, who were yet able to conclude that there was somewhat sacred in the number of seven, though they knew not well what.

"Neither was the number of seven only in general sacred amongst them, but there are testimonies produced out of the most ancient writers amongst the heathens, expressing a notion of *a seventh day's sacred feast and rest.* Many of these were of old collected by Clemens Alexandrinus, and by Eusebius, out of Aristobulus a learned Jew. They have by many been insisted on, and yet I think it not amiss here once more to report them. The words of Aristobulus, wherewith he prefaceth his allegation of them, are in Eusebius, *Præpar. Evangel.* lib. xiii. cap. 12, speaking of the seventh day; διασαφεῖ Ὅμηρος καὶ Ἡσίοδος μιτειληφότες ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων βιβλίων ἱεράν εἶναι. 'Homer and Hesiod, taking it out of our books, do openly affirm that it is sacred.' That what they affirm herein was taken from the Jewish books, I much question; nor do I think that in their time, when the Law only was written, that the nations of the world had the least acquaintance with their writings; nor much until after the Babylonish captivity. Then their writings began to be noticed, and the knowledge of them was principally diffused under the Persian empire, by their commerce with the Grecians, who inquired into all things of that nature, and that had an appearance of secret wisdom. But these apprehensions, whatever they were, they seem rather to have taken up from the secret insinuations of the law of creation, and the tradition that was in the world of the matter of fact. Out of Hesiod, therefore, he cites the following testimonies:—

Πρῶτον ἴνη, τετράς τε, καὶ ἑβδόμη ἱερὸν ἦμαρ.

'The first, the fourth, and the seventh day, is sacred.'—Again,

Ἑβδομάτῃ δ' αὖτις λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο.

'The seventh again, the sacred or illustrious light of the sun.'

And out of Homer:

Ἑβδομάτη δ' ἦτοι κατήλυθεν ἱερὸν ἦμαρ.

'Then came the seventh day that is sacred.'—Again,

Ἑβδομον ἦμαρ ἦην καὶ τῷ τετέλεστο ἅπαντα.

'It was the seventh day, wherein all things were finished, or perfected.'—Again,

Ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἦοι λίπομεν ῥόον ἐξ Ἀχέροντος.

'We left the flood of Acheron on the seventh day.'

Whereunto he subjoins an ingenious exposition about the relinquishment of the oblivion of error, by virtue of the sacredness of the number seven.

He adds also out of Linus:.

Ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἦοι τετελεσμένα πάντα τέτυκται.

'The seventh day, wherein all things were finished.'

Again,

Ἑβδόμη εἰν ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ ἑβδόμη ἐστὶ γενέθλη,
Ἑβδόμη ἐν πρωτοῖσι, καὶ ἑβδόμη ἐστὶ τελείη.

'The seventh day among the best things, the seventh is the nativity of all things.'
'The seventh is amongst the chiefest, and is the perfect day.'
Again,

Ἑπτὰ δὲ πάντα τέτυκται ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντ
Ἐν κυκλοῖσι φανέντ' ἑπτελλομένοις ἐνιαυτοῖς

Of which before.

"The same testimonies he repeats again in his next chapter out of Clemens, with an alteration of some few words not of any importance. And the verses ascribed to Linus in Aristobulus, are said to be the work of Callimachus in Clemens, which is not of our concernment. Testimonies to the same purpose may be taken out of some of the Roman writers; so Tibullus, giving an account of the excuses he made for his unwillingness to leave Rome,

Aut ego sum causatus aves, aut omina dira
Saturni sacra me tenuisse die.

'Either I laid it on the birds' (he had no encouraging augury), 'or that bad omens detained me on the sacred day of Saturn.'—Lib. i. Eleg. 3.

"I shall not from these and the like testimonies contend that the heathens did generally allow and observe one sacred day in the week. Nor can I grant on the other hand, that those ancient assertions of Linus, Homer, and Hesiod, are to be measured by the late Roman writers, poets or others, who ascribe the seventh day's sacred feast to the Jews in way of reproach; as Ovid,

——nec te peregrina morentur
Sabbata.

'Stay not' (thy journey) 'for foreign Sabbaths.' And

Culta Palæstino septima festa viro;

'The seventh day feast observed by the Jew.'

Nor shall I plead the testimony of Lampridius, concerning the Emperor Alexander Severus going unto the capitol and the temples on the seventh day; seeing in those times he might learn that observance from the Jews, whose customs he had occasion to be acquainted with. For all ancient traditions were before this time utterly worn out, or inextricably corrupted. And when the Jews by their conversation with the Romans, after the wars of Pompey, began to represent them to them again, the generality despised them all, out of their hatred and contempt of that people. And I do know that sundry learned men, especially two of late, Gomarus and Selden, have endeavoured to show that the testimonies usually produced in this case do not prove what they are urged for. They have taken great pains to refer them all to the sacredness of the septenary number before mentioned, or the seventh day of the month, sacred, as is pretended, on the account of the birth of Apollo, whereunto, indeed, it is evident that Hesiod hath respect in his ἑβδόμον ἱερὸν ἦμαρ. But the authority of Aristobulus and Clemens is not to be despised. Something they knew undoubtedly of the state of things in the world in their own days, and those that went before. And they do not only instance in the testimonies before rehearsed, but also assert, that the sacredness of one of the seven days was generally admitted by all. And the testimonies of Philo and Josephus are so expressed to that purpose, that their force cannot be waived, without offering violence unto their words. The words of Philo we expressed before.* And Josephus, in his second book against Apion, says positively, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐ πόλις Ἑλλήνων, οὐδὲ τις οὐν οὐδὲ Βάρβαρος, οὐδὲ ἓν ἔθνος, ἵνθα μὴ τὸ τῆς ἑβδομάδος, ἣν ἀργοῦμεν ἡμεῖς, τὸ ἔθος οὐ διαπεφοίτηκεν. 'There is neither any city of the Greeks nor Barbarians, nor any nation whatever, to whom our custom of resting on the seventh day is not come.'† And this, in the words foregoing, he affirmeth to have been ἐκ μακροῦ, from a 'long time' before, as not taken up by an occasional acquaintance with them. And Lucian, in his *Pseudologista*, tells us that children at school were exempted from studying, ἐν ταῖς ἑβδόμαις, 'on the seventh days.' And Tertullian, in his *Apology*, cap. 16, tells the Gentiles of their Sabbaths or feasts on Saturday. But yet, as was intimated, I shall grant that the observance of a weekly sacred feast is not proved by the testimonies produced, which is all that those who oppose them do labour to disprove. But I desire to know from what original these traditions were derived, and whether any can be assigned unto them but that of the original institution of the Sabbatical rest. It is known that this was common amongst them; that when they had a general notion or tradition of anything, whose true cause, reason, and beginning they knew not, they would feign a reason or occasion of it, accommodated to their present apprehensions and

* See them above, p. 117. † Above, p. 116.

practices, as I have elsewhere evinced and cleared. Having therefore amongst them the tradition of a seventh day's sacred rest, which was originally catholic, and having long lost the practice and observance of it, as well as its cause and reason, they laid hold on anything to affix it unto, which might have any resemblance unto what was vulgarly received amongst them, or what they could divine in their more curious speculations.

"*The hebdomadal revolution of time* generally admitted in the world, is also a great testimony to the original institution of the Sabbath. Of old it was catholic, and is at present received among those nations, whose converse was not begun until of late with any of those parts of the world where there is a light gone forth in these things from the Scripture. All nations, I say, in all ages have, from time immemorial, made the revolution of seven days to be the first stated period of time. And this observance is still continued throughout the world, unless amongst them who in other things are openly degenerated from the law of nature; as those barbarous Indians who have no computation of times, but by sleeps, moons, and winters. The measure of time by a day and night, is pointed out to sense, by the diurnal course of the sun; lunar months, and solar years, are of an unavoidable observation unto all rational creatures. Whence therefore all men have reckoned time by days, months, and years, is obvious unto all. But whence the hebdomadal revolution, or weekly period of time, should make its entrance, and obtain a catholic admittance, no man can give an account, but with respect to some impressions on the minds of men from the constitution and law of our natures, with the tradition of a Sabbatical rest instituted from the foundation of the world. Other original, whether artificial and arbitrary, or occasional, it could not have. Nothing of any such thing hath left the least footsteps of its ever being in any of the memorials of times past. Neither could anything of so low an original or spring, be elevated to such a height, as to diffuse itself through the whole world. A derivation of this observation from the Chaldeans and Egyptians, who retained the deepest tincture of original traditions, hath been manifested by others. And so fixed was this computation of time on their minds, who knew not the reason of it, that when they made a disposition of the days of the year into any other period, on accounts civil or sacred, yet they still retained this also. So the Romans, as appears by the fragments of their old calendars, had their Nundinæ, which were days of vacation from labour, on the eighth, or as some think the ninth days recurring, but yet still made use of the stated weekly period. It is of some consideration in this cause, and is usually urged to this purpose, that Noah observed the septenary revolution of days, in sending forth the dove out of the ark (Gen. viii. 10, 12). That this was done casually is not to be imagined. Nor can any reason be given, why, notwithstanding the disappointment he met with the first and second time, he should still abide seven days before he sent again, if you consider only the natural condition of the

flood, or the waters in their abatement. A revolution of days, and that upon a sacred account, was doubtless attended unto by him. And I should suppose that he still sent out the dove the next day after the Sabbath, to see as it were whether God had returned again to rest in the works of his hands. And, Gen. xxix. 27, a week is spoken of as a known account of days or time."—(*36th Prelim. Exercit. to the Ep. to the Hebrews*, §§ 11–15.)*

Now, in regard to the reverence anciently paid to *the number seven*, this, it has been urged, might very naturally result from the fact noticed in the text, that the seven planets of ancient astronomy were objects of superstitious awe among the natives of the East. The opinion that *the week* also had a planetary origin, though propounded by eminent writers, some of whom are referred to in the text, seems to me less probable than the *lunar* theory; though I cannot join the author of the article SABBATH in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in the objection which he brings against it. "If such" (*i. e.* the number of the planetary gods), says he, "was the origin of weeks, how came the great and ancient goddess Tellus to be omitted? She was worshipped by the early idolaters as well as the other planets, and must surely have been deemed by them as worthy of a particular day set apart to her honour as the planet Saturn, who was long undiscovered, afterwards seen but occasionally, and at all times considered as of malign aspect." (*Ency. Brit.*, 8th ed., xix. 561.) The writer strangely forgets that the Earth (or Tellus) was regarded by the ancients, not as a planet, but as the fixed centre of the universe!

In the following passage, Mr T. S. Hughes, after making some remarks on the number Seven, discusses the authority of the Greek verses quoted by Dr Owen, which are partly repeated in the *Encyclopædia Brittannica*, and continue to be founded on by almost every advocate of Sabbatarianism to the present day:—

"The number Seven seems to have been held in equal reverence by the Pythagoreans and other philosophical sects. The Cumæan sibyl gives to Æneas orders to make a sacrifice similar to that of the Chaldæan diviner:

> Nunc grege de intacto septem mactare juvencos
> Præstiterit, totidem lectas de more bidentes.—*Æn.* vi. 38.

Josephus accounts for the eminent personal qualities of Moses from the circumstance of his being the *seventh* in descent from Abraham. (*Antiq. Jud.*, lib. ii. 6.) See also Philo on this subject who enters on it at large in his treatise *De Mundi Opificio*, p. 14. I conceive that the period of the week was known to the Greeks in very early ages, from the following passages in one of the most ancient of their poems. See Odyssey, κ. 80, μ. 397, ξ. 249, ο. 475. From a consideration of these passages, I am inclined to think that Homer had a knowledge of the septenary

* The passage is to be found in Dr Owen's separate *Exercitations concerning a Day of Sacred Rest*, pp. 71–83; noticed below, ii. 22.

division of time; but I will not weaken my argument by adducing testimony to this point, which will not bear examination, as so many eminent writers on this subject, indeed all who have come under my notice, appear to have done. When Theophilus of Antioch declares that all mankind make peculiar mention of a seventh day, though they know not the reason, I am inclined to believe him under certain limitations. The same credit I give to Clement of Alexandria, when he asserts, that not the Jews only, but the Greeks also, are well acquainted with a seventh day. (*Strom.* lib. v.) The authorities, however, which he cites in favour of his opinion, are not only foreign to his purpose, but I am afraid distorted, misquoted, and even *forged*, for the sake of supporting that opinion. I am sorry to be forced to make such a charge against such an author; and I can only hope that he, like his followers, took the passages on trust from some preceding writer, or that he saw copies of ancient MSS. different from those which have come down to our times. Having made the charge, however, I am bound to support it. The first author which he quotes is Hesiod:

Πρῶτον ἴνη τετράς τε, καὶ ἑβδόμη ἱερὸν ἦμαρ.*
Καὶ πάλιν,
Ἑβδομάτῃ δ' αὖθις λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο.

Now in the first of these lines the poet is not describing the days of the week, but those of the *month;* and he calls the seventh day of the month sacred, because it was the birthday of Apollo:

Τῇ γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορα γείνατο Λητώ.

The second verse I cannot discover in Hesiod, but it appears to refer to the same origin. [See below, ii. 89.]

"He next quotes Homer, still more unfortunately:

1. Ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἤπιστα κατήλυθεν ἱερὸν ἦμαρ.

In looking for this verse among those of Homer, I have long strained my eyes in vain, and some of my friends have done the same with no better success.

2. Ἑβδόμη ἦν ἱερή.

The same may be said of this.

3. Ἕβδομον ἦμαρ ἦεν, καὶ τῷ τετίλιστο ἅπαντα.

Here I find the worst fault of all; for ἕβδομον [seventh] appears to be substituted for τέτρατον [fourth], as it exists in all the copies of Homer which I have seen. Even if ἕβδομον were the right reading, the line would have nothing to do with the subject in question.

4. Ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἠοῖ λίτομεν ῥόον ἐξ Ἀχέροντος.

This line also I am unable to find in Homer.

* This and other verses are translated above, pp. 275–6.

"He next quotes some verses from Callimachus, which would be much more to the purpose in substantiating his opinion, were it not probable that Callimachus, an Alexandrian poet, acquired from the Jews of Alexandria these notions, which might be deduced from the Jewish Sabbath rather than the patriarchal institution. After this he appeals to the Elegies of Solon. If any of these assisted him, they must have been some which have not reached our times. Amongst those which we possess, I can find only the fourteenth, as it stands in Professor Gaisford's excellent edition of the *Poet. Gr. Min.*, which has the remotest bearing on the subject. This merely treats of the age of man, divided into periods of seven years, showing how his faculties, &c., alter at each period: moreover it may be observed that Porson considered this elegy as spurious.

"Eusebius in his *Præp. Evang.* quotes all these authorities of Clement, and gives them also, together with some others from Linus, or as he might better be styled, Pseudo-Linus, in an extract from one Aristobulus a Peripatetic philosopher.* Perhaps, therefore, this Aristobulus may deserve our censures, on the score of falsification, before Clement: yet even in this case the latter must submit to reprehension for very culpable negligence in not verifying his quotations; and in this I am sorry to say that such eminent authors as Rivetus, Grotius,† Bishop Beveridge, Dr Jennings, Mr Faber, Dr Hales, &c., must participate. The errors of this last-mentioned gentleman are very extraordinary. He not only boldly quotes the ἑβδόμη ἱερὸν ἦμαρ of Hesiod as corroborating his opinion, but draws Æschylus also into the alliance, thus translating a passage from that author:

Τὰς δ' ἑβδόμας ὁ σεμνὸς ἑβδομαγέτας
Ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων εἵλετ',

The weeks, the venerable author of the *week*,
King Apollo appointed. Ἑπτ. ἐπὶ Θηβ. l. 801.

Whereas in fact Apollo is represented by the poet as taking the seventh *gate* of the city under his guard; and that, not because he was the *author of the week*, but because he was born (as Hesiod tells us) on the seventh day: and the right reading is not ἑβδομαγέτας (a word of extraordinary derivation, and one ἅπαξ λεγόμενον), but ἑβδομαγένης, which agrees with his birth, and is a reason for his custody of the seventh gate.

"But although I thus reject the commonly received authorities on this point, I still think there is good reason to believe that the heathen nations did keep up the patriarchal tradition by their observance of a septenary division of time, and that traces of this

* Mr Hughes omits to notice, what Dr Owen has remarked, that the verses which Clement ascribes to Callimachus are by Eusebius given to Linus. Bishop Kaye makes the same observation in his *Account of the Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria*, p. 418 (Lond. 1835).

† See above, p. 221.

may be discovered in their oldest poet." (*Hughes's Letter to Godfrey Higgins, Esq.*, pp. 14–17.)

Whether traces of the week are really to be found in the passages of Homer's *Odyssey* referred to by Mr Hughes, let the reader judge from the verses themselves, which I here subjoin in the literal version of Cowper:—

"Six days we navigated, day and night,
The briny flood, and on the seventh reach'd
The city erst by Lamus built sublime,
Proud Læstrygonia, with the distant gates."
B. x. ver. 97–100. (*κ*. 80–83.)

"Thus my devoted friends,
Driving the fattest oxen of the Sun,
Feasted six days entire; but when the seventh
By mandate of Saturnian Jove appear'd,
The storm then ceas'd to rage, and we, again
Embarking, launch'd our galley, rear'd the mast,
And gave our unfurl'd canvas to the wind."
B. xii. ver. 464–470. (*μ*. 397–401.)

"Six days the chosen partners of my voyage
Feasted, to whom I numerous victims gave
For sacrifice, and for their own regale.
Embarking on the seventh from spacious Crete,
Before a clear breeze prosperous from the North
We glided easily along, as down
A river's stream."—B. xiv. ver. 303–309. (*ξ*. 249–254.)

"Six days we day and night
Continual sail'd; but when Saturnian Jove
Now bade the seventh bright morn illume the skies,
Then shaft-arm'd Dian struck the woman dead."
B. xv. ver. 575–578. (*ο*. 475–477.)

Can even the most distant allusion to the week be discovered here?—or anything beyond the fact that seven was a favourite number, generally lucky, but sometimes the reverse?*

The authenticity of the fragments of Aristobulus preserved by Clement and Eusebius, and in which the Greek verses are contained, has been vigorously contested among scholars. "It was denied by R. Simon, and especially by Hody (*De Bibl. Text. Orig.*, pp. 50 ff. Oxon. 1705), who was answered by Valckenaer (*Diatribe de Aristobulo Judæo*, Lugd. Bat. 1806); and Valckenaer's arguments are now generally considered conclusive. (Gfrörer, *Philo u. s. w.* ii. pp. 71 ff.; Daehne, *Jud. Alex. Relig.-Philos.* ii. 73 ff.; Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.*, iv. 294 n.) The object of Aristobulus

* Valckenaer, in the work mentioned in this page, remarks that the epithet ἱερόν is bestowed by Homer on whatever is highly beneficial, as the light of day, and even meal or flour; but nowhere, he adds, is any particular day called sacred by Homer.

A reply to Dr Owen's argument from *the week* will be found below, 287.

was to prove that the Peripatetic doctrines were based (ἠρτῆσθαι) on the Law and the Prophets; and his work has an additional interest as showing that the Jewish doctrines were first brought into contact with the Aristotelian and not with the Platonic philosophy (comp. Matter, *Hist. de l'Ecole d'Alex.* iii. 153 ff.)." (*Smith's Dict. of the Bible*, i. 106, art. ARISTOBULUS, by B. F. Westcott, M.A.) It is on Aristobulus that Valckenaer fixes the forgery or corruption of the Greek verses; and as he finds in Clement's work no right connection between the context and the passage containing them, he conjectures that the passage, though found by Eusebius where it now stands, had been interpolated by some editor after Clement's death.

For a full discussion of the subject I refer to Valckenaer's *Diatribe*, pp. 8, 92–125, of which, as the volume is scarce, I may mention there is a copy in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh. This learned Dutchman considers the object of Aristobulus to have been, to remove the contempt with which his nation and its literature were treated by the elegant Grecists of the Alexandrian Academy. The Jew endeavoured to show that the Greek writers, even of the highest antiquity, had derived their most excellent things from the books of the Old Testament. Among his followers in this course was Josephus himself, whose remark about the Sabbath, quoted by Dr Owen, is commented on above, p. 116. By Valckenaer, both Josephus and Philo are acquitted of having made the false statement so often attributed to them, that the seventh day of the week was held sacred by the Greeks and Romans, as it was by the Jews.

It is proper to add, that although Clement is generally understood by the moderns to speak of the sacredness of the *seventh day* among the Gentiles, Dr Wallis declares himself unable to find in the argument of the Alexandrian Father more than this—that *the number seven* being sometimes mentioned in heathen writers as with some veneration, they had borrowed this manner of regarding it from the Jews, whose literature, and custom of dividing their time into weeks and observing the Sabbath, they must have been acquainted with. (See below, ii. 89.) The same view is taken by Sallier in his paper *De la Feste du Septième Jour* (see below, ii. 158). "It would be doing injustice," says he, "to the discrimination of St Clement and other authors, were we to affirm that they regard the verses taken from Callimachus as proving the establishment of the festival of the seventh day among the Gentiles. This would be to represent them as seeing there what is not certainly expressed. In my opinion, their intention is merely to prove from those verses how highly the number seven was esteemed (*respecté*) among the ancients: this is all that can warrantably be inferred from these passages, which are not the only ones where the number seven is given for a perfect number. Meursius, *In Denario Pythagorico*, appears to have carefully collected everything that can be said upon the excellence of that number, and brought forward all the laudatory epithets which Pythagorean veneration applied to it. If, therefore, we understand

by Ἑβδόμη or Ἑβδομάς, not the seventh day of the week, as it has been somewhat inconsiderately rendered by the translator of St Clement, but the number seven; as St Clement appears to have understood it, and as, indeed, he ought to be translated, we shall be saved from attributing a bad argument to St Clement, and he will succeed in proving the only point that he wishes to establish, namely, the pre-eminence of the number seven." (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, iv. 59 ; Paris, 1746.) As, however, so eminent a scholar as Bishop Kaye adheres to the ordinary interpretation of Ἑβδόμη and Ἑβδομάς, it is likely that a seventh *day* is meant. But the Bishop, though he thinks that Clement's intention was to show that the *seventh day* was considered holy by the heathen, is *further* of opinion, that "all that can be fairly collected from these passages is, that the Greeks attached some peculiar sanctity to *the seventh day of the month*, and some peculiar virtue to the number seven: but this," he adds, "they did also to other days and numbers." (*Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria*, p. 418.) The doubts of Bishop Stillingfleet on this subject are quoted below, vol. ii. p. 8.

What, then, are we to conclude from all that has been said? Surely this: that from evidence so uncertain at the best, it is unreasonable to infer, in the face of all authentic history, that the early Gentiles revered, and observed as a festival, the seventh day of the week. In regard to its *observance* by them, Dr Owen, for his part, does not ask us to accept the proof as conclusive; nor does he seem to lay much stress on the passage in Tertullian's *Apology*, ch. 16, where the apologist, as he says, "tells the Gentiles of their Sabbaths or feasts on Saturday." And it is with reason that he touches it so lightly; for Tertullian, like Josephus and Philo, expressly ascribes the custom to imitation of the Jews. "If," says he, "we do observe Sunday as a day of festivity, not from any worship which we pay to the Sun, but from a very different reason, we are, in that custom, closely allied to such of you as set apart the Saturday for a day of ease and feasting; although, even in that, they deviate from the Jewish custom, which they have ignorantly followed." (Chevallier's *Translation of the Epistles of Clement of Rome, &c.*, p. 279.) It even is possible that Tertullian here speaks of, and accounts erroneously for, a Roman custom of setting apart not the Saturday, but merely such days whatsoever as were observed in honour of Saturn, without any thought, on the part of the observers, of Jewish laws or customs. For among the ancient Romans, as Mr Baden Powell observes, "festivals were held in honour of Saturn, with a reference to commemorating the Saturnian or Golden Age; and with this idea it was unlawful, on the day sacred to Saturn, to go out to war (Macrobius, lib. i., *Saturn.* c. 16), and it was held unlucky to commence a journey, or undertake any business,—a superstition alluded to by Tibullus (*Eleg.* i. 3, v. 18):—

'Saturni aut sacram me tenuisse diem.'

What particular feast is here referred to there is nothing to show. The supposition of some of his commentators, that it meant the seventh day of the week, is wholly gratuitous. But if it were so, the idea would be naturally and obviously borrowed from the Jews, whose customs, especially the Sabbath, are so frequently alluded to by the Roman writers, and, from their wide dispersion, must have been generally familiar, as, in fact, we learn from the boast of Josephus (*adv. Ap.* ii.) and of Philo, that 'there is no place where the Sabbath is not known' [see above, pp. 116, 117, 224, 277; and below, ii. 158], and the testimony of Theophilus Antiochus (lib. ii. *ad Arist.*) to the same effect, as well as others often cited, which show the strict preservation of the observance among the scattered Jews; and it may possibly have been conformed to by others, or the occasion laid hold of as convenient for other purposes, as, *e.g.*, we are told by Suetonius (lib. xxxii.), 'Diogenes grammaticus disputare sabbatis Rhodi solitus.'" (*Christianity without Judaism*, pp. 92, 93.) Even Dr Bound, the chief introducer of modern Sabbatarianism, is so far from admitting that the Gentiles observed or even venerated the seventh day, that he represents them as having hated and despised it, and refers, as Calvin also does, to Lam. i. 7, for proof of the fact. (See above, p. 148.) The comment of Calvin on that text is as follows: "We know that the Sabbaths of the Jews were always hated by the heathens; and they were thereby subjected to many reproaches; for by way of reproach they called the Jews Sabbatharians. And, when they wished ignominiously to traduce the whole service of God, as under the law, they named it 'Sabbaths.'" Nay, this contempt of the Gentiles for the Sabbath is founded on by Dr Homes, in arguing for his visionary notion that *another* weekly day, namely Sunday, was religiously observed by the Gentiles. (See below, ii. 42, 43.)

To these extracts I shall add an instructive passage from a most learned paper by the late Charles Julius Hare, in the *Philological Museum*, on the names of the days of the week. "The negative evidence," says he, "against the prevalence of a division of time into weeks in ancient Greece is so ample and strong that it may be deemed absolutely conclusive; at least it would require the most explicit and incontrovertible evidence to outweigh it. No allusion to any thing of the sort is to be found in the comic writers, none in the antiquarians: though the days of the month consecrated to particular gods are often spoken of, no days of the week are ever mentioned as in like manner sacred." (*Philological Museum*, vol i. p. 9; Camb. 1832.) As to the currency of the names of the seven planetary days in the Roman empire, he remarks that it "arose, no doubt, from the connexion of the Romans with Egypt, and was probably promoted by the influence which the Egyptians, or at least the Alexandrians, exercised on the reformation of a calendar under Julius Cæsar. In the earliest passages in which we find mention of a planetary day, it is always in connexion with the Jewish Sabbath; which seems to have been

known by the name of Saturn's day some time before the others were by theirs: for though it is true, there might be more frequent occasion for books to speak of Saturn's day than any other, some passages seem to imply that the Romans were more familiar with it. The oldest unquestioned mention of a planetary day hitherto alleged, is where Tibullus is speaking of the excuses he devised to defer his leaving his Delia, i. 3, 17:

> Aut ego sum causatus aves, aut omina dira,
> *Saturni* aut sacram me tenuisse *diem*.*

From which passage, compared with Ovid, *Ars Amandi*, i. 415, *Remed. Am.* 220, it appears that the Romans had already [in the reign of Augustus Cæsar] imbibed some of the Jewish notions touching the Sabbath." (P. 28.)

The Rev. James Gilfillan shows himself a little behind the scholarship of the age, in quoting from Aretius, a Swiss theologian of the sixteenth century, as something that may have weight at present, the statement that "the Greeks and Romans consecrated Saturday to rest, conceiving it unfit for civil actions and warlike affairs, but suited for contemplation; and a day, therefore, on which the divine patronage was to be implored against dangers and misfortunes." (*The Sabbath viewed in the Light of Reason, &c.*, p. 373; where Aretius, *Problem. loc. de Sab. Observ.*, is referred to.) Has Mr Gilfillan forgotten the advantage that the Romans under Pompey gained in besieging Jerusalem, by working at their approaches, constructing siege-towers, and advancing their military engines, on the Sabbath-day?

The same writer is of opinion that heathen holidays in general are but "corruptions of the Sabbatic institution, as respects both its proportion of time, and the nature of its engagements." (P. 374.) So thought Bishop Wilson also, as appears from his 1st and 3d Sermons on the Lord's Day (pp. 17, 78, 3d ed.). But the *needlessness* of such a supposition may, I think, become evident to any who will consider how *natural* it is to man, with the instincts and intelligence he possesses, to desire relaxation from work at stated times, when he may enjoy the society and sympathy of his congregated fellows in worship and festivity; how natural too it is to commemorate historical events, and to celebrate the chief phenomena of the seasons and heavenly bodies, by the observance of festivals. To heathen legislators the civilizing effect of such institutions was a powerful inducement to enact their observance, and enforce it by religious sanctions. And the rude populace, who conceived of their deities as of earthly despots, could not doubt that the divine equally with the human rulers would be pleased and propitiated by the attendance of crowds at their temples, to do them homage, to offer them gifts, and to extol their transcendent greatness.

* Is this, after all, an unquestionable mention of a day of the week? Might not the phrase still mean simply a day sacred to Saturn, and not *the weekly day* which it afterwards signified? See above, pp. 284–5.

Page 113.—*Prevalence and Origin of the Week.*

In proof of a primeval Sabbath, says Dr Hessey, "it is possible that it may be urged that a septenary division of time is to be found very early in Scripture, and that it was almost universal in the heathen world; that such a division would hardly have suggested itself to man without some positive revelation on the subject; that we are bound therefore to suppose that there was a positive revelation, and that the words in Genesis [ii. 2, 3] constituted a positive revelation. Hence, it is concluded triumphantly, as those words imply the Sabbath, the Sabbath must have been revealed very early.

"This argument, if argument it can be called, may be ingenious, but its premises are scarcely sound, and though they be admitted to be sound, will scarcely prove the point desired. In the first place, though it is true that a septenary division of time is to be found very early in Scripture, it is not true that it was ever general in the heathen world. The month of the Romans was divided into Kalends, Nones, and Ides; and coexistent with these was another division, said to be Etruscan, into Nundines, or market periods, markets being held at intervals of nine days. Then the Greeks divided their month into Decades. It is only in the East that anything like a septenary division is found to prevail. The Egyptians had it; the Persians had it; and we are told that it may be traced in the Sanscrit, and in all the languages and dialects of India. But when we consider the intercourse of the Jews with Egypt; the expeditions of Egyptian conquerors into Scythia, which, according to Sir Henry Rawlinson, was the cradle of the Persians and the Hindoos, we shall have little difficulty in accounting for this limited prevalence, without imagining a special revelation on the subject. The solar month of the Chinese is, like that of the Greeks, divided into Decades: they have also a division of the year into twenty-four half-months, as we may call them, of about fifteen days each, which are again subdivided into fives. Here is no trace of sevens. If we turn to the New World, we find septenary institutions utterly unknown to the aboriginal inhabitants of the two Americas and of Polynesia; months are sometimes traceable. So much, then, for the assertion that the septenary division was almost universal in the heathen world. It may be added that even were it absolutely universal, it would be of no avail unless it were found accompanied by the Sabbath. This we may fearlessly assert it never is. The passages quoted to the effect that the seventh day was a sacred one, have been sufficiently examined by Selden.* They are either nothing to the

* "*De Jure Nat. et Gentium*, lib. III. c. xvi. xvii. Bishop Kaye, *Justin Martyr*, p. 95, note, refers, apparently with approval, to Selden. And he recommends his work to all who shall engage in the controversies relating to the Sabbath. Morer, in his Ἡμέρα Κυριακή, shows, with some ingenuity, that almost any number up to twelve, so far as heathen testimony goes, might be made out to be sacred (pp. 150, *seq.*) Dr Christo-

purpose as referring rather to the day of the month than to that of the week [see above, p. 277), or they are accidental usages of the number seven, which might be paralleled by similar usages of other numbers, or they are allusions to heavenly phenomena such as could not fail to strike an attentive observer of nature, or they are obviously derived from intercourse with the East. And if the septenary division is found *out of Scripture*, without the Sabbath, why may it not occur *in Scripture* without it? Why may it not be mentioned that Noah was in the Ark seven days before the Flood began (Gen. vii. 10), that intervals of seven days took place in his proceedings twice after the Flood (Gen. viii. 10, 12), that the Syrian Laban spoke of a week (Gen. xxix. 27) in reference to his daughter's marriage, and that Joseph mourned for his father seven days, without it being at all implied that the Sabbath-day was an ordinance known and observed before the time of Moses?

"To what then, it may be asked, is the division of time to be traced? I answer, without hesitation, to man's observation of those 'lights in the firmament of heaven' which God placed there to divide the day from the night,' and of which He said further, 'let them be for signs and for seasons and for days and years.'* It required no special revelation to direct men to these as convenient indicators of time. The course of the moon, and especially the appearance of the new moon or νουμηνία, would suggest a division, roughly stated, of twenty-eight days. This, perhaps, would be the first and most prevalent division. It certainly was all but a universal one, for it is found even where weeks were unknown, and where they are still unknown—among the aborigines of the New World. The full moon would supply the fortnight, and the half of it each way, as men grew more and more exact, would supply an approach to a perfect septenary division of time. Seasons would by-and-by be suggested, by the coincidence of the heliacal rising and setting of certain constellations with the state of the productions of the earth; and later, the year itself, by similar observations of the course of the sun as seen by man. With this, however, we are not farther concerned. Our purpose is merely to show that a septenary division of time might have suggested itself to man's reason acting upon the luminaries which we find God's providence intended for his guidance in such matters, without any special revelation, much less any hint of the Sabbath being necessarily implied in the existence of such a division." (*Bampton Lectures*, pp. 139, 142, 415.)

pher Wordsworth, *Occasional Sermons*, Ser. xliv. p. 37, restates from Grotius, *De Verit.*, i. 16, the argument overthrown by Selden; and he has overlooked a note of Le Clerc on the passage, in which he refers to Selden, and warns against confusion of the seventh of the month and the seventh of the week. There is some curious matter on the subject of the origin of divisions of time, in *Time and Faith*, vol. i. c. 1. Compare Bishop Ironside, *Seven Questions of the Sabbath*, pp. 85, *seq.* [also the passage quoted above, p. 189], and Sam. Frisius, *De Sabb. Gentil.*"

* "Gen. i. 14. Hengstenberg, *Lord's Day*, p. 77, states this argument in outline."

Philo Judæus, in the passage referred to in p. 114, says:— "Among things perceptible by the external senses the number seven displays a great and comprehensive power, contributing to the improvement of all terrestrial things, and affecting even the periodical changes of the moon. And in what manner it does this, we must consider. The number seven, when compounded of numbers beginning with the unit, makes eight-and-twenty, a perfect number, and one equalized in its parts. And the number so produced is calculated to reproduce the revolutions of the moon, bringing her back to the point from which she first began to increase in a manner perceptible by the external senses, and to which she returns by waning. For she increases from her first crescent-shaped figure to that of a half circle in seven days; and in seven more she becomes a full orb; and then again she turns back, retracing the same path, like a runner of the diaulos, receding from an orb full of light to a half circle again in seven days; and lastly, in an equal number she diminishes from a half circle to the form of a crescent; and thus the number before mentioned is completed." (*On the Creation of the World*, § 34; *Works*, translated by C. D. Yonge, i. 29, 30; Lond. 1854.)

Even in Mr Gilfillan's chapter on the "traces of septenary institutions among Pagan nations" (p. 370), the following instances of the regulation of festivals by the phases of the moon and other celestial phenomena are adduced, though it is difficult to see what Sabbatarian purpose they can serve: "The Burman feasts are held at the full and change of the moon. (Knowles's *Life of Mrs Judson*, p. 98.) According to another authority, the quarters are also observed as festivals. (Crawford's *Embassy*.) A sacrifice was celebrated by the Mexicans every month, at the period of the full moon, in a public place, to which, in every village, the high road led from the house of the chief of the tribe. (Humboldt's *Researches*, ii. 123.) The inhabitants of Madagascar and of Senegambia, on the other hand, preferred the time of new moon for their devotions. (*Scott. Miss. Register*, i. 230; Bell's *Geography*, 1849, iv. 6.) One of the principal stated festivals in the South Sea Islands—the *pae atua*—was held every three moons. (Ellis's *Polynes. Researches*, 1831, i. 350.) The Babylonians solemnized with great magnificence five days of the year. Twice every year, at the winter and summer solstices, the emperor of China, in his character of high priest of the nation, offers prayer and sacrifice to Shang-Te, the Supreme Being. (Gillespie's *Land of Sinim*, p. 166.)"

The Buddhists represent the sun, moon, and five planets to have been created on the seven successive days to which the names of those heavenly bodies were given. (See R. Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 65; Lond. 1853.)

The origin of the week is largely considered in a work entitled *Time and Faith*, (see below, ii. 372–3). The latest, and one of the boldest discussions of the same subject is to be found in a criticism of Dr Hessey's *Bampton Lectures*, in the *Edinburgh Review* for October 1861:—

"It is now," says the reviewer, "almost universally admitted by thoughtful and educated men, that the six days of Creation are figurative only,—not merely, we mean, that they were not and could not have been periods of twenty-four hours each, but that they were not even clearly defined and separate ages of whatever duration. Hugh Miller's theory, and those varieties of it which have been broached in Germany and America, as well as in this country,—plausible and conservative modifications of the old simple belief,—do but maintain that the successive and most strongly characterised epochs through which Creation passed, would naturally appear in the order specified to the mind of the inspired writer, when presented in a vision. We will not here re-open the question whether any of these theories can be justified on sober grounds of scientific observation. The utmost they can claim to prove is that the facts of science, hitherto discovered, are *reconcilable* with the figurative language in which the majestic work of creation is shadowed forth. The very arguments which they employ would be equally available, for the most part, had the Scriptural imagery fixed upon any other period than days, and upon almost any other number than six. In such conclusions Dr Hessey appears to acquiesce. He speaks very justly of 'the *mysterious* example of the Almighty.' (P. 209.) He truly and reverently says that 'God *condescended* to exhibit himself, the great Architect of the world (though "He fainteth not, neither is weary") as the great archetype, both of labour and of rest. In six days he made the world: on the seventh day he rested from his work, and was refreshed.' (P. 151.) But this being so, the further question arises (and it is neither needless nor presumptuous to ask it), Why was this figure of speech adopted rather than any other? Why were these long ages of plastic growth, and the harmonious result in which they issued, represented under the image of six days of creation, and a seventh of repose? The figure, it is granted, is an accommodation to human intelligence. But to what ideas was it accommodated? What previous habit of thought on the part of man did it employ as its basis for communicating religious instruction? That there was such a basis is implied by the very notion of accommodation; and indeed it is the invariable characteristic of Revelation, when employing things visible and earthly as vehicles of spiritual truth, to employ things familiar also. What then, we repeat, was the familiar notion in the present case?

"The answer to this question which obviously presents itself, and has been repeatedly given, *may*, of course, have no foundation beyond that of a singular coincidence. But it is a coincidence which wears all the appearance of a sufficient solution of the problem. The septimanal division of time is one which suggests itself naturally to man, and this even in the infancy of knowledge. So Dr Hessey himself allows, when arguing on the patriarchal modes of reckoning. The phases of the moon supply a familiar mark of time to the simplest and rudest nations, the phenomena

of the new and full moon especially, being such that men cannot fail to notice and employ them as the natural rule of their calendar. And if a bipartite division of the month is thus a matter of necessity to ordinary observation, a quadripartite division also is at least inevitably suggested by the moon's intermediate phases. In either case, of course, an approximate adjustment only is possible; and while under the former system thirty days would be chosen in preference as the nearest approach to the true lunar period, under the latter system cycles of twenty-eight, of fourteen, and of seven days would be taken perforce as the nearest symmetrical approximation to the same period, and its four subdivisions,—an arrangement which, however faulty in scientific accuracy, is found, nevertheless, to fall in sufficiently, after short intervals of recurrence, with the natural phenomena which suggested it, and to supply a convenient measure of coincidence with the solar cycle also. Thus we have the week of seven days. And this once arrived at, a natural limit has been reached,—a limit not only physical, but arithmetical also. For seven is a prime number, the highest prime number under the natural basis of our notation, ten,—a fact which is sure to impress the mind, when observed, with something of a superstitious feeling. And this feeling would be heightened, as knowledge increased, by the discovery of such coincidences as the number of the seven planets (of the ancients) and the seven intervals of the diatonic scale. A peculiar sacredness would therefore attach itself to the number seven; especially among nations whose religion partook most largely of a natural or a mystic character; while for reasons independent of such feelings, it remained the basis of the shortest cycle of time. Now, what we have been saying is not conjecture merely. We have ample proof in heathen authors, wholly removed by their position from the influence of our ecclesiastical controversies, that such thoughts and conclusions are developed spontaneously in the human mind.* We know, too, from the evidence of Oriental languages and mythologies, that a seven days' week, however originated, was in use among various Eastern nations in primitive times, though perhaps the precise limits of this usage cannot now be ascertained. It is almost impossible then to avoid the conclusion to which we are pointing, when once we have discarded (as the majority of thoughtful men have now consented to discard) the notion of an actual six-days' period of creation. So long as that notion was maintained indeed, and was

* "Aulus Gellius, Macrobius, Censorinus, &c., while proving thus much at any rate concerning the seven days' week and the number seven, still are chiefly of importance as transmitting to us the voice of remoter ages and worthier authorities. Gellius, indeed (*Noct. Att.* iii. 10.), professes merely to give an abstract of Varro's dissertation. The mystic notions of numbers which these writers indulge in, and which Philo (more heathen than Jewish in this respect) carries to a still more extravagant length, are usually traced through the Alexandrian philosophers, and partly through Plato himself, up to Pythagoras. But

considered as a necessary part of religious belief, we could respect and even sympathise with the fixed determination to see nothing in the facts we have referred to, beyond a singular coincidence. But now that we perceive ourselves both permitted and compelled to regard the seven Mosaic days as a figure of speech, an accommodation to some previously existing mode of thought, we are prepared to listen in a totally different attitude of mind to what reason and history have to say. We no longer fear such testimony as antagonistic to Revelation; we accept it as supplying the very link which we are in search of. Why should we not conclude (at any rate we see nothing in it to shock religious feeling) that it pleased the Almighty to adopt the familiar cycle of the days, the familiar thought of the sacred and mysterious seven, as the basis of that inspired communication, by which he declared himself the sole and self-existent Maker of all things, as the basis too of that beneficent institution which made a consecrated day of rest a sign and a privilege of the covenanted people? The conclusions which we have pointed at do not of course in the slightest degree impugn the Divine origin of the Jewish Sabbath, or its absolute obligation under the Mosaic law. But they have a bearing, and an important one (as we shall presently see) on the further question of its perpetuation under Christianity." (*Edinburgh Review*, vol. cxlv. pp. 545–548.)

Page 115.—JOSEPHUS.

Page 116, line 12: "*Discussed by Dr Jortin.*"—The remarks of Jortin will be found below, vol. ii. p. 229. See also ii. 69.

Page 116, line 14: "*The seventh day we set apart for labour.*"—So Whiston translates the clause, but *for* may be a misprint for *from*. The original, however, has nothing that corresponds to either *for* or *from labour*. Josephus says merely, "The seventh day we give up to the learning of our customs and laws."—Τὴν ἑβδόμην τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνίεμεν τῇ μαθήσει, &c.

It ought to have been mentioned in the text, that the passage beginning with the above clause is put by Josephus into the mouth of Nicolaus, an orator pleading for the Jews before

Pythagoras, we are told, drew his ideas from Egypt and the East; and, in any case, it is to the East that we must look for the definite formalisation of these notions. Such fancies, indeed, in a more or less random shape, are doubtless as old as the very infancy of speculation. That they were prevalent in Greece before Pythagoras's time we see very notably in Hesiod; in fact they are embodied largely in the Greek mythology, pointing here again to an ancient connection with the East; and though even in Hesiod's time, or Homer's, the hebdomadal cycle was as strange to the Greeks as at a later period, yet the special reverence then attaching to the seventh day of the month, as Apollo's natal day (a reverence preserved with special prominence in the Dorian Calendar), marks a probable point of contact with the *Dies Solis* of the Oriental week."

Agrippa and the Roman authorities; but the inference from it is little if at all affected by this.

In the first book *Against Apion*, § 22, he quotes the following passage from a Greek writer named Agatharcides: "There are a people called Jews, who dwell in a city the strongest of all other cities, which the inhabitants call Jerusalem, and are accustomed to rest on every seventh day; on which times they make no use of their arms, nor meddle with husbandry, nor take care of any affairs of life, but spread out their hands in their holy places, and pray till the evening." Here some find proof of social worship in synagogues; but even supposing that synagogues are meant to be included among the "holy places," and that *social* prayer is spoken of, a foreigner might easily confound instruction with worship.

Page 115, line 13: "*Likewise to the honour of Moses.*"—Josephus here adopts the boastful strain of Aristobulus (see above, p. 283). He says: "We have already demonstrated that our laws have been such as have always inspired admiration and imitation into all other men; nay, the earliest Grecian philosophers, though in appearance they observed the laws of their own countries, yet did they, in their actions and their philosophic doctrines, follow our legislator, and instructed men to live sparingly, and to have friendly communication one with another. Nay further," &c. And after going on as quoted in page 115, he adds, that the other nations "also endeavour to imitate our mutual concord with one another, and the charitable distribution of our goods, and our diligence in our trades, and our fortitude in undergoing the distresses we are in on account of our laws; and, what is here matter of the greatest admiration, our law hath no bait of pleasure to allure men to it, but it prevails by its own force; and as God himself pervades all the world, so hath our law passed through all the world also." (Vol. iv. p. 358.)

Abbé Sallier observes on the sentences quoted in the text: "There is in these words a pious exaggeration, and the precise truth seems to suffer either from the warmth of the argument, or from the desire to turn to account everything that is creditable to the nation." (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, iv. 64.)

Dr Samuel Lee discusses the meaning of Josephus, in note 44, appended to the second edition of his sermon on *The Duty of Observing the Christian Sabbath* (Lond. 1834), p. 36.

Page 117.—Philo Judæus.

Page 117, line 6 from bottom: "*Not only, however,*" *&c.*—Selden, Abbé Sallier, and many others, interpret the passage of Philo as I have done in the text. (See i. 224, and ii. 158.) Other passages are quoted above, p. 289, and in vol. ii. p. 180. Some additional extracts from his writings are here subjoined, as further exemplifying the notions of the Alexandrian Jews:—

The manna in the wilderness.— . . . "so that it fell out that

this food was carried down every day with the dew. But the holy seventh day had an especial honour; for, as it is not permitted to do anything whatever on that day (and it is expressly commanded that men are then to abstain from every work, great or little), so that they were not able to collect food that day; instead of food for one day, God rained upon them a double quantity, and ordered them to collect what should be food enough for two days. And what was then collected remained sound, no portion of it becoming spoiled, as it had before. . . . And at the same time they learnt the value of that long-wished for day; for, having inquired for a long time what the day of the creation of the world was, the day on which the universe was completely finished, and having received this question from their fathers and their ancestors undecided, they at last, though with great difficulty, did ascertain it, not being taught only by the sacred Scriptures, but also by a certain proof which was very distinct; for, as that portion of the manna (as has been already said) which was more than was wanted on the other days of the week was spoiled, still that portion which was rained down on the day before the seventh not only did not change its nature, but was dispensed in a twofold quantity." (*Life of Moses*, B. I. §§ 36, 37; *Works*, translated by Yonge, iii. 46.)

Why Moses desired meetings on the Sabbath.—"Moreover, in accordance with the honour due to the Creator of the universe, the prophet hallowed the sacred seventh day, beholding with eyes of more acute sight than those of mortals its pre-eminent beauty, which had already been deeply impressed on the heaven and the whole universal world, and had been borne about as an image by nature itself in her own bosom; for first of all Moses found that day destitute of any mother, and devoid of all participation in the female generation, being born of the Father alone without any propagation by means of seed, and being born without any conception on the part of any mother. And then he beheld not only this, that it was very beautiful and destitute of any mother, neither being born of corruption nor liable to corruption; and then, in the third place, he by further inquiry discovered that it was the birth-day of the world, which the heaven keeps as a festival, and the earth and all the things in and on the earth keep as a festival, rejoicing and delighting in the all-harmonious number of seven, and in the Sabbath-day. For this reason the all-great Moses thought fit that all who were enrolled in his sacred polity should follow the laws of nature and meet in a solemn assembly, passing the time in cheerful joy and relaxation, abstaining from all works, and from all arts which have a tendency to the production of anything, and from all business which is connected with the means of living, and that they should keep a complete truce, abstaining from all laborious and fatiguing thought and care, and devoting their leisure, not, as some persons scoffingly assert, to sports, or exhibitions of actors and dancers, for the sake of which those who run madly after theatrical amusements suffer disasters and even en-

counter miserable deaths, and for the sake of these the most dominant and influential of the outward senses, sight and hearing, make the soul, which should be the heavenly nature, the slave of these senses; but giving up their time wholly to the study of philosophy, not of that sort of philosophy which word-catchers and sophists seek to reduce to a system, selling doctrines and reasonings as they would any other vendible thing in the market. Men who (O you earth and sun!) employ philosophy against philosophy, and yet never wear a blush on their countenance; but who, applying themselves to the kindred philosophy, which they make up of these component parts, namely, of intention, and words, and actions, all united into one species, in order to the acquisition and enjoyment of happiness." (*Life of Moses*, B. III. § 27; *Works*, vol. iii. pp. 117, 118.)

He goes on relate the case of the man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath-day, and represents the people as being then assembled to discuss philosophy: "For it was invariably the custom, as it was desirable on other days also, but especially on the seventh day, as I have already explained, to discuss matters of philosophy; the ruler of the people beginning the explanation, and teaching the multitude what they ought to do and to say, and the populace listening so as to improve in virtue, and being made better both in their moral character and in their conduct through life; in accordance with which custom, even to this day, the Jews hold philosophical discussions on the seventh day, and devoting that day to the knowledge and consideration of the subjects of natural philosophy; for as for their houses of prayer in the different cities, what are they, but schools of wisdom, and courage, and temperance, and justice, and piety, and holiness, and every virtue by which human and divine things are appreciated, and placed upon a proper footing?" (*Id.* p. 119.)

Page 118.—PLINY'S *Letter to Trajan.*

The younger Pliny, when governor of Bithynia, about A.D. 107, finding himself embarrassed by complaints against the Christians, investigated their case, and wrote as follows to the Emperor Trajan for advice:—

"It is a rule, sir, which I inviolably observe, to refer myself to you in all my doubts; for who is more capable of removing my scruples, or informing my ignorance? Having never been present at any trials concerning those who profess Christianity, I am unacquainted not only with the nature of their crimes, or the measure of their punishment, but how far it is proper to enter into an examination concerning them. Whether therefore any difference is usually made with respect to the ages of the guilty, or no distinction is to be observed between the young and the adult; whether repentance entitles them to a pardon, or if a man has been once a Christian it avails nothing to desist from his error; whether the very profession of Christianity, unattended with any

criminal act, or only the crimes themselves inherent in the profession are punishable; in all these points I am greatly doubtful. In the meanwhile, the method I have observed towards those who have been brought before me as Christians is this: I interrogated them whether they were Christians? If they confessed, I repeated the question twice again, adding threats at the same time; when, if they still persevered, I ordered them to be immediately punished; for I was persuaded, whatever the nature of their opinions might be, a contumacious and inflexible obstinacy certainly deserved correction. There were others also brought before me possessed with the same infatuation, but being citizens of Rome, I directed them to be carried thither. But this crime spreading (as is usually the case) while it was actually under prosecution, several instances of the same nature occurred. An information was presented to me without any name subscribed, containing a charge against several persons, who upon examination denied they were Christians, or had ever been so. They repeated after me an invocation to the gods, and offered religious rites with wine and frankincense before your statue (which for this purpose I had ordered to be brought, together with those of the gods), and even reviled the name of Christ: whereas there is no forcing, it is said, those who are really Christians, into a compliance with any of these articles; I thought proper, therefore, to discharge them. Some among those who were accused by a witness in person, at first confessed themselves Christians, but immediately after denied it; while the rest owned indeed that they had been of that number formerly, but had now (some above three, others more, and a few above twenty years ago) forsaken that error. They all worshipped your statue and the images of the gods, throwing out imprecations at the same time against the name of Christ. They affirmed the whole of their guilt, or their error, was, *that they met on a certain stated day before it was light*, and addressed themselves in a form of prayer to Christ, as to some god, binding themselves by a solemn oath, not for the purposes of any wicked design, but never to commit any fraud, theft, or adultery; never to falsify their word, nor deny a trust when they should be called upon to deliver it up; *after which, it was their custom to separate, and then re-assemble, to eat in common a harmless meal.* From this custom, however, they desisted after the publication of my edict, by which, according to your orders, I forbade the meeting of any assemblies. After receiving this account, I judged it so much the more necessary to endeavour to extort the real truth, by putting two female slaves to the torture, who were said to administer in their religious functions; but I could discover nothing more than an absurd and excessive superstition. I thought proper, therefore, to adjourn all farther proceedings in this affair, in order to consult with you. For it appears to be a matter highly deserving your consideration, more especially as great numbers must be involved in the danger of these prosecutions, this inquiry having already extended, and will still extend,

to persons of all ranks and ages, and even of both sexes. For this contagious superstition is not confined to the cities only, but has spread its infection among the country villages; nevertheless, it still seems possible to remedy this evil and restrain its progress. The temples, at least, which were once almost deserted, begin now to be frequented; and the sacred solemnities, after a long intermission, are again revived, while there is a general demand for the victims, which for some time past have met with but few purchasers. From hence it is easy to imagine what numbers might be reclaimed, if a pardon were granted to those who shall repent of their error." (*Pliny's Letters*, B. x. Ep. 97; Melmoth's Translation.)

The original may be seen in Lardner's *Works*, iv. 13, ed. 1815; and partly in Dr Hessey's Appendix, p. 370.

It has been questioned what the "stated day" mentioned by Pliny was—whether the *first*, or the *seventh*, or *any* day of the week, or a day in the Greek *decade* or in the *month*. Böhmer labours to prove that the Jewish Sabbath is meant (*Diss. de Statu Christianorum Die*, § 3, *et seq.*, quoted by Holden, p. 292), and, according to Dr Hessey, p. 370, "Gesner in his note to Pliny agrees with him. C. C. L. Franke supposes Pliny to have known so little about the matter as to have used a phrase which may cover either the Sabbath or the Lord's Day. (*De Diei Dominici apud Veteres Christianos celebratione*, p. 29; Halle, 1826.) Mosheim, Bingham, and Augusti, without hesitation consider the *stated day* to be the Lord's Day." So does Neander, *Gen. Hist. of the Christian Religion and Church*, i. 135, Bohn's ed. Dr Doddridge goes so far as to say that Pliny actually "*speaks of the Lord's day* as the sacred day of the Christians." (See below, ii. 210.)

In *Brief Remarks on the History, &c. of the Sabbath*, by Joseph John Gurney, 5th ed., p. 36, the writer puts the question, "But what was the *stated day* when these things [the things mentioned by Pliny] took place?" which he answers as follows: "Clearly, the *first day of the week*, as is proved by the very question which it was customary for the Roman persecutors to address to the martyrs,—*Dominicum servasti?—Hast thou kept the Lord's day?* to which the answer usually returned was in substance as follows; *Christianus sum, intermittere non possum;—I am a Christian, I cannot omit it.* (*Acts of Martyrs, in Bishop Andrews on the Ten Commandments*, p. 264.)"

Into the validity of this argument Sir William Domville has taken great pains to inquire, and the result of his investigation is stated with admirable clearness and precision in his first volume on *The Sabbath*, pp. 251–273.

"No one can doubt," he observes, "but that Mr Gurney means by this statement to be understood as asserting that the question, Hast thou kept the Lord's day? was addressed to Pliny's martyrs, for, otherwise, his proof would not be applicable to his case.

"Now, although with reference to the chief questions in the Sabbath controversy, the fact (if it be the fact) that the Sunday

was observed in Pliny's time, is one of no real value to the Sabbatarians, inasmuch as it would be no evidence that the Sunday was observed in the time of the apostles, I shall, nevertheless, proceed to investigate the truth of Mr Gurney's assertion (for in effect he does assert), that *Dominicum servasti?* was a question put to the Christians accused before Pliny. The result will, I expect, show this to be a curious instance of the little regard which theological writers are accustomed to pay to accuracy, when their purpose is to persuade their readers into the belief of a favourite dogma. Those only who have occasion, and who take the trouble, to test the statements of such writers when dealing with matters of fact, can have any idea of the extent to which their habitual recklessness of assertion is carried. I therefore think that my proposed inquiry into the truth of Mr Gurney's bold statement respecting the question put to Pliny's martyrs, although it will be of some length, will be well worth the space which I shall be compelled to allot to it.

"Let us see, then, how Mr Gurney attempts to make good his statement. All the authority he gives for it is a note in these words, 'Acts of Martyrs, in Bishop Andrews on the Ten Commandments, p. 264.' Mr Gurney's readers are therefore to understand, that if they will refer to the works of Bishop Andrews (which none of them were likely to possess, and but few were likely to have access to), they would there find proofs collected by the bishop from ancient writings called 'Acts of Martyrs,' that the customary question to the martyrs from the earliest times of persecution, was *Dominicum servasti?*—Hast thou kept the Lord's day? But should any of Mr Gurney's readers take the trouble to refer to Bishop Andrews, their expectation would be disappointed, as I shall proceed to show.

"The work which Mr Gurney must intend to refer to, is entitled, *The Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine at large; or, a Learned and Pious Exposition of the Ten Commandments,** in page 264 of which there is the following passage relating to the Lord's day:—

"'This day, this μία σαββάτων, came to have the name of *Dies Dominicus* in the apostles' times, and is so expressly called then by St John in the Revelation (i. 10); and that name from that day to this hath holden still, which continuance of it from the apostles' age may be deduced down from Father to Father, even to the first council of Nice; and lower, I trust, we need not follow it. No doubt is made of it since then, by any that hath read anything. I should hold you too long to cite them in particular. I avow it on my credit, there is not any ecclesiastical writer in whom it is not to be found.

"'Ignatius (whom I would not name, but that I find his words in Nazianzen), Justin Martyr, Dionysius bishop of Corinth, in

* "I understand there has been a reprint of *The Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine*, published in 1846. This, it will be observed, was fourteen years after the publication of Mr Gurney's third edition of his *Brief Remarks*." [See above, p. 153.]

Eusebius, lib. iv., Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, every one.

"'And that we may put it past all question, Justin Martyr, who lived in the very next age to the apostles, and Tertullian, who lived in the next age to him, both say directly, The solemn assemblies of the Christians were that day ever, on Sunday, τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέρᾳ, saith Justin; *Die Solis*, saith Tertullian, and leaves the Jews to their Saturn: (either, in their Apology for the Christians offered by them to the emperor. Justin made two, in his second; Tertullian but one, the sixteenth chapter of his.) That of the true day, there can be no manner of doubt.

"'A thing so notorious, so well known even to the heathen themselves, as it was (in the Acts of the Martyrs) ever an usual question of theirs (even of course) in their examining, What? *Dominicum servasti?*—Hold you the Sunday? and their answer known; they all aver it, *Christianus sum, intermittere non possum*—I am a Christian, I cannot intermit it; not the Lord's day, in any wise. These are examples enough.'

"And this loose, rambling piece of declamation, Mr Gurney is of opinion, fully authorises him to assure his readers, that clearly the first day of the week was the stated day when the Christians held their religious meetings in the time of Pliny. Even if the reference made to the Acts of the Martyrs by the bishop were found to bear out his statement as to the question, *Dominicum servasti?* having been put to the martyrs, the statement is not so precise in its language as to imply that the bishop intended to pledge himself by it to the fact that that question was invariably, without any exception, addressed to the martyrs from the earliest times of persecution. Yet, unless Mr Gurney puts this construction upon the bishop's words, 'it was ever,' he cannot be entitled to adduce them in proof, that so early as in Pliny's time the question, *Dominicum servasti?* was put to the accused; and even if the bishop meant to pledge himself to the fact that this was an invariable question, it did not become Mr Gurney, who was so well qualified by his learning and talents to investigate such matters, to take so improbable a fact for granted without further inquiry, especially as he must know that the *Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine*, from which the foregoing extract is taken, was a posthumous publication;* and, what is more, he must also know, if he read the preface, that the editor inserted in the book as published, many passages which formed no part of the bishop's original work, and that the passage here extracted from the book is one of them; it is printed in *italics* as such. 'Whereas,' says the

* "He must know that it was a posthumous publication, whether he read the preface to it or not. 'Its title, as well as its date, shows it to be so; for no author would speak of his own performance as a 'learned and pious exposition' of his subject. It is possible, indeed, to suppose, though hard to believe, that Mr Gurney paid no attention to the date, the title, or the preface. But even if such was the case, such negligence would leave him still culpable for quoting the bishop as an authority."

editor, 'some things are omitted, or but briefly touched (in the *Pattern*), a supplement is made out of his (the bishop's) other works, or where it could not be had out of them, there is added what was needful to be supplied.' It might happen, no doubt, that the addition above noticed was made out of the bishop's other works, but the editor does not say that it was so. It might therefore be a supplement written by himself. Did Mr Gurney endeavour to ascertain how the fact stood? I suspect he did not. If so, he was not justified in quoting the bishop as his authority for what he had stated. If he did inquire into the fact, and was successful in his inquiry, he would find that, although true it is the addition was made out of the bishop's other works, it was from a work upon which no reliance whatever could properly be placed. He would find that it was taken, word for word, from a printed speech, said to have been made by the bishop in the court of Star-Chamber in the case of Thraske, who was accused before that arbitrary tribunal of maintaining the heretical opinion that Christians were bound to keep the seventh-day Sabbath (a Saturday and not a Sunday Sabbath), an opinion, by the way, which, from its obvious consistency with the fourth commandment, had some followers, and gave great trouble to such of the Sunday Sabbatarians of those days as maintained that the fourth commandment was obligatory upon Christians.

"The bishop died in 1626, and his speech against Thraske was not published till 1629; it was, therefore, as well as the *Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine*, a posthumous publication.* It is probable that it was printed from some rough outline of his intended speech found among his papers; for it is one of several tracts attributed to the bishop, and collected in a small volume entitled, *Opuscula quædam Posthuma*. These the editor of the *Pattern*, who must have had full access to the bishop's papers, has evidently acknowledged to be genuine by his insertion of a portion of the speech in the *Pattern*. There can be no reasonable doubt, therefore, of the speech having been printed from a paper in the bishop's handwriting. But although a genuine production from the pen of Bishop Andrews, was it in itself a document which had any claim to respect as authority? Far otherwise. It was, indeed, well suited to, and all-sufficient for, its immediate object, that of satisfying the nice consciences of Star-Chamber judges, that they might proceed without scruple to condemn the heresy of Thraske; but such a hurried, off-hand sketch of an argument the bishop would never have looked upon as fit for publication, it being in every respect unworthy of him. Its reasoning is as careless as its style: it treats two perfectly distinct subjects as though they were identical, which they were not, namely, the custom of observing the Sunday, and the custom of calling it the Lord's day.† It

* [The speech is reprinted in Pagitt's *Heresiography* (Lond. 1661), in p. 207 of which the extract will be found. I have revised it by that copy. The speech is omitted in the edition of the *Pattern* printed in 1846.]

† "The bishop refers to Justin Martyr, as one of the fathers through-

evinces not less carelessness in the statement of matters of fact; as, for instance, the assertion that *Dominicum servasti?* was ever a usual question put by the heathens when examining persons accused of being Christians, an assertion which is wholly unfounded. As, however, it would not be decorous to say this of any assertion made by so learned and respectable a prelate as Bishop Andrews without at the same time offering some strong proof that he is in error, I shall now state such proof on the subject as will, I doubt not, appear indisputably conclusive.

"The bishop, as we have seen, refers to the Acts of the Martyrs as justifying his assertion respecting the question, *Dominicum servasti?* but he does not cite a single instance from them in which that question was put. We are left, therefore, to hunt out the instances for ourselves, wherever, if anywhere, they are to be found.

"The most complete collection of the memoirs and legends still extant, relative to the lives and sufferings of the Christian martyrs, is that by Ruinart, entitled *Acta primorum Martyrum sincera et selecta.**

"I have carefully consulted that work, and I take upon myself to affirm, that among the questions there stated to have been put to the martyrs in and before the time of Pliny, and for nearly two hundred years afterwards, the question *Dominicum servasti?* does not once occur; nor any equivalent question, such, for instance, as *Dominicum celebrasti?*

"It cannot be expected that I should quote, in proof of my assertion, all the questions put to the martyrs in all the martyrdoms (above one hundred in number) recorded in Ruinart; but I will do this, I will state all the questions that were put to the martyrs in and before Pliny's time."

Having stated these, Sir W. Domville proceeds:—

"This much may suffice to show that *Dominicum servasti?* was no question in Pliny's time, as Mr Gurney intends us to believe it was. I have, however, still other proof to offer of Mr Gurney's unfair dealing with the subject, but I defer stating it for the present, that I may proceed in the inquiry, what may have been the authority on which Bishop Andrews relied when stating that *Dominicum servasti?* was ever a usual question put by the heathen persecutors. I shall with this view pass over the martyrdoms which intervened between Pliny's time and the fourth century, as they contain nothing to the purpose, and shall come at once to that martyrdom, the narrative of which was, I have no doubt, the

whom the appellation of the Lord's day given to Sunday might be deduced. Yet Justin makes no mention of the Lord's day. He testifies to the observance of Sunday, but he calls it by that name (the day of the sun) and by no other." [The passage is quoted below, ii. 4.]

* "Mosheim. See note in his *Eccles. History*, translated by Maclaine, vol. i. p. 63, 2d edition, 1774. The reference there is to the Amsterdam edition of Ruinart (1713). That which I have had access to is the Paris edition of 1689."

source from which Bishop Andrews derived his question, *Dominicum servasti?* 'Hold you the Lord's day?' This martyrdom happened A.D. 304. The sufferers were Saturninus and his four sons, and several other persons. They were taken to Carthage, and brought before the proconsul Amulinus. In the account given of their examinations by him, the phrases '*celebrare* Dominicum,' and '*agere* Dominicum,' frequently occur, but in no instance is the verb *servare* used in reference to *Dominicum*. I mention this chiefly to show that when Bishop Andrews, alluding, as no doubt he does, to the narrative of this martyrdom, says the question was *Dominicum servasti?* it is very clear he had not his author at hand, and that, in trusting to his memory, he coined a phrase of his own.

"The narrative is very long, and therefore I shall select from it only those instances of the occurrence of the word *Dominicum* which are most in point to prove that this was the martyrdom which the bishop had in his recollection, and the authority on which he relied for his statement of the question ever put to the Christian martyrs. In translating the passages which I am about to quote, I shall assume, as the bishop does, that the word *Dominicum* signifies the Lord's day.

"Saturninus, when examined, says, '*Dominicum celebravimus,*' ('We have celebrated the Lord's day.') The proconsul asking 'Why?' he answered, '*Quia non potest intermitti Dominicum,*' ('Because the Lord's day cannot be intermitted.') In answer to another question, Saturninus repeats, '*Intermitti Dominicum non potest.*'*

"Emeritus, one of the martyrs accused with Saturninus, says, '*In domo meâ egimus Dominicum,*' ('In my house we celebrated the Lord's day.') The proconsul asking, 'Why he did not prevent meetings in his house?' he replies, '*Non poteram, quoniam sine Dominico non possumus,*'* ('I could not, for we cannot do without the Lord's day.')

"The younger Felix, another of these martyrs, after delaring, '*Spem salutemque Christianorum Dominicum esse.*' ('that the Lord's day was the hope and salvation of Christians,') adds, '*Ego, devotâ mente, celebravi Dominicum, collectam cum fratribus feci, quia Christianus sum,*'* ('With a devout mind have I celebrated the Lord's day, and held a meeting with my brethren, because I am a Christian.')

"The younger Saturninus having also, to a question put to him, answered, '*Christianus sum,*' ('I am a Christian,') the proconsul said, '*Non à te quæro hoc, sed utrum egeris Dominicum?*' ('What I ask you is not this, but whether you celebrated the Lord's day?') To which Saturninus answers, '*Egi Dominicum, quia Salvator est Christus,*' ('I celebrated the Lord's day, because Christ is my Saviour.')

* "These phrases will be found to tally exactly with those in the remarks by Bishop Andrews, beginning, 'A thing so notorious' [see *ante*, p. 299]."

"The narrative of the martyrdom of Saturninus and his fellow-sufferers being the only one which has the appearance of supporting the assertion of Bishop Andrews, that 'Hold you the Lord's day?' was a usual question to the martyrs, what if I should prove that even this narrative affords no support to that assertion; yet nothing is more easy than this proof; for Bishop Andrews has quite mistaken the meaning of the word *Dominicum* in translating it 'the Lord's day.' It had no such meaning. It was a barbarous word in use among some of the ecclesiastical writers in, and subsequent to, the fourth century, to express sometimes a church, and at other times the Lord's Supper, but never the Lord's day."

Several high authorities are quoted in proof of this statement, and the writer continues:—

"It thus appearing that the reference made by Bishop Andrews to the 'Acts of Martyrs' completely fails to establish his *dictum* respecting the question alleged to have been put to the martyrs, and it also appearing that there existed strong and obvious reasons for not placing implicit reliance upon that *dictum*, what are we to think of Mr Gurney's regard for truth, when we find he does not scruple to tell his readers that the stated day mentioned in Pliny's letter, as that on which the Christians held their religious assemblies, was 'clearly the first day of the week, as is proved by the very question which it was customary for the Roman persecutors to address to the martyrs, *Dominicum servasti?* Hast thou kept the Lord's day?'

"For this unqualified assertion, prefaced as it is by the word 'clearly,' in order to make it the more impressive, Mr Gurney is without any excuse; and this, not only for the reasons already assigned, but for another, which I am now about to state. Will it be believed—yet such is the fact, and it is hard to imagine that Mr Gurney should not know it—that Pliny himself, in his letter to the emperor, states what was the very question which he addressed to his martyrs? And, what is very remarkable, he also states that the business of examining persons accused of being Christians was wholly new to him, so that it was not very probable he should be prepared with the question, 'Have you kept the Lord's day?' And, in fact, he only asked them if they were Christians? [See Pliny's letter, above, p. 296, a part of which Sir W. Domville here quotes.] Such is Pliny's statement. To the reader's judgment I leave the determination whether Mr Gurney be an honest guide. A safe one he certainly is not.

"Having, in the outset of these remarks upon Pliny's letter, admitted the probability to be, that the stated day mentioned in it was the first day of the week,* I do not retract that admission,

* [The passage here referred to is as follows: "The Christians of Bithynia were, it is to be presumed, chiefly converts from heathenism, and neither Greeks nor Romans then made use of that division of time; they divided their year into months, and their months into three parts: those of the Greeks being of ten days each were called decades.

although I have demonstrated the disingenuousness of Mr Gurney's attempt to make a show of actual proof that such was the fact. Actual proof of it there is none. This, however, is a point which, in my estimation, is of so little importance in the controversy, that I should have abstained from entering into so long a discussion of Mr Gurney's pretence to proof, had it not, as I before intimated, been my design to expose to censure one of those daring misstatements of fact so frequent in theological writings, and which, from the confident tone so generally assumed by the writers on such occasions, are usually received without examination, and allowed, in consequence, to pass current for truth." (Domville, i. 251–273.)

As Bishop Andrews' argument from "*Dominicum servasti?*" continues to be frequently reproduced by writers on the Sabbath, I have copied this searching exposure of it, in the hope of fostering a more conscientious and scholarlike mode of conducting the controversy than that which unhappily prevails.

As to the bearing of Pliny's letter on the question whether the early Christians observed the Lord's day as a *Sabbath* (or *day of rest*), Sir W. Domville elsewhere observes:—

"We have in his epistle strong grounds for assuming that the Christians in general, or at least that one community of them, in the beginning of the second century, observed the Sunday as a stated day for performing religious rites; yet not as a Sabbath, for the inference, if any, to be drawn from the facts which Pliny relates is exactly the reverse. 'They were wont,' says Pliny, 'to meet together on a stated day before it was light;' and the religious rites which he describes as performed by them when they met are clearly such as might be concluded before the working hours of the day began [*ante*, p. 296]. They thus left themselves free to follow during the day their usual worldly occupations; and, in the absence of all testimony to the contrary, it is reasonable, if not imperative upon us, to conclude that they did so, and consequently that to them the Sunday was no Sabbath." (Pp. 293, 294.) Coleman thinks that Pliny's statement "is evidence that these Christians kept a day as holy time, but whether it was the last or the first day of the week does not appear." (*Ancient Christianity Exemplified*, p. 528.) If by keeping a day a holy time, nothing more is meant than using a stated day for religious meetings, this view appears to be correct.

In regard to the nocturnal assemblies of the early Christians, there is a curious and suggestive passage in Dr David Irving's

The Christians of Bithynia may, therefore, for anything that appears to the contrary, have met once in every month, or once in every decade. However, as it was afterwards the custom among Christians to make the first day of the week the stated day of assembling for Christian worship, it is on the whole most probable that such was the custom of the Bithynian Christians in Pliny's time." [P. 253.]

Observations on the Study of the Civil Law, 3d ed., Edin. 1823. He says :—" It is commonly regarded as a very curious and remarkable fact, that although the Romans were disposed to tolerate every other religious sect,* yet they frequently persecuted the Christians with unrelenting cruelty. This exception, so fatal to a peaceable and harmless sect, must have originated in circumstances which materially distinguished them from the votaries of every other religion. The causes and the pretexts of persecution may have varied at various periods; but there seems to have been one general cause, which will readily be apprehended by those who are intimately acquainted with the Roman jurisprudence. From the most remote period of their history, the Romans had conceived extreme horror against all nocturnal meetings of a secret and mysterious nature. A law prohibiting nightly vigils in a temple has even been ascribed, though with little probability, to the founder of their state. The laws of the twelve tables declared it a capital offence to attend nocturnal assemblies in the city.† And, to omit other authorities, the 'Senatusconsultum Marcianum de Bacchanalibus'‡ is of a similar tendency; though it is indeed directed against a particular institution, which was believed to have been productive of the greatest enormities. This, then, being the spirit of the law, it is obvious that the nocturnal meetings of the primitive Christians must have rendered them objects of peculiar suspicion, and exposed them to the animadversion of the magistrate. It was during the night that they usually held their most solemn and religious assemblies;§ for a practice, which may be supposed to have arisen from their fears, seems to have been continued from the operation of other causes. Misunderstanding the purport of certain passages of Scripture, they were led to imagine that the second advent, of which they lived in constant expectation, would take place during the night; and they were accustomed to celebrate nightly vigils at the tombs of the saints and martyrs. In this case, therefore, they incurred no penalties peculiar to the votaries of a new religion, but only such as equally attached to those who, professing the public religion of the state, were yet guilty of this undoubted violation of its laws." (Pp. 17–19.) ‖

* "Bynkershoek de Cultu Religionis Peregrinæ apud Veteres Romanos: Opera, tom. iii. p. 237.—See, however, what is stated in Bishop Watson's *Apology for Christianity*, p. 104.

† "Gothofredus ad XII. Tab. p. 143. Gravina, p. 226.

‡ "Taylor's Elements of the Civil Law, p. 546," &c. &c.

§ "Böhmeri Dissertationes Juris Ecclesiastici Antiqui ad Plinium Secundum et Tertullianum, p. 35. Lipsiæ, 1711. 8vo."

‖ Dr Irving quotes in a note various writers who have noticed this application of the existing laws to the case of the Christians (Balduinus *ad Leges Romuli*, p. 15; Woworus *ad Minucium Felicem*, p. 73, ed. 1672; Böhmeri *Dissertationes*, p. 38). "Dr Taylor did not therefore (he adds), as an angry antagonist avers, make any *discovery* when he illustrated this application of the Roman law." Warburton attacks Taylor in his *Divine Legation of Moses*, vol. iii. p. xxxv.

Pages 118–125.—The Christian Fathers.

It is a received maxim that "the Bible, the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants." According to the sixth article of the Church of England, "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." And in the *Westminster Confession* it is in like manner declared, that "the whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture; unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men." (Ch. I. § 6.)

It is therefore somewhat surprising that theologians who accept and are constantly proclaiming this principle, should lay so much stress, as they evidently do, upon what the early post-apostolic writers say, or are supposed to say, about the Sabbath and the Lord's Day. For if it can be proved from Scripture that the Lord's Day is a divinely-appointed Christian institution, there is no need for further evidence of the fact, nor can our confidence in it be much increased by knowing that men fallible like ourselves interpreted the Scripture as we do; while, if the alleged fact *cannot* be proved from Scripture, the opinions and practice of the Fathers would be of no avail, even if these were always rational, and if we could rely on the genuineness of all the writings which have come down to us as theirs.

But no such reliance is due to the works in question. "Of all the chasms in the records of history," says Dr Arnold, "none is so much to be regretted as that wide one of more than a century, in which all full and distinct knowledge of the early state of Christianity after the date of the Apostolical Epistles has been irretrievably buried. In the Apostolical Epistles themselves we have a picture clear and lively, from which we can gain a very considerable knowledge of what the Christian Church then was. But from these Epistles, which merely as historical monuments are so invaluable; from these records, undoubtedly genuine, uncorrupted, uninterpolated, and in which everything is drawn with touches equally faithful, bold, and distinct, we pass at once into a chaos. We come to works of disputed genuineness, with a corrupted text, full of interpolations; and which, after all, are so different from the Apostolical Epistles in their distinctness and power of touch, that even if we could rely on their authenticity, the knowledge to be derived from them is exceedingly vague and scanty. . . . We stop then at the last Epistle of St Paul to Timothy, with something of the same interest with which one pauses at the last hamlet of the cultivated valley, when there is nothing but moor beyond.

It is the end, or all but the end, of our real knowledge of primitive Christianity; there we take our last distinct look around; further the mist hangs thick, and few and distorted are the objects which we can discern in the midst of it." (*Sermons, chiefly on the Interpretation of Scripture*, pp. 335–37; London, 1845.)

In a well-known learned treatise by John Daillé, a French Protestant minister of the seventeenth century, *On the Right Use of the Fathers*, abundant evidence of these facts may be found. Among the propositions which he maintains are the following:—1. That it is difficult to ascertain the opinions of the Fathers in reference to the present controversies in religion, seeing that there is very little of their writings extant of the first three centuries; 2. That those writings which we have of the Fathers of the first centuries, treat of matters very far different from the present controversies in religion; 3. That those writings which bear the names of the ancient Fathers are not all really such, but a great portion of them supposititious and forged either long since, or at later periods; 4. That the writings of the Fathers, which are considered legitimate, have been in many places corrupted by time, ignorance, and fraud, pious and malicious, both in the early and later ages; 5. That the writings of the Fathers are difficult to be understood, on account of the languages and idioms in which they wrote, and the manner of their writing, which is encumbered with rhetorical flourishes and logical subtleties, and with terms used in a sense far different from what they now bear; and, 6. That the Fathers frequently conceal their own private opinions, and say what they did not believe; either in reporting the opinion of others without naming them, as in their Commentaries; or disputing against an adversary, where they make use of whatever they are able; or accommodating themselves to their auditory, as may be observed in their Homilies. "The writings of the fourth and fifth centuries have," he allows, "surpassed the former in number and good fortune too, the greatest part of them having been transmitted safely to our hands; but they come much short of the other in weight and authority, especially in the judgment of the Protestants, who maintain, and that upon very probable grounds, that the Christian religion hath from the beginning had its declinings by little and little, losing in every age some certain degree of its primitive and native purity." (B. I. ch. 1, p. 6, Eng. Translation, Lond. 1841.)

In regard to the earlier Fathers he says:—

"There is so great a confusion in the most part of these books of which we speak, that it is a very difficult thing truly to discover who were their authors and what is their meaning and sense. The first difficulty proceeds from the infinite number of forged books, which are falsely attributed to the ancient Fathers; the same having also happened in all kinds of learning and sciences, insomuch that the learned at this day are sufficiently puzzled to discover, both in philosophy and humanity, which are forged and supposititious pieces, and which are true and legitimate. But

this abuse has not existed anywhere more grossly, and taken to itself more liberty, than in the ecclesiastical writers. All men complain of this, both on the one side and on the other, and labour to their utmost to deliver us from this confusion, oftentimes with little success, by reason of the warmth of their feelings, by which they are carried away; ordinarily judging of books according to their own interest rather than the truth, and rejecting all those that any way contradict them, but defending those which speak on their side, how good or bad soever they otherwise chance to be. So that, to say the truth, they judge not of their own opinions by the writings of the Fathers, but of the writings of the Fathers by their own opinions. If they speak with us, it is then Cyprian and Chrysostom; if not, it is some ignorant modern fellow, or else some malicious person who would fain cover his own impurity under the rich garment of these excellent persons.

"Now, were it mere partiality that rendered the business obscure, we should be able to quit our hands of it, by stripping it and laying it open to the world, and all moderate men would find enough to rest satisfied with. But the worst of it is, that this obscurity oftentimes happens to be in the things themselves, so that it is a very difficult, and sometimes impossible thing to elucidate them, whether it be by reason of the antiquity of the error, or by reason of the near resemblance of the false to the true. For these forgeries are not new and of yesterday, but the abuse hath existed above fourteen hundred years. It is the complaint of the greatest part of the Fathers, that the heretics, to give their own dreams the greater authority, promulgated them under the names of some of the most eminent writers in the Church, and even of the apostles themselves.* Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, who was so much esteemed by the great St Basil archbishop of Cæsarea, wrote a particular tract on this subject,† alleged by the Fathers of the seventh Council against a certain passage produced by the Iconoclasts out of I know not what idle treatise, intituled, 'The Travels of the Apostles.' And I would to God that that tract of this learned prelate were now extant! If it were, it would perhaps do us good service in discovering the vanity of many ridiculous pieces which now pass current in the world under the names of the primitive and most ancient Christians. S. Hierome rejecteth divers apocryphal books,‡ which are published under the names of the apostles and of their first disciples, as those of St Peter, of Barnabas, and others. The Gospel of St Thomas, and the Epistle to the Laodiceans, are classed in the same category by the seventh Council.§

"Now, if these knaves have thus taken such liberty with the

* "Hegesippus apud Euseb., l. 4, c. 22.
† "*Concil.* 7, Act 5, tom. 3, p. 552.
‡ "Hier. l. *De Scrip. Eccles.*, tom. 1, p. 346 B., and 350 C.
§ "*Concil.* 7, Act 6.

apostles as to make use of their names, how much more likely is it that they would not hesitate to make as free with the Fathers? And indeed this kind of imposture hath always been common. . .

"I bring but these few examples, to give the reader a sample only of what the heretics not only dared, but were able also to do in this particular; and all these things were done before the end of the seventh century, that is to say, above nine hundred years ago. Since which time, in all the disputes about the images in churches,* and in the differences betwixt the Greek and Latin Churches, and indeed in the most part of all other ecclesiastical disputations, you shall find nothing more frequent than the mutual reproaches that the several parties cast at each other,† accusing one another of forging the pieces of authors which they produced each of them in defence of their own cause. Judge you, therefore, whether or not the heretics, using the same artifice and the same diligence, now for the space of so many centuries since, though in different causes, may not in all probability have furnished us with a sufficient number of spurious pieces published under the names of the ancient Fathers by their professed enemies? And only consider whether or no we may not chance to commune with a heretic sometimes when we think we have a Father before us, and a professed enemy disguised under the mask of a friend. Thus it will hence follow that it may justly be feared that we sometimes receive and deliver for maxims and opinions of the ancient Church no better than the mere dreams of the ancient heretics. . . . But supposing that this juggling deception of the heretics may have very much corrupted the old books, yet, notwithstanding, had we no other spurious pieces than what had been forged by them, it would be no very hard matter to distinguish the true from the false. But that which renders the evil almost irremediable is, that even in the Church itself this kind of forgery has both been very common and very ancient." (B. I. ch. 3, pp. 12–16.)

Of Origen "we have but very little left, and the greatest part of that, too, most miserably abused and corrupted; the most learned and almost innumerable writings of this great and incomparable person not being able to withstand the ravages of time, nor the envy and malice of men, who have dealt much worse with him than so many ages and centuries of years that have passed from his time down to us." (B. I. ch. 1, p. 6.)

Mistranslations of passages in the Fathers abound in modern times, and in controversies about the Sabbath have sometimes been complained of (see above, p. 119; and below, ii. 299, 300). Daillé speaks strongly on this subject. "I know very well," says he, "that for the most part men trust to the translations of the Fathers, whether they be in Latin or in vulgar languages; and that the world is now come to that pass, that people will not hesi-

* "*Concil.* 7, Act 6. Refut. Iconoclast, tom. 5.
† "*Concil. Florent,* Sess. 20, t. 4.

tate to take upon them to judge of the Greek Fathers, without having (at least, that can be perceived out of their writings,) any competent knowledge of the Greek tongue; which cannot, in my judgment, be accounted anything less than presumption. The thing is clear enough of itself, that to be able to reach the conceptions and sense of a man, especially in matters of importance, it is most necessary that we understand the language he delivers himself in, his terms, and the manner of their coherence; there being in every particular language a certain peculiar force and power of significancy, which can scarcely ever be so preserved in translation but that it will lose in the passage something of its natural lustre and vigour, however learned and faithful soever the interpreter be. But this, which is very useful indeed in all other cases, is most necessary in the particular business before us, by reason of the little care and fidelity that we find in the translations of the greatest part of the interpreters of the Fathers, whether ancient or modern." (B. I. ch. 5, pp. 71, 72.)

Of Clement of Alexandria, a passage in whose *Stromata* we had occasion to consider above, pp. 275–284, Daillé asks: "What can you name more mixed, or fuller of variety, than Clemens Alexandrinus's *Stromata*, as he calls them, and his other works, which are throughout interwoven with historical allusions, opinions, sentences, and proverbs, out of all kinds of writers, both sacred and profane, being here heightened with rich and light colours, there shaded with darkness, to such a degree, that it is vain for an ignorant person to hope ever to obtain his meaning?" (B. I. ch. 5, p. 88.)

Nevertheless, Daillé thinks that the authority of the ancients may very properly and seasonably be made use of against those who broach new and ill-founded doctrines in religion; for if it can be shown that the Fathers were utterly ignorant of these, "we ought then certainly to conclude that no such doctrine was ever preached to mankind, either by our Saviour Christ, or by his apostles. . . . For this reason as well as others," says he, "are the writings of the Fathers of very great use in these disputes; and I conceive this to be one of the principal ends for which Divine Providence has, in despite of so many confusions and changes, preserved so many of them safe to our times." (B. II. ch. 6, pp. 351, 354.) Accordingly, those who regard Sabbatarianism as a corruption of Christianity have frequently quoted the Fathers to show, that the inferences of the Sabbatarians from supposed "intimations" of a first-day *Sabbath* in the New Testament cannot be sound, because no such thing as Sabbatarianism is found to have been taught or practised by the apostolic or early post-apostolic Fathers. Their chief concern, however, has been to refute the theologians who maintain that the Fathers afford positive *confirmation* of the Sabbatarian views; and I confess that, after perusing much of this controversy, I cannot help thinking that the anti-Sabbatarians, as a class, decidedly excel their opponents in knowledge of the works appealed to. Since the rise of

Tractarianism, the writings of the Fathers have been far more extensively studied in England than they were during several preceding generations; and if the late Bishop Wilson had written his Sermons on the Sabbath thirty years later than he did (see below, ii. p. 335), he probably would have thought himself bound to do more in regard to the Fathers than collect a few fragments (including some spurious and mistranslated passages) from Bishop Andrews, and from "Baxter's and Dwight's most able treatises." (Serm. IV.) It may also be safely predicated, that had he enjoyed the advantage of perusing the writings of Sir William Domville, Dean Hook, and Dr Hessey, respecting the Sabbath and the Lord's Day (below, ii. 357, 368, 386), he would not so easily have fallen into the mistake of supposing that proof of the observance of the first day of the week by the early Christians is proof that they observed *the Sabbath;* nor would he have been so ready to assert, that on no point does the testimony of all the apostolic Fathers and other early ecclesiastical writers more completely agree, than in "ascribing to the command of Christ, and the inspired founders of their churches, the transfer of the day of rest from the last to the first of the week." (Serm. IV.) To careful readers of the extracts adduced by the Bishop, this strong assertion must seem strange, when they perceive that in *not a single passage* is any such ascription to be found. It is not till we reach his fragment from Athanasius that there is even the *appearance* of an ascription of the alleged transference to a command of our Lord. That there is *only* an appearance is maintained above, p. 257; but had the case been otherwise, would any wise man have listened with deference to the assertion, on such a subject, of a writer who lived in the middle of the fourth century of the Christian era?

In the following passage, a recent Sabbatarian writer lays but little stress on the writings of the Fathers. "We indeed," says he, "have the same Scriptures to determine our creed on the subject as they had; but when a doctrine is apparently consonant to that supreme authority, our confidence in the conviction that we have read the document correctly, is strongly confirmed by the coincidence of our opinions with those of good men, especially of such of them as lived within a comparatively short time of the apostolic age." (*The Sabbath viewed in the Light of Reason, &c.*, by the Rev. James Gilfillan, p. 386.) But the pains which he takes to show that the Fathers were Sabbatarians, seem more than enough where conviction has already been derived from the Scriptures themselves. By some Protestant writers, however, it is thought indispensable to supplement the teaching of Scripture about the Lord's Day; they find in the Fathers, not mere confirmation of pre-existing confidence, but the grounds on which confidence must rest (see below, ii. 357–58, 394). And if the use which Dean Hook says the Church of England makes of the writings of the Fathers—namely, "to enable her to read doubtful Scriptures correctly" (below, ii. 369)—be *necessary* for any other purpose than

to ascertain the meaning of the *words* read in Scripture, it will be difficult to reconcile this necessity with the sufficiency of the Scripture alone. Bishop Burnet, however, in his exposition of Article VI., though he states that the writings of the Fathers are used by the Church as a help to understand the Bible, is careful to say nothing that implies the *necessity* of their use. "We affirm," says he, "that the Scriptures are a complete rule of faith, and that the whole Christian religion is contained in them, and nowhere else; and *although we make great use of tradition*, especially that which is most ancient and nearest the source, *to help us to a clear understanding of the Scriptures*, yet as to matters of faith we reject all oral tradition, as an incompetent mean of conveying down doctrines to us, and we refuse to receive any doctrine that is not either expressly contained in Scripture, or clearly proved from it."

"The value of the Primitive Fathers," says a recent authority, "arises chiefly from this, that living soon after our Lord and the apostles, soon after the times when the Holy Ghost was most active in the Church leading the disciples into all truth, and being themselves trusted by the Church with high offices, they can scarcely fail of reflecting in some considerable measure the impression which the Church had taken, and must in the main communicate the notions and doctrines to be taught and ordinances to be observed, not which they themselves had derived from their Hebrew or other scholarship, but which had been imparted to them from even a higher source." (*Lectures on the Right Use of the Fathers*, by the Rev. J. J. Blunt, B.D., late Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, pp. 210, 211; Lond. 1857.) He says further: "Daillé (pp. 158, 159, *et seq.*) urges against the Fathers, that, in their polemics, in their disputations against heathens, Jews, and heretics, they stuck at nothing, in order to secure to themselves the victory; urging arguments which were in their favour, though they felt them to be faulty, and suppressing others, which were against them, which they knew to be sound. Hence a further difficulty in getting to the real sentiments of the Fathers. There is some truth in this remark; but the fact itself furnishes me with a different conclusion from that which Daillé draws from it. For he once more chimes in with the Romanist, and confesses that, perplexed by such disputants, he sees nothing for it but to throw oneself on the Church, as the interpreter of the Fathers, who are so ambiguous, *i.e.*, on the Church of Rome (p. 163, Latin translation); thus implying that the Fathers must be abandoned as an authority, at least by *Protestants*. On the other hand, the conclusion I come to is this; that seeing the Fathers are such writers as they are here represented to be, it is highly necessary not only to read them, but to read them *carefully*, in order to *detect* the complexion of their argument, and the grounds on which it proceeds, and to make the necessary allowance for circumstances; that the true redress of the inconvenience is, not to throw the Fathers away in despair, or apply to Rome for a

key to them, but really to investigate them, and not pursue Dr Priestley's plan of *looking through* books, with which Bishop Horsley taxes him so severely (Horsley's *Letters*, p. 100); a plan which is sure to mislead, and the adoption of which is, in fact, the source of so much of the perplexity which people find in them. Certainly there is no argument more common with the Fathers, as I have often taken occasion to observe in my Lectures on them, than the *argumentum ad hominem*—or, in other words, the argument for victory, as Daillé says; but it is one that creates no difficulty to those who approach it in the course of the regular study of these authors: the context and general drift of the reasoning point it out to be what it is: but select out of the whole some detached passage, and it is not improbable that a meaning may be assigned to it altogether at variance with the real sentiments of the authors." (Pp. 186, 187.)

In the immediately following pages, the chief passages in the writings of the Fathers respecting the Sabbath and the Lord's Day will be adduced, in order that the reader who thinks them important may have the means of judging what conclusions ought, on the supposition of their genuineness, to be drawn from them. To me the statement of their doctrine given above, pp. 124, 125, appears to be correct. Many other notices of their opinions will be found in this work;—as by Cranmer (i. 135), Bishop White (i. 170), Ley (i. 196–198), Usher (i. 256, 257), Cocceius (ii. 3–5), Baxter (ii. 31), Howell (ii. 129), Willison (ii. 160), Priestley and Evanson (ii. 297–302), Reichel (ii. 383), and Tudor (ii. 385). See also, i. 177–201; ii. 12, 55, 56, 145, 153, 333, 357, 358, 359, 389, 393.

Page 119.—Clement of Rome.

In Clement's *Epistle to the Corinthians*, the following passage is found:—"Seeing then these things are manifest unto us, it will behove us to take care that, looking into the depths of the divine knowledge, we do all things in order whatsoever our Lord has commanded us to do; and particularly that we perform our offerings and service to God at their appointed seasons: for these he has commanded to be done not rashly and disorderly, but at certain determinate times and hours: and therefore he has ordained by his supreme will and authority, both where and by what persons they are to be performed; that so all things being piously done unto all well-pleasing, they may be acceptable unto him. They, therefore, who make their offerings at the appointed seasons are happy and accepted: because that, obeying the commandments of the Lord, they are free from sin. And the same care must be had of the persons that minister unto him. For the chief priest has his proper services, and to the priests their proper place is appointed, and to the Levites appertain their proper ministries, and the layman is confined within the bounds of what is com-

manded to laymen. Let every one of you therefore, brethren, bless God in his proper station with a good conscience and with all gravity, not exceeding the rule of his service that is appointed to him. The daily sacrifices are not offered everywhere, nor the peace-offerings, nor the sacrifices appointed for sins and transgressions, but only at Jerusalem; nor in any place there, but only at the altar before the temple." (Ch. xl. and xli., Archbishop Wake's Translation.).

Now, asks Holden, "what stated and determinate times can be so probably meant as the returns of the weekly festival? Clement is clearly speaking of religious services, for which he says there were, even at that early period, appointed seasons; and it cannot rationally be doubted that the Lord's Day was the principal." (*The Christian Sabbath*, p. 293.)

The probable date of the Epistle has been much disputed, and the passage thus commented on is one of those from which it has been argued, with great force, that Clement wrote *before the destruction of Jerusalem*. "But," says Domville, "whether or not Clement is here speaking of observing and performing the rites and sacrifices appointed by the Mosaic law, as being a practice still in use in his time, I think it must be undeniable that on this occasion he would, as he proceeded in his exhortations to the Christians of Corinth, have impressed upon them the indispensable obligation they were under to observe the new Christian rite of Sunday worship, had this rite then existed. Yet he has done no such thing. 'It will (he says) behove us to take care that we do all things in order whatsoever our Lord has commanded us to do, and particularly'—what in particular?—to offer up prayer and thanksgiving to God on every recurrence of that day of the week on which Christ rose from the dead? By no means: he makes no mention whatever of that sacred day, but proceeds to speak, (and in language applicable only to the ceremonies of the Mosaic law,) of performing 'offerings and service to God at their appointed seasons.'

"Again, 'The daily sacrifices (he says) are not offered everywhere, but only at Jerusalem.' It exceeds all probability that he should not have embraced this opportunity of adverting to the weekly sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving which it was obligatory upon Christians to perform somewhere, and lawful to them to perform anywhere upon the Lord's Day, had that sacrifice been commanded. It would be useless to reply, that when he speaks of offerings and service to God at their appointed seasons, and commanded to be done at certain determinate times and hours, he ought to be understood to allude to the religious observance of the Sunday. So obscure an allusion to the new Christian rite is to the last degree improbable, when he had every conceivable inducement to speak of it openly and clearly, if it had ever been 'commanded to be done.' It seems, indeed, not a little absurd to imagine he could mean to allude to Sunday observance when speaking of services commanded to be done 'at certain determined

times and hours;' for no one pretends to say that our Lord appointed not only the day, but the hour, when Christians should hold their weekly meetings for public worship and religious instruction.

"There is, in fact, not a single word in the whole passage which is here quoted, nor in any other part of the epistle, which can be rationally construed into a recognition of the so-called Christian Sabbath." (Domville, vol. i. pp. 287–289.)

It is curious that Mr Gilfillan, who adopts the opinion that the epistle was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, assumes nevertheless, as a matter of course, that *other* than Jewish seasons are spoken of—and this although allusion is made not only to appointed *seasons* for offerings and service to God, but to an appointed *place where*, and appointed *persons by whom*, they are to be performed.

Dr Hessey, who quotes in his Appendix a part of Clement's 40th chapter in the original Greek, says he "thinks it indeed very probable that he alludes there to the Lord's Day;" and that, if so, "he seems to attribute its institution to our Lord himself, though His appointment of it mediately, that is, by His apostles, may be covered by his expression. But as he does not in so many words mention the Lord's Day, I have forborne to quote him in the text." (P. 369.)

The genuineness of the Epistle is generally regarded as indubitable; but in Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, 1st ed., i. 645, it is stated that "certain portions of it have been thought to bear internal evidence of spuriousness. Bignonius, in a letter to Grotius, instances ch. xl., which relates to the presentation of offerings at set times, in which the word λαϊκός [*layman*] occurs; and the epithet *ancient* (ἀρχαίαν) applied to the Corinthian church in ch. xlvii. Mosheim asserts that some passages are evidently taken from Clement of Alexandria. (Mosheim's *Commentaries*, translated by Vidal, vol. i. p. 271.)

Page 119.—Barnabas.

For a notice of controversies about the genuineness of the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas, see Gieseler's *Compendium of Ecclesiastical History*, Davidson's transl., i. 110 (Edin. 1846), where it will be seen that Neander, Twesten, Ullman, and Hug, agree in considering it spurious. Dr Hessey says of it, that, "though certainly not written by that apostle, it was in existence in the early part of the second century." (P. 55; see also his note, p. 369.)

Referring to what God has declared respecting the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment, the writer of the Epistle says: "Even in the beginning of the creation, he (the Almighty) makes mention of the Sabbath. And God made in six days the works of his hands, and he finished them on the seventh day, and he rested the seventh day and sanctified it. Consider, my children,

what that signifies—he finished them in six days. The meaning of it is this, that in six thousand years the Lord God will bring all things to an end, for with him one day is a thousand years, as himself testifieth, saying, Behold this day shall be as a thousand years. Therefore, children, in six days—that is, in six thousand years—shall all things be accomplished. And what is that he saith, And he rested the seventh day? He meaneth this, that when his Son shall come and abolish the season of the wicked one, and judge the ungodly, and shall change the sun, and the moon, and the stars, then he shall gloriously rest in that seventh day . . . Lastly, he saith unto them: Your new moons and your Sabbaths I cannot bear them. Consider what he means by it. The Sabbaths, says he, which ye now keep are not acceptable unto me, but those which I have made when resting from all things, I shall begin the eighth day,—that is, the beginning of the other world; for which cause we observe the eighth day with gladness, on which also Jesus rose from the dead, and, having been manifested openly, he ascended into heaven." (*Ep.* i. ch. 15, Archbishop Wake's translation.)

Very strong evidence would be required to convince any reasonable man that such fanciful matter as this proceeded from the associate of St Paul. The passage, however, as Domville allows, "certainly is admissible evidence to show that in the time of the writer of the Epistle the first day of the week was by some Christians,—somewhere or other, and after some fashion or other,—observed and distinguished from the other days of the week." (Vol. i. p. 218.) He adds: "Let those who, after reading the foregoing extracts from the Epistle, still cling to the belief that Barnabas was the writer of it, read in the epistle itself what almost immediately follows upon the passage just quoted. I cannot copy it, its absurdity is so far exceeded by its grossness." (P. 228.) The epistle, then, he holds, "was not written by Barnabas; it is not merely unworthy of him,—it would be a disgrace to him, and, what is of much more consequence, a disgrace to the Christian religion, as being the production of one of the authorised teachers of that religion in the time of the apostles, which circumstance would seriously damage the evidence of its divine origin." (P. 233.)

Mr Gilfillan, who, like many other advocates of Sabbatarianism, accepts the epistle as undoubtedly genuine, conceives that it "expressly mentions *the universal celebration by the Church* of the eighth day *as a holy day*, in place of the former seventh day." (P. 9.) This, it will be seen, is a much larger interpretation than that of Domville, who, it may be added, reproves Mr Gurney for interpolating the word "holy" in translating the most important clause thus: "We keep the eighth day as a joyful holy day." "From this translation," says Sir William, "his readers would be disposed to imagine, as he probably intended they should, that the day was principally devoted to prayer and other holy exercises; whilst there can be little doubt, from the description given in the epistle, slight as it is, that

the principal characteristic of the day was festivity, in its ordinary sense, and very possibly, therefore, the only religious ceremony of the day was the giving of thanks at the feast. That no Sabbatical gloom hung over the celebration of this 'joyful holy day,' Mr Gurney's first epithet and Archbishop Wake's more literal translation sufficiently testify; and that, in fact, there was, in the celebration of the day, a total disregard of the old Sabbath, and consequently of all its austerities, may be gathered from the manner in which the writer speaks of Sabbaths in the passages already quoted from the epistle. He there represents the Almighty as declaring of the old Sabbaths, they 'are not acceptable unto me, but those which I have made, when resting from all things, I shall begin the eighth day,—that is, the beginning of other world.'

"Whatever, therefore, was, in the time of the writer of the epistle, the peculiar mode of observing the Sunday, it could not have been Sabbatical; for he represents the observance of the old Sabbaths to be no longer acceptable to God, and the observance of new Sabbaths, he tells us, was reserved for the world to come.

"He is even, if possible, still more explicit on this point in a previous chapter of the epistle. He there quotes the well-known passages from Isaiah (i. 11, &c.): 'To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord . . . . Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and Sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with: it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting.' And upon those passages the writer of the epistle makes the following comment: 'These things therefore hath God abolished, that the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is without the yoke of any such necessity, might have the spiritual offering of men themselves.'

"Although no importance whatever can be attached to anything which the writer of this epistle may have been pleased to assert authoritatively, as from himself, in regard to doctrine, the above comment is decisive evidence of the fact, that in his time Sunday was not Sabbatically observed; which fact, although appearing in the depositions of his own witness, Mr Gurney has found it convenient to suppress." (Pp. 234–36.)

In his second volume, p. 132, Domville infers from the passage in chap. ii. that "the writer did not believe the text in Gen. ii. 2 implied a command to mankind at the creation to observe a Sabbath, and that he did not know of such a tenet being held in his day by any one else; for if he knew of its existence, he would scarcely have failed to allude to it, since it was so directly opposed to his own interpretation of the text."

See also Baden Powell's *Christianity without Judaism*, p. 158; Bishop Hinds' *History of the Rise &c. of the Church*, pp. 169, 191; and Gieseler, i. 111. The allegorical style of the epistle is noticed, below, ii. 108.

Page 119.—IGNATIUS.

The passage here quoted from the *Epistle to the Magnesians* is adverted to in several parts of the present work, especially vol. i. p. 259, and ii. 189, 299; in the last two of which places it will be seen that Dr Isaac Watts, like Archbishop Wake himself, admits that the words κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωὴν ζῶντες *may* be rendered "living according to *the Lord's life*," while Evanson and Gilbert Wakefield maintain that they *must* be so translated. Even Mr James allows it to be questionable "whether Ignatius in this passage intended to speak of the Lord's Day" (p. 115). Dr Hessey describes the passage as "containing a contrast between Judaism and Christianity, and, as an exemplification of it, an opposition between Sabbatizing and living the life of the Lord, κυριακὴν ζωήν;" for he does not think it necessary to reject, with Cotelerius, the latter of these words (p. 54). So Mr Baden Powell also understands the passage (*Christianity without Judaism*, p. 156). Dr Hessey states in a note, that the Epistle to the Magnesians "is not allowed by Dr Cureton; but as his palmary argument against it seems to be the fact of its not being contained in a certain imperfect volume, I have thought it better, with Professor Hussey, to await further discoveries and stronger reasons for disallowing it" (p. 369). He then quotes the original Greek.

With respect to the undoubtedly spurious passage quoted above, p. 120, from the pseudo-Ignatian Epistle to the Magnesians, § 9, and the original of which is partly given by Dr Hessey in his 383d page, I may instance, among the many who found on it as genuine, Brunsmann, Willison, and Doddridge (see below, ii. 141, 160, 210).* By these writers, and most of the others who have adduced it, the passage is employed to prove the transference of the Sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week. But by some of the older disputants it was used to show that in the time of Ignatius the Church observed both the Sabbath and the Lord's Day. Dr Hessey adverts to its spuriousness in his second Lecture, p. 74; and he adds in the Appendix the following remarks: "Great confusion has been caused by this version of the epistle being supposed to be genuine. The most absurd statements have been founded upon it, and many of our own writers have been led away by it. A very careful examination of the subject has resulted in the statements made in the text of this Lecture, that if the Sabbath was observed at all by Christians during the first

* By Dr Watts (below, ii. 189), and Mr Holden (*The Christian Sabbath*, p. 294), it is allowed to be spurious, though the latter quotes it—for what purpose I do not see. Mr Gilfillan ignores the passage.

See the remarks of Usher on the corruption of the works of Ignatius, above, p. 259; also Hinds' *History*, p. 192. Usher was the first of those who have laboured to restore them to their primitive state. His edition was published at Oxford in 1644.

three centuries, it was observed in one of the following ways:— 1. As the Apostles observed it, compassionately and charitably, and in order to meet the Jews upon it, but not as of obligation; 2. As the Nazarenes observed it—as a remnant of Judaism which, as Jews, they could not divest themselves of, and were just allowed in by the forbearance of the Church, but not commended for retaining; 3. As the Ebionites observed it—as a mixture of Judaism with Christianity, which they were considered heretics for enforcing upon all as necessary to salvation; 4. As a Christian, not as a Jewish day—*i. e.*, as a mere name for the day succeeding Friday and preceding Sunday. There was, and there could have been, no date in the ante-Nicene period, when the Christian Church observed two-sevenths of time, a Jewish Sabbath and a Christian Sunday. Hence, as I observe in Lecture III. pp. 102, 103, as well as in this Lecture, the Apostolical Constitutions, which echo and even develop the statements in the pseudo-Ignatian document, must be assigned to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. For the manner in which the Eastern Church eventually treated the Sabbath I must refer the reader to that Lecture, and to the notes upon the pages of it here quoted. It may be observed in passing, that the phrase *μετὰ τὸ σαββατίσαι* has caused those who have attempted to translate it no small trouble. Cawdrey, for instance (*Sabb. Rediv.* vol. i. p. 573), puzzled by finding that it apparently makes the Christian institution inferior to the Jewish, renders it 'setting aside the Sabbath.'" (P. 383.) See also James, pp. 157, 255. The so-called Apostolical Constitutions assert that the Church *ought* to observe the Sabbath as well as the Lord's Day, while the pseudo-Ignatian epistle, as understood by Dr Hessey, affirms merely that it *did so.* (P. 74.)

Mr. Cureton's work referred to above, p. 120, bears the following title: "Corpus Ignatianum: a complete collection of the Ignatian Epistles, genuine, interpolated, and spurious; together with numerous extracts from them, as quoted by ecclesiastical writers down to the tenth century, in Syriac, Greek, and Latin; an English translation of the Syriac text, copious notes, and introduction: By William Cureton, M.A., F.R.S., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. Lond. 1849." It is noticed in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xc. p. 155. The treatise of Lipsius is entitled, "Ueber die Æchtheit der Syrischen Recension der Ignatianischen Briefe, von Dr. ph. Lic. theol. Richard Adelbert Lipsius, Privatdocent d. Theol. in Leipzig." This paper fills the first "Heft" of Riedner's *Zeitschrift für die Historische Theologie*, for 1856, pp. 1–160. See article in Burgess's *Jour. of Sacred Lit.*, Jan. 1857, p. 363. Archbishop Wake's volume, repeatedly above referred to, has the following title: "The Genuine Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers: St Barnabas, St Ignatius, St Clement, St Polycarp; the Shepherd of Hermas; and the Martyrdoms of St Ignatius and St Polycarp, translated by William Wake, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury; with Preliminary Discourses," Lond. 1693; 7th edition, London, 1840.

Page 120.—JUSTIN MARTYR.

The earliest clear and unquestioned account which we have of the custom of the primitive Church to hold religious meetings on Sunday, occurs in Justin's *Apology for the Christians*, §§ 87–89. The passage is quoted and remarked on below, ii. 4; and certain inferences which have been drawn from it are noticed in pp. 55, 154, and 300 of the same volume.

In a noted passage of his *Dialogue with Trypho*, he says that they who lived before Abraham were not circumcised, and they who lived before Moses neither observed the Sabbath nor offered sacrifices. (See below, ii. 298; also i. 167, 201, 214, and ii. 64, 66, 259, 297.) Bishop Kaye, however, remarks:—"It has been inferred, as it appears to me erroneously, from Justin's reasoning in this passage, that he believed the first institution of the Sabbath, and of the rite of sacrifice, to have taken place during the sojourning of the Israelites in the wilderness. I conceive him to have alluded to the peculiar sacrifices of the Mosaic law, and to the peculiar mode in which the Jews kept the Sabbath. In p. 236 he speaks of the sacrifices offered by Abel." (*On the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr*, 2d ed. p. 25; Lond. 1836.) This is not only a singular, but, as it seems to me, a most unnatural mode of interpreting Justin; and if the word "sacrifices" was really written by him, I prefer to believe that it dropped inadvertently from his pen, and that he really considered the Sabbath to be an exclusively Jewish institution. Grotius, as we have seen above, (p. 220), thinks the meaning of Justin to be, not that the patriarchs did not statedly *worship* on the seventh day of the week, but merely that they did not also *sabbatize*, or *rest from labour;* which rest he conceives to have been imposed as a religious duty on the Jews alone. An objection to this view is, that it gives the "sanctification" (or setting apart) of the seventh day a different meaning at the end of the Fourth Commandment from what it has at the beginning. But whatever may have been Justin's opinion as to a patriarchal Sabbath—and I agree with Bishop Lake (above, i. 214) that he had no better means of knowledge concerning it than we ourselves possess—it is clear from his reasoning with Trypho that he neither regarded the Sabbath as binding on Christians, nor conceived that the Lord's Day was *the* or *any* Sabbath. (See below, ii. 297–8; also the *The Church of England Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1855, vol. xxxvii. p. 112.) And it is further to be remarked, that he nowhere speaks of the observance of that day either as appointed by Christ or his apostles, or as grounded on their example, or as originating otherwise than in the free choice of the Christian people. (See above, p. 223; and below, ii. 333.) The only reasons assigned by him for the practice are—1. That it was the day in which "God changed darkness and matter, and made the world;" and, 2. that on it Jesus Christ our

Saviour arose from the dead. A primeval Sabbath still binding is ignored by Justin, nor does he anywhere base the practice of Sunday meetings on the Fourth Commandment.

Heylin says truly, that "we cannot learn by Justin Martyr either how long those meetings lasted, or whether they assembled more than once a day, or what they did after the meetings were dissolved. But sure it is," he adds, "that their assemblies held no longer than our morning service; that they met only before noon; for Justin saith, that when they met they used to receive the Sacrament; and that the service being done, every man went again to his daily labours." (*Hist. of the Sabbath*, 2d. ed., Part II. ch. ii. § 8.) The conclusion of this sentence is ambiguous, but, looking at the commencement of the passage, we cannot interpret the final clause as designed to set forth what Justin says; it must therefore be connected with "sure it is." Whether Heylin, taking care not to commit *himself*, intended however, as Mr James (p. 171) suggests, to convey to the reader of this "curiously constructed sentence" the impression that Justin says that the service being done, every man went again to his daily labours, I think very doubtful; and certainly Mr James, or rather the editor of Heylin's *Tracts* (whom he seems to follow), has, by substituting a colon for Heylin's semicolon after the word "noon," made the ambiguity of the passage still greater than it was before.

What we learn and do not learn from the passage in Justin's *Apology*, is stated by Sir William Domville as follows: "From it we learn the fact, that in somewhat more than a century after the death of Christ, the Sunday had come to be regarded as a stated day of public prayer and religious instruction; but that it was observed also as a Sabbath, there is still no trace to be found. All that Justin states of the religious rites of the day is not only compatible with the belief that it was not Sabbatically observed, but authorizes, by its silence on that point, a clear inference that, except during the time of divine service, the Christians of that period lawfully might, and actually did, follow their worldly pursuits on the Sunday. This inference appears irresistible when we further consider that Justin, in this part of his *Apology*, is professedly intending to describe the mode in which Christians observed the Sunday. He accordingly states what it was, which, from a sense of religious duty, they did on the Sunday; but if there were anything which from a sense of religious duty they did not do on that day, it was equally within his purpose, and equally incumbent upon him, to notice that also; for it must be quite as essential to the proper observance of the Sunday to omit doing what is unlawful to be done in it, as it is to do that which is required to be done. Yet Justin says not a word of the duty and the practice of abstaining from labour on the Sunday, a conclusive proof that no such duty was then known to Christians, and no such practice in use among them. It would be no sufficient answer to this argument to reply, that it was not likely Justin should enter into such full particulars in a memorial addressed to a heathen emperor. Why should he not? He evidently intends

to give all information requisite to an accurate knowledge of the subject he treats upon. He is even so particular as to tell the emperor why the Sunday was observed; and he does, in fact, specify every active duty belonging to the day—the Scripture-reading, the exhortation, the public prayer, the sacrament, and the almsgiving; why then should he not also inform the emperor of the one inactive duty of the day,—the duty of abstaining from doing in it any manner of work? The emperor well knew that such abstinence was the custom of all his Jewish subjects on the Saturday (*die Saturni*), and could readily have understood it to be the custom of his Christian subjects on the Sunday (*die Solis*, as Justin calls it in his *Apology*). And therefore, if such was the custom of Christians in Justin's time, his description of their Sunday duties was essentially defective. It is not, however, at all probable he would intend to omit noticing so important a characteristic of the day as the Sabbatical observance of it, if it was in fact Sabbatically observed. But even were it probable he should intend to omit all mention of it in his *Apology* to the emperor, it would be impossible to imagine any sufficient cause for his remaining silent on the subject in his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew;* and this, whether the *Dialogue* was real or imaginary, for if the latter, Justin would still, as Dr Lardner has observed, 'choose to write in character.'

"Now, in that *Dialogue* the Sabbath is made a prominent topic, and the way in which Justin speaks of it precludes all belief, on any rational grounds, that the Christians then observed any Sabbath whatever. He remarks to Trypho, that the elements are never idle, and keep no Sabbaths; and asserts, that as the Sabbath originated with Moses, so it ceased with Christ.* How could he reason thus in disputing with a Jew, if it was in the power of the Jew to reply, 'Why, then, do you make a Sabbath of your Sunday?'

"The testimony of Justin, therefore, proves most clearly two facts of great importance in the Sabbath controversy: the one, that the Christians in his time observed the Sunday as a prayer day: the other, that they did not observe it as a Sabbath day.

"Further we need not carry our inquiry into non-Scriptural evidence: for as regards the observance of Sunday as a prayer day, no one doubts but that it has been uniformly so observed by the Christian Church from the time of Justin to our own times; and as regards its observance as a Sabbath, it matters not when it came to be so observed, if, as is manifest, it was not so observed in the time of Justin. I may remark, however, that in point of fact no historical evidence exists of the Sabbatical observance of Sunday, which is of a date prior to the beginning of the fourth century (A.D. 321), when, as is well known, it pleased the Emperor Constantine, of his own imperial authority, to command thenceforth the observance of a Sunday Sabbath." (Vol. i. pp. 274-277.)

* See below, ii. 298.

Mr Gilfillan, on the other hand, goes so far as to say (though without anywhere quoting or referring to a single passage of Justin's writings as bearing out the assertion), that this Father "has *positively affirmed* the Divine authority of the Lord's Day." (P. 16.) Of so strong an averment, and the implied additional allegation that Justin regarded Sunday as the Sabbath, Mr Gilfillan surely ought to have produced some evidence before proceeding, as he straightway does, to scold Sir William Domville as a writer who, in the passage above quoted, misinterprets scandalously the words of Justin, and, "to accomplish the ungodly and unphilanthropic purpose of overthrowing a Divine institution, neglects to ascertain the meaning of words employed by ancient writers, or of their views elsewhere expressed." The "ungodliness" of Domville's purpose consists, of course, in his wish to overthrow a theory which, though Mr Gilfillan regards it as Divine truth, he himself, after a careful investigation, believes to be human error—while his want of philanthropy is equally well evinced by his belief, set forth in a passage quoted below, ii. 267, that possibly "the Sunday would be more generally and more religiously observed than it is, were the observance of it placed upon the secure ground of utility, rather than on the debateable ground of Scripture authority." As for the charge that Sir William has neglected to ascertain the meaning of certain unspecified words, I can only guess that "the Sabbath" is one of them; which word in Justin's writings, says Mr Gilfillan, "must be understood to signify the Jewish Sabbath." (P. 16.) Now, so far is Sir William from understanding or saying that he understands it otherwise, that he constantly reiterates that it never was used by the early Fathers to signify any day but that of the Jewish Sabbath; and what he maintains concerning Justin (as we have seen) is, that in disputing about the Sabbath with Trypho the Jew, he uses arguments which he *could not have used* had he regarded the Lord's Day as a Sabbath.

Dr Eadie of Glasgow, without maintaining that Justin actually affirms the Divine authority of the Lord's Day, and its identity with the Sabbath, conceives that from the 89th section of his *Apology* we may *conclude* that such was his belief. The section referred to is this: "We all of us assemble together on Sunday, because it is the first day in which God changed darkness and matter, and made the world. On the same day also Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead. For he was crucified the day before that of Saturn, and on the day after that of Saturn, which is the day of the Sun, he appeared to his apostles and disciples and taught them what we now submit to your consideration;" or, as Dr Eadie strangely renders it, "taught them the things which we enjoin you to observe."* On which Dr Eadie remarks:

* Nothing can be less obscure than the Greek words so translated: ἐδίδαξε ταῦτα, ἅπερ εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ ὑμῖν ἀνεδώκαμεν—"taught them what we now *submit to your consideration*." Justin, it is obvious, could never

"However confused the previous portion of Justin's statement seems to be, it appears, both from his reference to the resurrection of Christ and to the instructions of the risen Saviour, that he pleaded divine authority for all Christian practices,—for the Sabbath, too, which commemorated Christ's rising." (*United Presb. Mag.* i. 307.) But, in the first place, Justin does not speak of the Sabbath at all, but only of the Sunday. Secondly, if he means to say that the religious meetings on that day were *commemorative* of Christ's rising (which is not quite clear), he must be held also to have said, in the first place, that they commemorated the creation of light and the formation of the world. Thirdly, whatever he may have meant to affirm as to the instruction given by Christ to His disciples on the Sunday of His resurrection, it is clear that nothing could be *known* to him beyond what the Scriptures record, and what we ourselves may read and judge of. Fourthly, as the *Apology* describes some practices of the Christians which Dr Eadie himself will not contend for as of Divine authority (*e.g.* the saluting each other with a kiss, and partaking of bread and wine mixed with water, after the performance of baptism, § 85), the argument would prove too much if it were good for anything. And lastly, what probability is there, that if Justin meant to claim divine authority for Sunday observance, he would not have claimed it explicitly, instead of *assigning explicitly two other reasons*, and leaving the Roman emperor in most imminent danger of supposing that these were all?—To Trypho, it is true, he assigns a *third* and abundantly fanciful reason for the pre-eminence of Sunday, but even to the Jew he is silent about divine authority. "The command to circumcise infants on the eighth day," says he, "was a type of the true circumcision by which we were circumcised from error and wickedness through our Lord Jesus Christ, who rose from the dead on the first day of the week (τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων); therefore it remains the first and chief of all the days." (*Dialogue with Trypho*, § 41.) Dr Hessey, after quoting this, observes, that "as for σαββατίζειν [to sabbatize], Justin constantly uses that with exclusive reference to the Jewish law. He carefully distinguishes Saturday (ἡ κρονικὴ), the day after [that on] which our Lord was crucified, from Sunday (ἡ μετὰ τὴν κρονικὴν ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέρα), upon which he rose from the dead." (P. 56.) In reference to these names of the days Dr Hessey adds the following remarks:—

"You will have noticed Justin's employment of the heathen designations for the seventh and first days of the week. It should be remembered that before the death of Hadrian, A.D. 138, the hebdomadal division (which Dion Cassius, writing in the third century, derives, together with its nomenclature, from Egypt) had, in matters of common life, almost universally superseded, in Greece, and even among the Romans, the national divisions of

have addressed to the heathen emperor, Antoninus Pius, the words put into his mouth by Dr Eadie.

the lunar month.* And you will have observed also that the same writer who speaks of the whole of a Christian's life being a perpetual Sabbath, speaks also of Sunday being held in especial honour. It is obvious that, as Holy Scripture itself does, he is in the one case spiritualising the now defunct Jewish law, in the other, mentioning a Christian ordinance on its own independent grounds." (Pp. 57, 58.)

Page 120.—DIONYSIUS, *Bishop of Corinth.*

Of this bishop only a fragment of a letter to the Christians at Rome has been preserved (see above, p. 106); and the portion of it with which we are here concerned runs thus:—"To-day we kept the Lord's holy day (*τὴν σήμερον οὖν κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν*), in which we read the epistle written by you to us, as also the first epistle of Clement." (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* B. iv. c. 23.)

The original Greek is given by Dr Hessey, p. 58. In a note, p. 372, he says:—"Valesius, whose version Dr Routh adopts, translates the passage thus: 'Hodie sacrum diem Dominicum transegimus.' I am not quite satisfied with this rendering, but cannot suggest any other, except on the supposition that the sentence has lost its apodosis.—*Rel. Sacræ*, vol. i. p. 180, from *Euseb. H. E.* iv. 23." In the translation of Eusebius published at London in 1847, p. 176, the passage is rendered, "To-day we have passed the Lord's holy day, in which we have read your epistle."

MELITO, Bishop of Sardis, a contemporary of Dionysius, is said by Eusebius, iv. 26, to have composed, among other works, a treatise "on the Lord's Day," if this be the meaning of *περὶ τῆς Κυριακῆς*. (See Routh, *Reliq. Sacræ*, i. 120; or Hessey, p. 372.) Dr Eadie boldly styles it "a book expressly on the Sabbath." (*United Presb. Mag.*, i. 308.)

Page 120.—IRENÆUS.

"His view respecting the Sabbath," says Dr Hessey, "was this—that like the whole Jewish Law it was symbolical, that it was intended to teach men to serve God every day, and that it was likewise typical of the future kingdom of God, in which he who has persevered in godliness shall rest and partake of the Table of God.

* "From Dion Cassius we learn the fact given in the text, that the hebdomadal division of time had become prevalent; 'but (he adds) it is not long, so to say, since it began.'—*Histor.* xxxvii. 18. He then proceeds to explain the reasons why the days were named respectively from the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn. He says that the Egyptians named them thus, and that the cycle itself came from them. Compare Dr Whewell's *Elements of Morality*, &c., B. IV. c. 16. But see my fourth Lecture, pp. 139–142. On the whole subject consult Selden, *De Jure Naturali et Gentium*; Greswell's *Fasti Temporis Catholici*; and a learned paper by Archdeacon Hare, *On the Names of the Days of the Week*, in the first volume of the *Philological Museum*." (Hessey, p. 372.) [See also above, pp. 235, 237.]

('Regnum, in quo requiescens homo ille, qui perseveraverit Deo assistere, participabit de mensâ Dei.') 'Abraham without circumcision, and without observance of Sabbaths, believed in God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness, and he was called the friend of God. . This is an evidence of the symbolical and temporary character of those ordinances, and of their inability to render the comers thereunto perfect.'* But coincident with this abolition of the Sabbath, his evidence as to the existence of the Lord's Day is clear and distinct. It is spoken of in one of the best known of his Fragments.† And a record of the part which he took in the Quarta-Deciman controversy shows that in his time it was an institution beyond dispute. The point in question was this. Should Easter be celebrated in connection with the Jewish Passover, on whatever day of the week that might happen to fall, with the Churches of Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia; or on the Lord's Day, with the rest of the Christian world? The Churches in Gaul, then under the superintendence of Irenæus, agreed upon a synodical epistle to Victor, Bishop of Rome, in which occurred words somewhat to this effect: 'The mystery of the Lord's resurrection may not be celebrated on any other day than the Lord's Day, and on this alone should we observe the breaking off of the Paschal Fast.' (*ὡς ἂν μηδ' ἐν ἄλλῃ ποτε τῆς Κυριακῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὸ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτελοῖτο τοῦ Κυρίου μυστήριον, καὶ ὅπως ἐν ταύτῃ μόνῃ τῶν κατὰ τὸ πάσχα νηστειῶν φυλαττοίμεθα τὰς ἐπιλύσεις.*)† You will observe that while traditions vary as to the *yearly* celebration of Christ's resurrection, the *weekly* celebration of it is one upon which no diversity exists, or is even hinted at." (Pp. 58, 59.) The passages are given in Latin and Greek by Dr Hessey, in his Appendix, pp. 372–3.

That Irenæus regarded the Sabbath as a purely Mosaic institution is evident here, and the fact has often been noticed (see above, i. 167, 201; and ii. 64, 298). It is true that a passage about the Decalogue, at first sight appearing to indicate a contrary opinion, is to be found in his works; for he says: "Preparing man for a life of holiness, the Lord himself with his own voice spake the words of the Decalogue alike to all; these commandments, therefore, continue with us, extended and enlarged—not abolished by his coming in the flesh. But the ordinances of bondage he gave to the people separately by the voice of Moses, as Moses himself says, 'And the Lord commanded me at that time to teach you statutes and judgments.' These, then, which were given as a yoke of bondage, and as a sign to them, he has blotted out by the new covenant of liberty. But what are natural, and becoming men who are free, and common to all,—these commandments he has enlarged and extended, ungrudgingly, bountifully granting to men through

* "Contra Hæres., iv. 16, p. 246, ed. Ben., fol., Par. 1710.

† "Fragmentum lib. de Pascha, apud Just. M. Resp. ad Quæst. 115 ad Orthod., p. 490 B., fol., Par. 1742.

‡ "Euseb., Eccl. Hist., v. 23.

their adoption to know God as their Father, and to love him with all their heart, and without unwillingness to follow His word, abstaining not from evil deeds alone, but even from the desire of them." (*Adv. Hæres.*, lib. iv. c. 31, quoted by James, p. 78.) Holden, p. 297, adduces the first sentence of this passage as affording, in his opinion, clear proof "that Irenæus considered the Sabbath, the law of which holds a conspicuous place in the Decalogue, as obligatory upon Christians;" while Mr Gilfillan, again, finds in the passage no less than a recognition by Irenæus of "the Fourth Commandment *as the abiding rule of the Christian holy day*," or Sunday. (P. 390.) The passage in Irenæus is certainly a remarkable one, as being perhaps the earliest indication of that Judaizing tendency which, in the fourth and following centuries, was so conspicuous in the Christian Church (see below, ii. 383, 389). But what does Irenæus mean by the "*enlargement and extension*" of the Decalogue in its application to Christians? and is the Fourth Commandment, literally understood, one of the precepts which he includes among those that are "natural, and becoming men who are free, and common to all?" Certainly not; for we know from the immediately preceding chapter of his work, that he looked upon the Fourth Commandment as enjoining to those under the new covenant that *spiritual Sabbath* of which we read so frequently in the writings of the Fathers—a rest from evil works, not on the seventh day only, but during all their lives. (See Holden, p. 325; James, p. 172; and compare Augustine's view of the Fourth Commandment, quoted above, p. 135.) The assumption of Mr Gilfillan, that Irenæus regarded the Fourth Commandment as a precept to Christians to keep the Lord's Day, is without the shadow of a foundation; nor has he any good ground for imagining that this Father, in saying elsewhere that Christ, when healing the sick, did nothing beyond the law of the Sabbath Day, and in hence concluding that "the true sanctification of the Sabbath consists in doing works of mercy" (*Adv. Hæres.*, lib. iv. c. 19; Gilfillan, p. 380), means by "the Sabbath," not the seventh day of the week, but the first.

The spurious passage ascribed to Irenæus by Dwight, Paley, and a crowd of their followers (including Bishop Wilson in his seventh sermon), has already been mentioned above (p. 120; see also ii. 257, 268); and Sir William Domville has been referred to as the critic to whom we are indebted for an exposure of the ignorance of those who continue to quote them. The passage in which he performs this useful service will form so fit an accompaniment to that in which he has rid us of Bishop Andrews' time-honoured "Dominicum servasti?" (above, p. 297), that I shall here present it to the reader in full:—

"Mr Gurney," says he, "in speaking of the Christians of the second century, says, 'Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, A.D. 167, expressly asserts that the Lord's Day was their Sabbath. 'On the Lord's Day, every one of us Christians keeps the Sabbath, meditating on the law, and rejoicing in the works of God.'' In a note,

Mr Gurney adds, as his authority, 'Quoted by Dwight, *Theology*, vol. iv. p. 26.'

"Who is Dwight? and why should Mr Gurney in this case, and, as I believe, in this case only, quote one of the Fathers at second-hand? For Mr Gurney, it is evident from his *Brief Remarks*, is well versed in the original writings of the Fathers; and if so, he ought not to rely on any person but himself for faithful quotations from them.*

"Now I find, by a biographical memoir prefixed to Dwight's *Theology*, that the author, Dr Dwight, was a minister of the gospel in America, and president of a college there, and that he was born in 1752 and died in 1817. He had the misfortune to be afflicted with a disorder in his eyes from the early age of twenty-three, 'a calamity (says his biographer) by which he was deprived of the capacity for reading and study. . . . . During the greater part of forty years, he was not able to read fifteen minutes in the twenty-four hours; and often, for days and weeks together, the pain which he endured in that part of the head, immediately behind the eyes, amounted to anguish. . . . . The knowledge which he gained from books after the period above mentioned [by which the editor must mean his age of twenty-three] was almost exclusively at second-hand, by the aid of others (pp. 84, 85). . . . . Having been driven by necessity to pursue his many avocations without the use of his eyes, his memory, naturally strong, acquired a power of retention unusual and surprising. It was not the power of recollecting words, or dates, or numbers of any kind,—it was the power of remembering facts and thoughts, especially his own thoughts' (p. 86).

"The account given of his studies, and of his public and private character, in the interesting memoir of his life, proves, beyond all question, that Dr Dwight was a man held in the highest esteem for his integrity, learning, and talent; nevertheless, the above extracts as clearly prove that he was precisely the sort of writer who, having to trust entirely to his memory, could not be relied upon for accuracy of quotation.

* "It appears from the obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for March 1847, that Mr Gurney studied at Oxford, and that, although a Quaker, he had a thoroughly modern orthodox Church of England education, which may in some degree account for his anti-*Barclay Apology* opinions on the question of the Sabbath. 'When his education ceased to be conducted at home, it was intrusted to the Rev. J. H. Browne, a clergyman in Hingham, ... and it was subsequently matured at Oxford, where he had an excellent private tutor in the Rev. John Rogers.' He acquired 'an extensive acquaintance with the Hebrew and Syriac languages, as well as with classics, mathematics, and general science. Attached, even in early life, to biblical studies, he had critically read the Old and New Testaments, in the original languages, in the Syriac and in the Latin vulgate, before he was twenty-two years of age; and he was well acquainted with rabbinical and patristic writings' (meaning, it is to be presumed, by the latter epithet, the writings of the Church Fathers).

"His work consists of a series of sermons, in five volumes, published after his death from the manuscript of an amanuensis, to whom he had dictated them (p. 87).

"The quotation from Irenæus occurs in one of these sermons.* The original passage in Irenæus is not given by Dr Dwight in the edition which I have seen.† We have only his English version of it, nor is the place where it is to be found in the works of Irenæus pointed out; and, indeed, a particular reference could hardly be expected, considering the author's melancholy affliction, almost amounting to total loss of sight, and considering, also, his not having lived to superintend the publication of his *Theology*.

"Dr Dwight, consequently, was a writer whom it was peculiarly unsafe to rely upon as an authority in quotation. Mr Gurney ought, therefore, to have tested his accuracy, in the present instance, by consulting the original. He implies that he did so, for, not content with Dr Dwight's introduction to the quotation, which is simply, 'Irenæus says,' he emphatically declares that 'Irenæus expressly asserts.'‡

"Did Mr Gurney, then, actually consult the works of Irenæus for the passage quoted? I should hope not; for if he did, it must have become known to him that no such passage is there to be found.

"But, although not to be found in Irenæus, there are in the writings ascribed to another Father, namely, in the interpolated Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians, and in one of its interpolated passages, expressions so closely resembling those in Dr Dwight's quotation, as to leave no doubt of the source from which he quoted. I shall here place them side by side, giving those of Ignatius, or rather his interpolator, in the Latin version of that Father by Cotelerius.

DWIGHT.	IGNATIUS.
On the Lord's day	Dominicum celebret diem
Every one of us Christians	Unusquisque vestrum / Omnis Christi amator
Keeps the Sabbath,	Sabbatizet,
Meditating in the law and rejoicing in the works of God.	Meditatione legis gaudens, opificium Dei admirans.

"Dr Paley, also [below, ii. 257], quotes, as from Irenæus, a similar passage, which is evidently derived from the same source,

* "In vol. iv. p. 28 of the edition I consulted, a reprint from an American edition, which was published by Baynes (London) in 1819.

† "By the original passage, I mean only that of the old Latin version. The original writings of Irenæus were in the Greek language, but they are now extant only in an ancient Latin version, excepting some fragments preserved by Eusebius and other Greek writers. (Lardner, vol. ii. p. 157.)

‡ "Dr Dwight's words are, 'Irenæus, a disciple of Polycarp, the disciple of St John himself, who lived in the second century, says,— 'On the Lord's day, every one of us Christians keeps the Sabbath, meditating in the law (or Scriptures), and rejoicing in the works of God.'

the interpolated Epistle of Ignatius, and being in Latin, the resemblance is the more striking :—

PALEY.	IGNATIUS.
Unusquisque nostrum	Unusquisque vestrum
Sabbatizat spiritualiter,	Sabbatizet spiritualiter,
Meditatione legis gaudens, opificium Dei admirans.	Meditatione legis gaudens, opificium Dei admirans.

"The reader may perhaps wish to see the whole passage from Ignatius. It is as follows :—'*Unusquisque vestrum sabbatizet spiritualiter, meditatione legis gaudens*, non corporis remissione, *opificium Dei admirans*, non pridiana comedens, ac tepida bibens, et ad præscripta spatia obambulans, et saltationibus plausibusque insanis oblectans se. At post Sabbatum *omnis Christi amator Dominicum celebret diem* resurrectioni consecratum Dominicæ, reginam et maximam omnium dierum.' (*Interpolated Epistle*, c. 9.)*

"It may fairly be presumed that Mr Gurney must have been well acquainted with Paley's *Moral Philosophy*, or at least with that portion of it which treats of the Sabbath. If, however, he was ignorant of the passage in question having been there quoted, as well as in Dwight's *Theology*, I cannot but remark how singularly fortunate it was for his argument, since he was thereby enabled to avail himself conscientiously of Dwight's quotation, which was so much better suited to his purpose than Paley's; first, because it mentions the Lord's Day, which Paley's does not; and, secondly, because it omits the word spiritually (*spiritualiter*), which Paley's quotation gives. The significance of this word, as excluding all pretence for asserting that the Christians of the time, when the Epistle of Ignatius was interpolated, observed an actual Sabbath (by rest from bodily labour, *corporis remissione*), is too obvious to require elucidation." (Domville, i. 127–132.)

Page 121.—Tertullian.

"The great and learned enthusiast, Tertullian," says Dr Hessey, "is our next writer. His date may be placed at the termination of the second century. Of course I do not forget that he became a Montanist about A.D. 202, and that, therefore, the orthodoxy of some of his works is more than questionable. But I quote him, as in other cases, as a witness to facts. Here are some of his expressions :—'He who argues for Sabbath-keeping and circumcision must show that Adam and Abel, and the just of old time, observed these things.' (Qui contendit et Sabbatum

* "Unwilling to rely merely upon the identity of the passage in Ignatius, with the quotations made as from Irenæus by Drs Dwight and Paley, I have carefully searched through all the extant works of Irenæus, and can, with certainty, state that no such passage, or any one at all resembling it, is there to be found. The edition I consulted was that by Massuet (Paris, 1710); but to assure myself still further, I have since looked to the editions by Erasmus (Paris, 1563) and Grabe (Oxford, 1702), and in neither do I find the passage in question."

adhuc observandum, quasi Salutis medelam, et circumcisionem octavi diei, propter mortis comminationem; doceat, in præteritum justos sabbatizasse et circumcidisse, et sic amicos Dei effectos . . . cum neque circumcisum neque sabbatizantem Deus Adam instituerit, consequenter quoque sobolem ejus Abel offerentem sibi sacrificia, incircumcisum nec sabbatizantem laudavit.*)' Then he goes on to insist upon the idea which we have found elsewhere, that the Sabbath was figurative of rest from sin, and typical of man's final rest in God. It and other ceremonial matters belonging to the Mosaic dispensation, were only intended to last until a new lawgiver should arise who should introduce the realities of which these were shadows. Of the Lord's Day, he says, in other works, 'Sunday we give to joy.' (Diem solis lætitiæ indulgemus.) The passage in full is, 'Æque ac si diem solis lætitiæ indulgemus, aliâ longè ratione ac religione Solis; secundo loco ab eis sumus, qui diem Saturni otio et victui decernunt, exorbitantes et ipsi ab Judaico more quem ignorant.' (Tertull. *Apol.* c. 16.) 'We have nothing to do with Sabbaths or the other Jewish festivals, much less with those of the heathen. We have our own solemnities, the Lord's Day, for instance, and Pentecoste. As the heathen confine themselves to their festivals and do not observe ours, let us confine ourselves to ours and not meddle with those belonging to them.' (Nobis, quibus Sabbata extranea sunt et neomeniæ et feriæ a Deo aliquando dilectæ; Saturnalia et Januariæ, et Brumæ, et Matronalia frequentantur, munera commeant, strenæ consonant, lusus, convivia constrepunt? O melior fides nationum: quæ nullam solemnitatem Christianorum sibi vindicat, non Dominicum diem, non Pentecosten.)† Again, 'We consider it wrong to fast on the Lord's Day, or to pray kneeling during its continuance.' (Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare.)‡ And in speaking of some who refrained from kneeling in prayer on the Sabbath, he has the following remarkable expression, to which I would draw your attention: 'Nos vero, sicut accepimus, solo die Dominico Resurrectionis non ab isto tantum (the bowing of the knee) sed omni anxietatis habitu et officio cavere debemus, *differentes etiam negotia, ne quem diabolo locum demus.*'§ Canon Robertson considers this to be the first evidence of cessation from worldly business on the Lord's Day. Neander finds in the passage indications of a transfer of the Jewish law of the Sabbath to the Lord's Day, and says that Tertullian seems to have regarded it as sinful to attend to any business whatever on the Lord's Day. I confess that I find in it nothing Sabbatarian—nothing, in fact, more than I should have expected, considering that the Church had now become somewhat settled—that, rather than that the duties peculiar to the Lord's Day should be neglected, worldly business was put off to another

* "Adv. Judæos, c. 2. † "De Idololatriâ, c. 14.
‡ "De Coronâ Militis," c. 3.
§ "De Orat., c. 23, Semler's edit., vol. iv. p. 22."

day. It is especially said that this is not due to the Sabbath, or, indeed, to any other day whatever." (Pp. 61–63, and App. p. 374.)

Tertullian's doctrine that the Sabbath was not observed before the time of Moses, is noticed by many writers (*e.g.* above, i. 167, 201, 214; ii. 64; also Holden, p. 42). He says, however, elsewhere, "Christ fulfilled the law, whilst that very day, *which was holy from the beginning by his Father's benediction*, he made more holy by his own benefaction;—Adimplevit enim Christus legem, dum ipsum Sabbati diem, benedictione Patris, a primordio sanctum, benefactione suâ efficit sanctiorem." (*Advers. Marc.*, l. iv. c. 12; quoted by Cawdrey and Palmer, i. 846.) Except on the theory of Grotius (above, pp. 220, 320), or some other equally improbable supposition, it must be allowed that here, if the passage is genuine, Tertullian contradicts what is said by him in the other places quoted before. But if he did believe that the patriarchs observed the Sabbath, he seems to have nowhere indicated an opinion that the observance of *any* weekly Sabbath, primeval or not primeval, was a Christian duty.

In Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* (see above, p. 143), a passage is quoted from Tertullian, in which it is argued that Paul could not intend, in Gal. iv. 10, to condemn simply all observing of such days as the Church observed at the end of the second century. On this subject Neander says:—

"When the Montanists wished to introduce, *by law*, new fasts which should be confined to *stated times*, the observations of St Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians against the Jewish observance of times were justly quoted against them; but Tertullian, the advocate of Montanism, whom we have already spoken of as standing on the boundary between two stages of the development of the Church, shows himself incapable of rightly distinguishing the two positions of the Old and of the New Testament respectively; for he insists that the Judaizing spirit, reprobated by St Paul, consisted simply in the observance of *Jewish* festivals, and not in *the mere relation of particular days (resembling those of the Jewish position)*,—whatever days they might be,—to the religious consciousness. According to his view, it would savour in no respect of Judaism if feasts which had reference to what is simply Christian were placed in *such a relation* to the religious consciousness.*

"The *weekly* and *yearly* festivals of the Christians originated in the same fundamental idea, which formed the centre of the whole Christian life,—the idea of imitating Christ, the crucified and risen Saviour,—following Him in his death, by appropriating through faith and repentance the effects of His death, and by

* "Against this objection of conforming to Jewish practices,—'Galaticari,' Tertullian, *De Jejuniis*, c. 14, replies, 'Galaticamur plane, si Judaicarum ceremoniarum, si legalium solennitatum observantes sumus; illas enim Apostolus dedocet, compescens veteris Testamenti in Christo sepulti perseverantiam. Quodsi nova conditio in Christo, jam nova et solemnia esse debebunt.'

dying to self and to the world,—by following Him in His *resurrection*, by rising with Him, in faith, and through the power which He imparts, to a new and holy life devoted to God, which, commencing here in the germ, unfolds itself to maturity in another world. Hence the *festival of joy* was *that of the resurrection;* and as the fitting preparation thereto, by repentance and mortification of the flesh, the commemoration of Christ's sufferings was kept as a day of fasting and penitence. In every week, therefore, Sunday was the festival of joy; while in preparation of it every Wednesday and Friday were consecrated as days of prayer and fasting, were consecrated to the memory of Christ's betrayal and passion. Similarly the *yearly festivals* were likewise commemorative of Christ's resurrection, and of the operations of the risen and glorified Saviour, and as preparatory thereto a remembrance was kept of Christ's passion and fasting.

"The opposition to Judaism early led to the observance of Sunday in place of Saturday. The first intimation of this change is in Acts xx. 7, where we find the Church assembled on the first day of the week;* a still later one is in Rev. i. 10, where the 'Lord's Day' can hardly be understood of the day of judgment. So, too, in the catholic epistle ascribed to Barnabas, at the close of the 15th chapter, Sunday is designated as the day of rejoicing in remembrance of Christ's resurrection and ascension to heaven,† and of the new creation which then commenced; and in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians it is presupposed ‡ that even the Jews who had embraced Christianity substituted Sunday for the Sabbath. As the Sabbath was regarded as a distinctive mark of Judaism, Sunday was looked upon as a symbol of the new life consecrated to the risen Christ, and grounded in His resurrection. Sunday, as a day of joy, was distinguished by being exempt from all fasting, and by the fact that prayer was offered on this day in a standing and not in a kneeling posture, as intimating that Christ, by rising again on this day, had raised up fallen man to heaven. But as we have already observed in Tertullian a tendency to confuse the Jewish with the Christian view of festivals, so we also find in him indications of a transfer of the Jewish law

* "See my *History of the Planting, &c.*, vol. i. p. 215, f.

† "Considering the close connection in which the resurrection of Christ and His ascension to heaven stood with each other in the Christian consciousness,—since His resurrection was regarded as but a transition point to His perfect exaltation above the region of earth in His new, glorified form of existence,—I cannot think that much stress is to be laid on the manner in which the writer of this letter expresses himself with regard to Sunday: ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς. Nor can I think it allowable to infer from it, either that, according to the author's opinion, Christ's ascension also occurred on Sunday, or that he conceived the fact to have been that Christ rose to heaven immediately after His first appearance to Mary as the risen Saviour. [See above, p. 316.]

‡ "Chap. 9: Μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωὴν ζῶντες.

of the Sabbath to the Sunday; for he seems to have regarded it as sinful* to attend to any business soever on a Sunday. . . . .

"Those churches, however, which were composed of Jewish Christians,† though with the rest they observed the festival of Sunday, still retained that also of the Sabbath; and from them the custom became general in the Eastern Church of distinguishing this day as well as Sunday, by never fasting, and by standing during prayer. In the Western Churches, on the other hand, and especially in the Roman, where the opposition to Judaism was strongest, a custom which had grown out of this opposition prevailed of observing the Sabbath also as a fast-day.‡ This difference in customs became striking whenever members of Eastern churches passed their Sabbaths in churches of the West. Too soon, however, were the principles of the Apostolic Church departed from, which, amidst all differences in outward things, had kept the unity of faith and of spirit in the bond of love. *Uniformity* in such matters was now *required*. Previously to his conversion to Montanism, Tertullian had spoken on this disputed point with Christian moderation. He said of the few advocates of the Eastern custom,§ 'The Lord will bestow His grace, so that they will either yield, or else follow their own opinion without giving offence to others.' As early as the beginning of the third century, the learned Hippolytus was induced to write on this con-

* "As I infer from Tertullian's language, *De Orat.* c. 23: Solo die dominico resurrectionis non ab isto tantum (the bowing of the knee), sed omni anxietatis habitu et officio cavere debemus, *differentes etiam negotia, ne quem diabolo locum demus.* [But see above, p. 331.]

† "From the language, indeed, of the passage, which has been already cited, in Ignat. *Ep. ad Magnes.* Οἱ ἐν παλαιοῖς πράγμασιν ἀναστραφέντες, —μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωὴν ζῶντες, it might be inferred that the Jewish Christians had substituted Sunday for the Sabbath; which, however, in this general sense, cannot assuredly be true.

‡ "Tertullian, *De Jejun.* c. 14: Quanquam vos etiam sabbatum si quando continuatis, nunquam nisi in Paschate jejunandum. He objects, as a Montanist, to his Roman opponents, that they had deprived the Sabbath of its due honour, and sometimes continued the fast from Friday to Saturday, when properly the only exception to be made to such celebration was in the case of the passover. The same practice of continuing the Friday's fast on the Saturday, which Tertullian, the Montanist, here attacks, we find mentioned by Victorinus, Bishop of Petabio, in Pannonia (now Pettau, in Steiermark), near the close of the third century, in the fragment of the History of the Creation, first published by Cave, hist. lit. He calls this continuation 'superpositio jejunii.' Fasting on the Sabbath appears in this case to have been a preparation for the joyful celebration of the communion on Sunday, as opposed to the Jewish festival of the Sabbath, which had been abrogated by Christ. Hoc die solemus superponere; idcirco, ut die dominico cum gratiarum actione ad panem (the sacrament of the Lord's supper), exeamus. Et parasceve superpositio fiat, ne quid cum Judæis sabbatum observare videamus. Galland. *Bibl. Patr.* tom. iv.; and Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, vol. iii. p. 237, Oxon, 1815.

§ "*De Orat.*," c. 23.

troversy between the Eastern and the Western Churches."* (Neander's *Gen. Hist. of the Christian Religion and Church*, Bohn's ed., i. 407–411.)

In chapter 39 of his *Apology*, Tertullian gives a most interesting account of the religious and moral practices of the Christians of his time. "We are," says he, "a body united in the profession of religion, in the same rights of worship, and in the bond of a common hope. We meet in one place, and form an assembly, that we may, as it were, come before God in one united body, and so address him in prayer. This is a violence which is well-pleasing to God. We pray also for the emperors, and for those in authority under them, for the powers of this world, for the maintenance of peace, and for the delay of final judgment. We meet, also, for reading the Holy Scriptures, as the circumstances of the times require us to receive instruction for the future, or remembrance of the past. By the study of those holy words we most surely nourish our faith, elevate our hope, confirm our assurance, and strengthen our attachment to its precepts, even under persecution. In the same place we deliver exhortations, reproofs, and the religious censure of excommunication. . . . . If there is a public chest, the money collected is no dishonourable sum, as if it belonged to a purchased religion. Every one makes a small contribution, on a certain day of the month, or when he chooses, provided only he is willing and able: for no one is compelled; all is voluntary. The amount is, at it were, a common fund of piety. Since it is expended not in feasting, or drinking, or indecent excess, but in feeding and burying the poor, and in supporting children of either sex, and old men now confined to their houses, and incapable of work; in relieving those also who have been shipwrecked: and if there are any in the mines, or in the islands, or in prison, provided they suffer for the cause of God's religion, they are the almsmen of the bounty, to which their confession entitles them." (Chevallier's Transl., pp. 329–331.) The meetings here mentioned were probably held on Sundays, but it will be seen that collections for the poor were not made weekly, as they appear to have been in Justin's time. Tertullian proceeds, in the same chapter, to describe the well-regulated love feasts of the Christians.— A passage in the 16th chapter of the *Apology* has already been noticed (pp. 284, 331); it is discussed also by Selden, *De Jure Naturali et Gentium*, c. 18 (above, p. 224).

Sir William Domville, in maintaining the proposition that none of the Fathers of the first three centuries attributed the origin of Sunday-observance to Christ or his apostles, produces the only passage, adverse or seemingly adverse to him, which he has found —namely, one where Tertullian, in reference to the interruption of the sacred rites of the Christians by the soldiery, reasons thus: "But you will say, How shall we assemble? How shall we celebrate the Lord's Day's solemnities? Just as the apostles did,

* "Cfr. Hieronymus, *Ep.* 72, *ad Vital.*"

who were safe by faith, not by bribery. If faith can remove mountains, it may with much greater ease the soldiery." (*De Fugâ*, § 14, in Holden's *Christian Sabbath*, p. 300.) On which Domville observes:—

"Mr Holden quotes this passage as alluding, in his opinion, to the observance of the Lord's Day by the apostles;* but when the context of the words, 'just as the apostles did,' is duly considered, it becomes evident that Tertullian did not mean to speak of their observance of it. It is, in adverting to the interruption of the sacred rites of the Christians by the military that Tertullian puts the proposed questions, How shall we assemble? How shall we celebrate the Lord's Day's solemnities? And, therefore, when he answers them by saying, 'Just as the apostles did,' we ought to infer his meaning to be, Just as they did when they were interrupted by the military. Now, it is certain that the only instances in which the apostles are known or supposed to have assembled together, or to have assembled individually with disciples or companions, on the first day of the week, afterwards called the Lord's Day, are the meeting on the day of Pentecost mentioned in the Acts (ch. ii.), which, it is generally supposed, happened then to fall on the first day of the week, and the meeting of St Paul and his companions with the disciples on the first day of the week at Troas, as also mentioned in the Acts; and on neither of these occasions was the meeting interrupted by the military.

"When we take into consideration also the important fact, that nowhere in all his numerous writings does Tertullian ever directly assert that the apostles practised the observance of the Lord's Day, the supposition that in the passage here quoted he meant to say that such was their practice, becomes wholly untenable.

"Tertullian, therefore, forms no exception to the proposition, that not any ecclesiastical writer of the first three centuries attributed the origin of Sunday observance either to Christ or to his postles.

"Far, indeed, are the writers of that period from attributing any such origin to the religious observance of the Sunday. It is, on the contrary, a most remarkable fact, a fact which, from the negative testimony borne to it by Mr Holden's extracts, is indisputable, and to which, therefore, I invite, though ineffectually I fear, the serious attention of our Sabbatarian writers, orators, and preachers, that none of the Fathers belonging to the first three centuries appeal to the Christian Scriptures in proof of a Christian Sabbath. Not one of them asserts that Christ sanctioned its observance by his appearance to the disciples in the evening following the morning of his resurrection, and again after eight days

* I cannot discover from Holden's work that he quotes the passage for any other reason than that it "affords indubitable evidence of the custom, established in Tertullian's time, of observing a weekly festival; . . . . which universal practice," he however adds, "cannot be supposed to have had its origin in any other than divine and apostolical authority" (pp. 299, 322). On this latter point see below, ii. 385.

not one appeals to the meeting of the apostles with one accord in one place on the day of Pentecost, as proof of an intention on their part to observe a Christian festival; not one appeals either to the text in the Acts, relating to the meeting at Troas, or to that in the Corinthians, relating to the collection for the saints, as a proof of St Paul's sanction to the religious observance of the first day of the week; nor does any of them appeal to the text in the Revelations, 'I was in the Spirit on the Lord's Day.' How happens it that none of these appeals are made by the Church Fathers of the three first centuries? More especially, I ask, why is an appeal to the text in the Revelations not to be found in any writing of the Fathers of that period? The answer is so obvious as scarcely to need stating,—Either they did not consider the phrase of 'the Lord's day' as meaning *there* the first day of the week, or the phrase itself was an interpolation made in some later century. From the horns of this dilemma, Sabbatarians, you have no escape." (Vol. i. Supp. pp. 6–8.)

Mr Gilfillan conceives that the Divine authority of the Lord's Day is "positively affirmed" by Tertullian, and that "his writings abound in testimonies to his faith in that authority." (Pp. 16, 388.) Nothing that Mr G. has quoted, however, seems to me to warrant this opinion in the least. One of the testimonies adduced (p. 389) is a passage where Tertullian says, "The apostles introduced nothing at their own discretion, but faithfully assigned to the people the discipline which they had received from Christ." (*De Præscript adv. Hæret.*, c. 6.) But this is plainly nothing to the point, unless we assume the very thing denied by those whom Mr Gilfillan is arguing with—namely, that observance of the Lord's Day was appointed by the apostles. His next quotation (p. 389) is a passage about the *Sabbath*, a word assumed by him to mean there the Lord's Day, but which his opponents maintain to have no such meaning anywhere in the writings of the Fathers. This begging of the question vitiates not a little of the reasoning in Mr Gilfillan's book, especially in his section on "The Sabbath or Lord's Day in the first three centuries of Christianity."

Page 121.—Clement of Alexandria.

In the Appendix to his *Four Sermons* (Lond. 1830), pp. 174–181, Mr James discusses, more fully than any other writer that I know, the opinions of Clement about the Sabbath and the Lord's Day. He says:—

"From the writings of Clement of Alexandria, Dr Heylyn produces two extracts, which he conceives entirely support his opinion. [*Hist. of the Sabb.* Part II. ch. ii. § 6.] What is the correct inference to be drawn from them, will be best seen from the extracts themselves. They are taken from the seventh book of his *Stromateis*,* or *Patch-works of Miscellaneous Discourses*. In this

* "These books, I know not why, are commonly called *Stromata*: the

book Clement is speaking of the perfect Christian, one who is perfect in the true knowledge; the Gnostic, as he calls him, though that name is usually employed to designate, not the Orthodox, but an heretical sect, who piqued themselves on their acquisition of knowledge, falsely so called. The Gnostic of Clement, however, is the orthodox and perfect Christian. He describes him as a man of prayer: 'If some have set apart for prayer certain definite hours, as, for instance, the third, the sixth, the ninth; yet the Gnostic passes his whole life in prayer, seeking by prayer to be ever with God.' (L. vii. c. 7.) And again: 'He prays with angels, as being already equal to the angels; nor is he ever unattended by these holy guardians; and though he prays alone, has a chorus of angels standing by his side.' (Ibid. c. 12.) But though I have thus dwelt on the duty of prayer, as particularly belonging to the subject before me, it must be understood also that the Gnostic gives proof of the religious principle within him in all his conduct; and Clement's design is, by setting forth the loveliness of this character, to win all men to the true worshipping of the eternal God, with whose excellent Majesty he contrasts the vain and false objects of heathen superstition. He exposes the unsuitableness of fancying, as the heathens did, that the Almighty can be represented by the likeness of any earthly form, or that He, who is everywhere present, can be enclosed within the limits of a temple made with hands. 'Since,' says he, 'the Holy One, in its two senses, signifies or God himself, or what is built for his honour, why do we not call the Church, which through knowledge is made holy for his honour,—why do we not call the Church, as by its appropriate name, the holy of God, being, as it is, of great price, and not built by any mechanic's skill, nor decked by any juggler's hand, but made for a temple by the will of God? By the Church I now mean, not the place, but the congregation of saints.' (Ibid. c. 5.) He exposes the unsuitableness of imagining that the Almighty can be pleased with the sacrifice of animals, alleging that the sacrifices which were made under the law were but typical of the spiritual offerings of the Christian Church. 'For the sacrifice of the Church is prayer, the incense of holy spirits, when, together with the sacrifice, the whole mind is laid open before God.' (Ibid. c. 6.) 'Our offerings to God should be not costly, but godly.' After such remarks as these, he breaks forth in the first of the passages selected by Dr Heylyn. ['It is our duty, as we are commanded, to worship and honour Him, whom we are persuaded to be the Word, our Saviour and our Captain, and through Him the Father; doing this, not at selected times, as some others do, but continually, during our whole lives, and in every way. Certainly the chosen race, which was justified according to the commandment, says, 'Seven times a day have I

name given them by Clement is as I have written it: each book is στρωματεύς, or a patch-work of discourses, stitched together as they came into his mind, without studied order or arrangement."

praised thee.' Wherefore, the Gnostic honours God, not in definite places or chosen temples, nor yet on certain feasts and appointed days, but all his life, in every place, both when he may be by himself alone], and wherever he may meet any who have embraced the same faith, he does this, giving thanks for the knowledge of the rule of life. If the presence of a good man, by his reverential and decorous behaviour, continually improves those who associate with him, how much rather, in all reason, shall not he, who, by knowledge, and manner of life, and eucharist, is ever present with God, be continually improving in every particular, in his actions, and his words, and his disposition. Such is he, who is persuaded that God is everywhere present, and fancies not that he is shut up in certain definite places, so that, supposing himself ever out of his presence, he may give way to licentiousness by night or by day. [We, then, making our whole lives a festival, persuaded that God is everywhere present, praise him as we toil in the fields, praise him as we sail on the sea, in any other mode of life have our conversation according to rule.'] (L. vii. c. 7.) The other passage to which Dr Heylyn refers, is in a later part of the book. 'The Gnostic,' says Clement, 'understands the mystical meaning of the fasts on the fourth and sixth days of the week. The one is called the day of Mercury, the other of Venus. Hence he continually fasts from avarice and from lust, the sources of all vice.' And then, after dwelling a little on these topics, he thus proceeds: 'Such a [one, having fulfilled the command according to the gospel, makes that day the Lord's day on which he casts off evil thoughts, and takes those which are according to knowledge, glorifying the Lord's resurrection as wrought in himself.'] (Ibid. c. 12.)

"The portions of the above passages which are quoted by Dr Heylyn, I have included within brackets; but it seemed necessary to give them more fully than he has done, with some account of the argument in which they are introduced, in order that a judgment may be formed of the real meaning of the writer. If Dr Heylyn had done so in the several extracts he has made, he would probably have come nearer to the truth; and here certainly would not have thought the Gnostic was 'one who understands himself' (an expression, which shows the translator did not understand Clement, and had taken no pains to understand him, though he considered him as one of the writers 'which give us anything of the Lord's day'), and perhaps would have avoided some other mistranslations. But I chiefly blame him for omitting, in the first of the two passages, what would have served to guide his readers to the general sense of the whole, though that of the word Gnostic had remained in obscurity. Looking to the fine vein of piety here displayed, it seems an injustice to the writer to suppose that he designed to slight the ordinances of the Church.* I believe

* [Heylin's conclusion from the passages he quotes is expressed in the last sentence of the section: "By which it seems that whatsoever esti-

rather, Clement was only contending against a superstitious and erroneous adherence to appointed places and times; that he was guarding against the notion, that public prayers supersede the necessity of private devotions, or that, because the worship of God is to be performed at church, and on Sundays or other holy days, it is therefore to be confined to that place or those times. Doubtless, the Royal Psalmist, when he praised God seven times a day, did not neglect the hours appointed in the Jewish Church, but prayed in the evening, and morning, and at noon-day, and that instantly; and so would Clement have the true Christian a man of continual prayer. But if any think they perceive with Heylyn, from the above extracts, that Clement 'was well enough contented that the Lord's day should not be observed at all,' they must at least allow, that he was writing to those who knew the place of public worship by the name of the church, and who regarded Wednesdays and Fridays as the weekly fasts, and the Lord's day as the weekly holy festival.

"But, before any decision is formed, what were the real sentiments of Clement on this subject, let one other extract be taken from his works. Towards the latter part of the sixth book of his *Stromateis*, in a brief commentary on the Decalogue, he says: 'The fourth commandment tells us, that the world was made by God, and that he gave us the seventh day as a rest, because of the sufferings and afflictions of our lives. For God has no fatigue, no suffering, no need; but we, as bearing the flesh, have need of rest. Therefore, the seventh day is declared to be the rest, the cessation of evil, to prepare for that day,* that brought a new beginning; that is our real rest; which is also the first origin of the real Light, by whom all things are seen, and all things received as our inheritance: from this day the primest wisdom and knowledge enlighten us; for the Light of Truth, the true, unshadowed Light, the Spirit of the Lord, divided without division to those who are sanctified through faith, is like a lamp for the knowledge of the things that are: following this, then, through the whole of our lives, we are set free from affliction; and this is, to rest. . . . Since† we have arrived at this point, to be speaking of the seventh

mation the Lord's day had attained unto at Rome and Corinth, yet either it was not so much esteemed at Alexandria, or else this Clemens did not think so rightly of it as he should have done." See also his words quoted in the 12th line of this page, and what he says of Origen. below, page 345.—R. C.]

* "*τὴν ἀρχιγόνον ἡμέραν.* I have rendered this word as if it were so accented. The Latin translator has given two senses, as if it also occurred accented thus, *ἀρχίγονον*, 'born of old, ordained of old to be born.' The sense I have adopted I prefer, as perfectly agreeing with the language of Athanasius. The word, I presume, should be written *ἀρχεγόνον.*

† "'Ενταῦθα γενομένους ἐν παρέργῳ καὶ ταῦτα ὑπομνήστεοι· ἐπεὶ περὶ ἑβδομάδος καὶ ὀγδοάδος ὁ λόγος παρεισῆλθε· κινδυνεύει γὰρ ἡ μὲν ὀγδυὰς ἑβδομὰς εἶναι κυρίως· ἑξὰς δὲ ἡ ἑβδομὰς, κατά γε τὸ ἐμφανές· καὶ ἡ μὲν κυρίως εἶναι σάββατον, ἐργάτις δὲ ἡ ἑβδομάς.—Strom. L. vi. c. 16.

and eighth day, we must briefly call to mind this also—for the eighth day seems properly to be called the seventh, and the seventh, as it appears manifest, the sixth; and the former to be properly the Sabbath, but the seventh a working day.' (L. vi. c. 16.) These remarks, in a commentary, too, on the fourth commandment, may surprise those who think the Lord's Day was not substituted for the Jewish Sabbath in the age of Clement of Alexandria, and that the old Sabbath was still observed. The passage, indeed, is so clear and express, that unless its genuineness be questioned, it must put an end to all further controversy on the subject. . . . It may seem strange, perhaps, that the name of the Sabbath should be applied to the Lord's Day by Clement of Alexandria, more distinctly than the bishop of that city, Athanasius, has thought fit to do, when writing on the very subject above a century afterwards; but if the passage has been received on the authority of ancient manuscripts, it is not to be rejected because it contains what we should not have expected; and it stands unquestioned in the edition of Archbishop Potter. Certainly, though we might not have expected the expression, the idea, that the Lord's Day was to be kept as the only weekly festival, is no more than is said, in one form or another, by all the writers of the three first centuries, who have touched on the subject."

If Mr James's translation of the passage here commented on were correct, and his interpretation of it indubitable, the question of its genuineness might deserve to be seriously considered. But I am confident that no scholar well acquainted with Clement's writings, or even with the Sixth Book of the *Stromateis*, will accept either the translation or the interpretation. So far is that eminent expounder of Clement, Bishop Kaye, from finding any such meaning in this or any other part of the *Stromateis*, that in an elaborate treatise published five years after Mr James's volume, he thinks it "scarcely necessary to observe that Clement never applies the name Sabbath to the first day of the week, which he calls the Lord's Day." (*Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria*, by John, Bishop of Lincoln, p. 418; Lond. 1835.) Had Mr James given the original Greek of the first part of his quotation as well as of the second, it would have been seen that where Clement says that God gave us the seventh day as a rest, the phrase employed by him is ἑβδόμη ἡμέρα (*hebdomē hēmera*); while in the remarks which he subjoins by the by, and which at first probably formed a separate piece of his "patchwork," the words translated by Mr James "the seventh and eighth day" are ἑβδομὰς καὶ ὀγδοὰς (*hebdomas* and *ogdoas*), which signify the numbers seven and eight, and are often used by Clement in a mystical sense. Bishop Kaye understands him to be in this and the succeeding passages discussing "the properties and virtues of the numbers six, seven, and eight, the hidden meanings of which numbers he frequently speaks of" (p. 417),—and adds that "the Gnostic

mystery of the Hebdomas and Ogdoas" is another frequent subject of his remarks. Elsewhere the Bishop explains that "by the Hebdomas, according to the Gnostic doctrine, was meant the *rest* from evil-doing, with reference to the Jewish Sabbath; by the Ogdoas, the creation of man anew to a life of *active* well-doing, with reference to the day of our Lord's resurrection, the first or eighth day." (P. 258.)

It must also be observed respecting Mr James's translation of the sentence quoted in the note, that it is only by interpolating the word "called" in the remark about the eighth day seeming properly to be called the seventh, that he gives any plausibility to his inference that the name of the Sabbath was applied to the Lord's-day by Clement. Nor is this all: in the final clause he converts "*a* sabbath" (*i.e.* a rest), which is the meaning of σάββατον, into "*the* sabbath" (*i.e.* the sabbath *day*), and "the seventh a working" into "the seventh a working day."

As, in general, Mr James shews himself a candid writer, I ascribe these inaccuracies rather to the misleading effect of prejudice, and to want of such familiarity as Bishop Kaye had with Clement's modes of thinking and expression, than to intentional misrepresentation of the author. And it is due to him to allow, that he rather insinuates than broadly asserts the Sabbatarian tendency of the passage. Even to those well acquainted with the *Stromateis*, it is sometimes impossible to divine with confidence the meaning of its fanciful and desultory writer. (See above, p. 310.)

Mr Gilfillan, of course, accepts without doubt or question Mr James's representation of Clement; and he adapts it still further to Sabbatarian purposes, by changing his predecessor's "seems to be properly the [*a*] sabbath" into "seems to be *the true sabbath*," and also by garbling and combining the two passages in the following remarkable way:—"'This commandment,' says Clement of Alexandria, 'informs us that the world was made by God, and that he gave us the seventh day for rest on account of the sufferings and afflictions of life; and the eighth day,' he adds, 'appears rightly to be named the seventh, and to be the true Sabbath, but the seventh to be a working day.'" (Gilfillan, p. 388.)

After all, even if Clement had explicitly said all that these Sabbatarians have put into his mouth, it would still have been evident, from the merely suggestive tone of the words, "seems properly to be [called] the seventh," that he was far from believing that the substitution of the Lord's Day for the Sabbath had been effected by divine authority. Nor, if he *had* so believed, would his opinion have been of any consequence to us, to whom the Scriptures are as open as they were to him.

With respect to the simultaneous observance of the Sabbath and the Lord's Day by the Christians at Alexandria in the time of Clement—what reason is there to doubt that those of Hebrew descent still adhered to the custom of Paul and the other early

Jewish Christians, of resting from labour on the Sabbath, and indeed of performing the Mosaic rites in general? (See Acts xv.; xxi. 20; xxv. 8; xxviii. 17; Phil. iii. 6.) This the Apostle not only did himself, but expressly allowed to the *Jewish*, while he forbade it to the *Gentile* Christians (Rom. xiv. 5, 6; Gal. iv. 10, 11; Col. ii. 16, 17). The custom of holding meetings in synagogues on the weekly day of rest and leisure would naturally be likewise retained at Alexandria, and these some of the Gentile Christians may have attended, in imitation of their Jewish brethren.* But the Jews and Gentiles alike would, in their common character of Christians, attend the meetings for worship on the Lord's Day. It may be too much to affirm with Heylin that Clement disliked or was indifferent to either the dominical festival itself or the meetings held upon it; but from the passages quoted above (pp. 338–9), it appears that he valued at no higher rate the worship paid on Sunday in a church, than that paid by the solitary Christian anywhere, and on any day whatever. That there *was* a custom of meeting for worship on Sunday is clearly implied in the passages referred to; but, as Dr Hessey observes, "we are not left to mere inference on this important point, for he speaks of the Lord's Day as a well-known and customary festival, and in one place gives a mystical interpretation of the name. (*οὗτος ἐντολὴν τὴν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διαπραξάμενος, Κυριακὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ, ὅτ' ἂν ἀποβάλλῃ*

* To this day, many Jewish customs survive among Christians in the valley of the Nile. "Whatever there is," says Dean Stanley, "of Jewish or of old Egyptian ritual preserved in the Coptic Church, is carried to excess in the Abyssinian. The likeness of the sacred ark, called the ark of Zion, is the centre of Abyssinian devotion. To it gifts and prayers are offered; on it the sanctity of the whole Church depends. There alone the Jewish Sabbath is still observed as well as the Christian Sunday: they are the only true 'Sabbatarians' of Christendom." [Dr Stanley forgets the Seventh-day Baptists.] "The 'sinew that shrank,' no less than the flesh of swine, hare, and aquatic fowl, is still forbidden to be eaten. Dancing still forms part of their ritual, as it did in the Jewish temple. The wild shriek which goes up at Abyssinian funerals is the exact counterpart of that which Herodotus heard in ancient Egypt. The polygamy of the Jewish Church lingers here, after having been banished from the rest of the world." (*Lectures on the Hist. of the Eastern Church*, pp. 12, 13; Lond. 1861.) He refers to Harris's *Highlands of Ethiopia*, iii. 132, 135, 137, 150, 154–167.—In noticing the strict observance of the Sabbath by the Abyssinian Christians among whom he travelled, Major Harris observes: "By order of the Council of Laodicea the Oriental Churches were freed from this burden; and the industrious gladly availed themselves of the ecclesiastical licence to work on the Saturday. Here, however, the ancient usages agreed too well with a people systematically indolent; and when, a few years ago, one daring spirit presumed, in advance of the age, to burst the fetters of superstition, his Majesty the King of Shoa, stimulated by the advice of besotted monks, issued a proclamation that whoso violated the Jewish Sabbath should forfeit his property to the royal treasury, and be consigned to the state dungeon." (Vol. iii. p. 150.) This simultaneous ob-

φαῦλον νόημά καὶ γνωστικὸν προσλάβῃ, τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνάστασιν δοξάζων.)* It will hardly, of course, be supposed that I have quoted Clement as if I agreed with his view of the true Gnostic, beautiful and transcendental as it is (Bishop Kaye gives a noble paraphrase of it), or that I at all accept the true Gnostic's spiritualisation of the Decalogue. I only quote him as an evidence of the existence of the Lord's Day as an admitted fact, and as a recognised Christian ordinance, quite distinct from the Sabbath." (P. 61.)

I have elsewhere (ii. 300) noticed the mistranslation, by Priestley and Holden, of the above Greek sentence, which Mr James more correctly renders thus: "Such a one having fulfilled the command according to the gospel, makes that day the [a] Lord's day, on which he casts off evil thoughts, and takes those which are according to knowledge, glorifying the Lord's resurrection as wrought in himself." It may be worth while to exemplify still further the way in which this sentence is frequently wrested by Sabbatarians. "Early and authentic ecclesiastical history," says an American writer, "confirms the [Sabbatarian] view now presented. It states, indeed, in terms, that the Sabbath was changed from the seventh to the first day of the week, by authority of Christ himself; and also, that the mode of keeping the one was transferred, so far as the genius of Christianity and the nature of the case would allow, to the other. Thus Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 192) says, 'A Christian, according to the command of the gospel, observes the *Lord's Day*.' So that its observance, instead of being an accident, or a relic of Judaism, or in any way anti-Christian, was '*according to the command of the gospel*.'" (*An Argument for the Perpetuity of the Sabbath*, by Rev. A. A. Phelps, p. 159; Boston, U.S., 1841.)† Had Mr Phelps been asked in what part of the gospel the command is to be found, he would perhaps have been puzzled to reply.—Mr Coleman, again, translates the words of Clement thus: "A true Christian, according to the commands of the gospel, observes the Lord's Day by casting out all bad thoughts, and cherishing all goodness, honouring the resurrection of the Lord, which took place on that day." (*Ancient Christianity Exemplified*, p. 529; Philad., 1852.)

servance of the Sabbath and the Lord's Day by the Abyssinians is mentioned also by several writers in the seventeenth century, referred to by Dr Hessey in his *Bampton Lectures*, p. 397. Mrs Tamar Davis, in her *History of the Sabbatarian Churches*, p. 54 (Philad. 1851), says that "the observation of *Sunday* in Abyssinia was brought in by the Jesuits, who found it easier to induce them to observe both days than to consent to a substitution of the first for the seventh day." This would have been more credible if she had referred to her authority; and so would her statement (p. 55), that in a neighbouring country called Susa, "all labour is interdicted on the Sabbath, but the observation of any Lord's Day is unknown."

* 'Strom. vii. § 12, p. 877.

† The italics are Mr Phelps's own.

Of the well-known passage in which Clement seems to aim at shewing that the ancient Gentiles observed the seventh day of the week, enough has been said above, pp. 275–284.

For an account of Clement's life, character, writings, and principles, the reader is referred to Bishop Kaye's volume already mentioned, and to an article in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, N.S., No. 5, Oct. 1852, p. 129. In reference to his intimation that, in the *Stromateis*, he purposed to disseminate "the true tradition of blessed doctrine which had been received immediately from Peter, James, John, and Paul," and had come to him, the writer of the article makes some remarks which bear on what was said above, p. 311: "Clement, doubtless, believed his views to be Scripture theology—nay, the very doctrine and teaching of the apostles in their ordinary ministry. Be it so. *We* have no evidence that anything which cannot be deduced from the Scriptures was taught by the apostles; but we have evidence that what does not agree with the Scriptures was *not* taught by them. Whatever is in harmony with the Word of God we accept, not as tradition, but as Scripture doctrine. Now, if Clement really asserts that he gives the apostles' own view of disputed doctrines, we must ask—1. Who are his authorities? 2. Did he accurately understand them? 3. Did he fairly represent them? 4. Did they really deliver what they professed? 5. Can we know what parts of Clement's book are tradition and what are not? 6. If we can, do they accord with the Scriptures, or throw light upon them?" (P. 136.)

Page 121.—Origen.

Origen was a pupil of Clement of Alexandria, and is represented by Heylin as partaking in many of his opinions, "and, amongst others, in dislike of those selected festivals, which by the Church were set apart." Heylin quotes passages in which Origen urges that all days are the Lord's; that it belongs to the Jews to observe days and festivals, while the Christians every day hear the Word of God; and that to him who prays continually, and is upright in thought, word, and deed, every day is a Lord's Day. It appears that in Alexandria, where he lived, there were very frequent assemblies for hearing the Word of God; "indeed the proem to his several Homilies seem to intimate, that, if they met not every day to hear his lectures, they met very often. But being a learned man, and one that had a good conceit of his own abilities, he grew offended that there was not as great resort of people every day to hear him, as upon the festivals. Of Sunday there is little doubt but that it was observed amongst them; so was the Wednesday and the Friday both.* For it is positively

* Here and everywhere I quote the *second* edition of Heylin. In the first he had added in this place, "and so was Saturday also;" for which

said by Socrates (*Hist.* L. v. c. 21), that on them both the Scriptures were read openly, and afterwards expounded by the doctors of the Church, and all things done appointed by the public Liturgy, save that they did not use to receive the sacrament. And this, saith he, was the old use in Alexandria; which he confirms by the practice of Origen, who was accustomed, as he tells us, to preach upon these days to the congregation. Tertullian, too, takes special notice of these two days; whereof consult him in his book, *adv. Psychicos*." (Heylin, Part II. ch. ii. § 9.)

In one of the passages adduced, Origen addresses those "who come together at church on festivals only;" from which it is evident that they did so on the Lord's Day as well as on the other festival days then observed. Mr James gives in full the passages which Heylin quotes in part, and very solemnly charges him with omitting sentences which to Mr James appear to show that, in the judgment of Origen, Christians *ought* to observe such festivals as promote the worship of God and true piety, though they ought not to consider the observance of these alone as the whole business of religion, but to worship the Lord daily; and that, as the generality of those who pass for believers will not, or cannot, keep every day holy, this class of persons need some sensible signs to bring things to their remembrance. Origen is defending himself against an adversary supposed to charge him with inconsistency in accepting St Paul's doctrine that Christians ought not to observe days (Gal. iv. 10), and yet observing the Lord's Day and divers other festivals. This charge he evades rather than encounters in his reply, which, with the objection prefixed to it, is as follows: "But if any one should object against this what takes place amongst ourselves on the Lord's days, or on Preparation days, or on the days of the Passover or of Pentecost, the answer is, that the

statement he is called to account by Mr James, who probably made use of his *History* as given in the posthumous volume of his *Tracts*, Lond. 1681. By collating the three editions (the first of which is extremely rare), I have discovered that the editor of the *Tracts* was so careless or ignorant as to reprint the first instead of the second, which is enlarged and corrected. A reference by Heylin to Athanasius, with which also Mr James finds fault, was expunged in the second edition.

Nevertheless, so far at least as the *Jewish* Christians of Alexandria are concerned, Heylin was probably right at first in saying that the Saturday was observed amongst them. Only as *Jews*, however, and not as Christians, would they conceive themselves to be resting on it from labour.

By the Abyssinians, according to Major Harris (iii. 176, 1*st* ed.), Wednesday and Friday are still observed as holidays—a fact confirming their tradition that Christianity came to Abyssinia from Alexandria when Athanasius was primate there. "We drink," they are fond of saying, "from the well of the patriarch of Alexandria." Although their custom of observing the *Sabbath* may have been introduced by Jewish immigrants long before the Christian era, the more probable opinion seems to be, that this also they derived from the Alexandrian Church.

perfect Christian, who continually lives in the words, and works, and thoughts of the Word of God, his natural Lord, continually lives in his days, daily keeps a Lord's day. He, moreover, who continually prepares himself to live according to truth, and abstains from the pleasures of life, that deceive the many, and does not feed the desire of the flesh, but keeps under his body, and brings it into subjection, this man daily keeps a Preparation day. He, too, who has considered that Christ, our Passover, has been sacrificed for us, and that it is our duty to keep the feast by eating the flesh of the Word,—there is not a day when he does not keep the Passover, continually in his thoughts and every word and every action passing over from this life's affairs towards God, and hastening towards His city. And further, he who is able with truth to say, 'We have risen with Christ,' and, moreover, 'He hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ,' such a one day by day is in the feast of Pentecost; then, especially, when, going up into an upper room, like the apostles of Jesus, he has no business to interrupt his supplication and prayer, that he may become worthy of the rushing mighty wind from heaven, which compels the vice of man and its consequences to vanish away; worthy also of some portion of the fiery tongue from God." (*Contra Celsum*, L. viii. c. 22.)

Mr James asks why not a word is here said of Saturday, if that day was then observed in Alexandria? The reply is obvious; Origen, who was a Gentile, knew from Scripture that the Jews only had been commanded to keep the Sabbath, and that when the early Judaizing Christians of the Hebrew race attempted to thrust its observance on the Gentile converts, they were strenuously withstood by Paul. How then could Origen have placed the Sabbath on the footing of a Christian festival, with Easter, Whitsuntide, and the Lord's Day? That he does not mention it with these is, however, no indication that the Christian Jews of Alexandria did not, as Jews, continue to obey the Fourth Commandment of the Jewish Decalogue.

Mr James has quoted from Origen's seventh Homily on Exodus, § 5, a passage which, however fanciful and foolish in itself, shows clearly enough that this Father had no such "dislike" of the festivals as Heylin attributes to him. The main portions of it are the following. "It is plain from Holy Writ," says he, "that manna was first given on earth on the Lord's Day. For if, as the Scripture says, it was gathered six successive days, and there was none on the seventh day, without doubt it began to be given on the first day of the week, which is the Lord's Day. But if it be clear from the Holy Scriptures, that God rained manna from heaven on the Lord's Day, and rained none on the Sabbath day, let the Jews understand, that from that time our Lord's Day was set above the Jewish Sabbath. . . . For on our Lord's Day God always rains down manna from heaven—but at this very day, I say, God rains down manna from heaven—for the discourses which are delivered to us are from heaven; and the words which

are preached to us have come down from God; and hence we are blessed in receiving such manna." (P. 188.)

Here it is asked by Mr James: "This being the language of the early Fathers, what colour of reason is there for saying that the Sabbath was held in equal honour with the Lord's Day in the primitive Church?"

Probably there is no colour of reason at all for such an assertion—if indeed it has ever been made.* The only important question is, not whether the Sabbath was held in *equal* honour with the Lord's Day *in* (*i.e. by*) *the primitive Church*, but whether it was *held in honour* by any *who were members of the Church?* If the Christian Jews of Alexandria, or some of them, set it apart for repose and worship, the inquiry whether they held it in *equal* honour with Sunday is of very little moment indeed. But if they honoured the seventh day merely as Jews, and without thinking that they were performing a *Christian* duty, the honour that they paid it can with no greater propriety be said to have been paid "in the primitive Church," than the rites of freemasonry can be said to be observed in the Church of England because some of its members are freemasons and act as such. If, again, any of the Christian Gentiles in Alexandria, disregarding St Paul's disapproval of the observance of days by the Gentile converts in Galatia, were persuaded by Christian Jews like those whom the Apostle so frequently withstood, to observe the Sabbath as a *Christian* festival, this indeed was the holding of the Sabbath in equal or at least in some degree of honour in the Alexandrian Church. But whether, in Origen's time, any Gentile members of that Church had lapsed so far into Judaism, is a question we are unable to solve—though it is by no means unlikely that such cases had occurred. That the Sabbath was kept by the *Jewish* members of the Church is not only probable in itself, but would be certain from a passage in Origen's 23d Homily on Numbers, if we could confidently assume that Homily to be a genuine record of one of his discourses. † "Leaving the Jewish observances of the Sabbath," says he, "*let us see how the Sabbath ought to be observed by a Christian* (qualis debeat esse Christiano sabbati ob-

* Jeremy Taylor's statement is, that "the primitive Church kept both the Sabbath and the Lord's day till the time of the Laodicean Council, about 300 years after Christ's nativity, and almost in everything made them equal." (See below, ii. 12.) Had he known the spuriousness of a passage in Ignatius (above, pp. 120, 177, 318), and the untrustworthiness of *The Apostolical Constitutions*, perhaps he would not have used so general a phrase as "the Church."

† Not only have Origen's writings been more than usually corrupted (see above, p. 389, Blunt on *The Early Fathers*, p. 108, and the *Edin. Review*, xc. 157), but, his Homilies having been taken down from his mouth by reporters, and there being no certainty that he ever revised them, our confidence in the accuracy of any particular passage cannot be very great. Of the 23d Homily, moreover, only a Latin translation is extant.

servatio). On the sabbath day (*die sabbati*) all worldly labours ought to be abstained from. If, therefore, you cease from all secular works, and execute nothing worldly, but give yourselves up to spiritual exercises, repairing to church, attending to sacred reading and instruction, thinking of celestial things, solicitous for the future, placing the judgment to come before your eyes, not looking to things present and visible, but to those which are future and invisible, *this is the observance of the Christian Sabbath* (hæc est observatio Christiani sabbati)."* Mr Holden, it is true, understands this passage as referring not to Saturday but to Sunday. Although Origen, says he, "does not in this passage expressly mention the first day of the week," yet "his contrasting it with the Jewish Sabbath, and stating the way in which the Sabbath should be kept by believers in the gospel, show that he is speaking of the Sunday of the Christians." (P. 303.) But the

* Orig. *Op.*, ii. 358; Parisiis, 1733. I have adopted Mr Holden's version of the passage, correcting however the second sentence, in which he omits to translate the phrase "die sabbati," and makes the writer say merely, "It is by abstaining from all worldly actions and labours." For the satisfaction of learned readers, I subjoin the entire passage in the Latin version:—

"Secunda ergo festivitas post indesinentis sacrificii festivitatem ponitur sabbati, et oportet sanctorum quemque, et justum agere etiam sabbati festivitatem. Quæ est autem festivitas sabbati nisi illa de qua Apostolus dicit, 'relinquetur ergo sabbatismus,' hoc est, sabbati observatio, 'populo Dei'? Relinquentes ergo Judaïcas sabbati observationes, qualis debeat esse Christiano sabbati observatio, videamus. Die sabbati nihil ex omnibus mundi actibus oportet operari. Si ergo desinas ab omnibus sæcularibus operibus, et nihil mundanum geras, sed spiritalibus operibus vaces, ad ecclesiam convenias, lectionibus divinis et tractatibus aurem præbeas, et de cœlestibus cogites, de futura spe sollicitudinem geras, venturum judicium præ oculis habeas, non respicias ad præsentia et visibilia, sed ad invisibilia et futura, hæc est observatio sabbati Christiani. Sed hæc et Judæi observare deberent. Denique etiam apud ipsos si faber, si structor, et si quis hujusmodi opificum fuerit, otiatur in die sabbati. Lector autem legis divinæ, vel doctor, non desinit ab opere suo, et tamen Sabbatum non contaminat: Sic enim et Dominus meus dicit ad eos: 'Aut non legistis, quia et sacerdotes in templo sabbatum violant, et sine crimine sunt?' (Matt. xii. 5.) Qui ergo cessat ab operibus sæculi, et spiritalibus vacat, iste est qui sacrificium sabbati et diem festum agit sabbatorum. Neque onera portat in via. Onus enim est omne peccatum, quemadmodum dicit et propheta: 'Sicut onus grave gravatæ sunt super me' (Psal. xxxviii. 5). Neque ignem accendit; illum scilicet ignem, de quo dicitur, 'Ite in lumine ignis vestri, et in flamma quam accendistis' (Isa. l. 11). In sabbato unusquisque sedet loco suo, et non procedit ex eo. Quis ergo est locus spiritalis animæ? Justitia est locus ejus, et veritas, sapientia, sanctificatio, et omnia quæ Christus est, locus animæ est. Ex quo loco eam non oportet exire, ut vera sabbata custodiat, et diem festum in sacrificiis exigat sabbatorum: sicut et Dominus dicebat: 'Qui in me manet, et ego in illo' (Joan. xv. 5). Quod autem diximus vera sabbata, si altius repetamus quæ sint vera sabbata, ultra hunc mundum est veri sabbati observatio. Quod enim scriptum est in Genesi,

contrast is not, as Mr Holden puts it, between the observance of one day and the observance of another—it is between *two modes of observing one day*, the "DIES SABBATI"; a phrase never employed in ancient or modern times to signify any day but Saturday, and which it is certainly strange that Mr Holden has overlooked. These two modes of observance of the Sabbath were—*first*, its observance in the manner of the Jews, by resting from labour, and perhaps spending it in idleness or sensuality; and *secondly*, its observance by resting from labour, and devoting the day, or a portion of it, to those spiritual employments which befit the Christian character. The notion that the phrase "Christian Sabbath" means *a day*, is entirely at variance with the scope of the passage; for its final clause, "the observance of the (or a) Christian Sabbath," which follows the writer's description of that observance, is of course equivalent to "how the Sabbath ought to be observed by a Christian," which is what he had *proposed* to describe, and from a subsequent part of the extract in the note it will be seen, that in like manner he uses synonymously the phrases *verum Sabbatum* and *veri Sabbati observatio*—"the true Sabbath," and "the true observance of the Sabbath." By these expressions he means that continual rest from sin and suffering, which the Fathers so frequently speak of as the Sabbath of Christians. Of *this* Sabbath he is thought by some to speak also in the sentences we have been discussing; but, as Dr Young observes, this would be to make him teach "that men ought to cease all the days of their life from worldly affairs." (*De Die Dominicâ*, lib. i. c. 5. So also Cawdrey and Palmer, vol. ii. p. 671.) Possibly this doctrine would not be more irrational than what Origen elsewhere sometimes teaches; but the probability that we have his own words throughout the homily is so small, that

quia 'requievit Deus in die sabbati ab operibus suis' (Gen. ii. 2), non videmus vel tunc factum esse in die septima, vel etiam nunc fieri. Semper enim videmus Deum operari, et nullum sabbatum est in quo Deus non operetur, in quo non producat solem suum super bonos et malos, et pluat super justos et injustos, in quo non producat in montibus fœnum, et herbam servituti hominum, in quo non percutiat et sanet, deducat in infernum et reducat, in quo non occidat et vivere faciat. Unde et Dominus in Evangeliis cum Judæi præscriberent sibi de operatione et curatione sabbati, respondit iis, 'Pater meus usque modo operatur, et ego operor' (Joan. v. 17); ostendens per hæc in nullo sæculi hujus sabbato requiescere Deum à dispensationibus mundi, et á provisionibus generis humani. Nam creaturam quidem fecit ex initio, et substantias protulit, quantas sciebat utpote rerum conditor ad perfectionem mundi posse sufficere, sed usque ad consummationem sæculi ab earum provisione et dispensatione non cessat. Erit ergo verum sabbatum in quo requiescet Deus ab omnibus operibus suis, sæculum futurum, tunc cum aufugiet dolor, et tristitia, et gemitus, et erit omnia et in omnibus Deus. In quo sabbato concedat etiam nobis Deus diem festum agere secum, et cum sanctis angelis suis festa celebrare, offerentes sacrificium laudis, et reddentes altissimo vota nostra, quæ hic distinxerunt labia nostra." (Pp. 358-9.)

minute criticism of its phrases would perhaps be misapplied. The basis on which the whole homily is founded appears to be a passage in Philo's treatise *On the Number Seven*, §§ 2–5, quoted by Dr Hessey in his 350th note, and to be found in Yonge's translation of Philo's *Works*, iii. 265. Philo there makes the Jewish feasts (ἑορταί) ten in number. The first in his list is a very curious one, "every day"; the second is the Jewish Sabbath; the third the new-moon; and so forth, the days or periods being particularised up to the tenth. Now, Origen in his homily does the same thing. He speaks first of an "indesinens sacrificium," a continual sacrifice, which he explains by the phrase "indesinenter custodire justitiam," continually to preserve justice. Having thus spiritualized this *first and general* ἑορτή, *festum*, *festivitas*, or *sacrificium*, he proceeds to mention nine particular *festa*—viz., 2. *Sabbati*; 3. *Neomeniæ*; 4. *Paschatis*; 5. *Azymorum*, &c., and spiritualizes them all in succession. He is obviously in a great difficulty how to vary his forms of spiritualizing, for in his account of the "indesinens sacrificium," almost all that can be said had been said as to the whole life of a Christian being a *festivitas* or *festus dies* (partially realized here, but to be completely realized hereafter); and he labours through the others in a very far-fetched way.

Here I beg leave to correct a mistake in my notices of the works of Ley and Howell, in p. 196 of the present volume, and p. 129 of volume ii. Not having had Origen's homily before me when writing these notices, I was led by the tenor of Ley's discussion to suppose that the clause, "Christ is our Christian Sabbath," quoted by him as from the homily, and presumed to be referred to by Howell, was the form in which the phrase occurred. But in fact it is used solely in the passage I have quoted.

This homily, I believe, is the only ancient writing in which the precise expression *Sabbatum Christianum* is found. If it there means Sunday and not Saturday, how has it happened that all the other Fathers of the Church, and Origen himself in all his other works, have, in speaking of Sunday, so carefully avoided the use of a name which on this supposition they were quite as likely to use as ourselves?

To the Westminster Assembly is due the credit of having fastened on the Lord's Day the designation of "the Christian Sabbath" (see above, pp. 231, 233); and it is a curious fact, that in Hamon L'Estrange's work on the subject, which must have been in the hands of the divines who prepared the Confession and Catechisms (see above, p. 200), the words of Origen are quoted as being, not "*Die Sabbati*," but "*Die Sabbati Christiani*," translated by him "The Christian Sabbath." (L'Estrange, p. 122.) Possibly, therefore, it is to a pious fraud committed by a brother of the time-serving Sir Roger L'Estrange, that the Presbyterians of Great Britain and America have for upwards of two hundred years owed their familiarity with this unscriptural phrase!

The theory which Holden so lamely supports by argument, Mr

Gilfillan characteristically assumes without any argument at all, as may be seen from pp. 389 and 390 of his book. A late reviewer of it and Dr Hessey's *Bampton Lectures*, after remarking that Mr Gilfillan "has produced some statements from Origen and others [*e.g.* Clement of Alexandria, discussed above, p. 341], which at first sight appear to favour the Sabbatarian theory," in a manner finds fault with Dr Hessey for having left these statements totally unnoticed. "With such statements on record," he proceeds, "we think it at the best exceedingly strange that he has ventured to make such sweeping assertions as he has ventured to make regarding the opinion of the early Church on the subject." (*Brit. and For. Evangelical Review*, Jan. 1863, p. 101.) Dr Hessey's book having been published a year earlier than Mr Gilfillan's, the statements in question could not have been brought under his notice by the latter; and if he knew them (as I doubt not he did) in the works of Clement and Origen, he probably saw nothing in them that bore upon the subject.* The prominence given by Mr James to the passage in Clement has however induced me to consider it, though, to scholars like Dr Hessey, the very passage extracted by him from the original is sufficient to prove that he has utterly mistaken its meaning. The Evangelical Reviewer, it must be added, himself lays no stress on the statements produced by Mr Gilfillan from Origen and others, even if assumed to be correctly quoted; on the contrary, he admits that they "do not necessarily imply that even the parties who made them are explicitly and consciously Sabbatarian: they may be fairly construed to mean no more than this, that the Lord's Day has *in some way* come in place of the Sabbath, and has *some* foundation in the nature of things. And certainly," he adds, "the early Church as a whole was far from being explicitly

* With respect to Clement, I observe that Dr Hessey, p. 60, apparently accepts Bishop Kaye's interpretation of the passage on which Mr James has founded so much—namely, that the Law had its *Hebdomas*, its typical rest from sin, and therefore might itself be called a *Hebdomas*; but that the true *Hebdomas* is the Gospel period—both resting from sin and living to righteousness—though, as coming after the *Hebdomas* (or Law), it might be called an *Ogdoas*. It is thus pretty evident that Dr H. knew the passage, but was no more able than the Bishop to see in it any allusion whatever to the Lord's Day.

One of Clement's reasons for thinking that one number is in a manner related, or equivalent, to that which follows it, is of a kind not likely to have weighed much with either critic: he points out, that in Greek numeration the first five letters correspond with the first five numerals respectively, but for six an arbitrary symbol is employed; and hence the sixth letter of the alphabet stands for seven in numeration, and the seventh letter for eight!

As for Origen's homily, Dr Hessey probably alludes to it and to similar discussions in the writings of this Father, in saying, p. 64, that according to him "the Sabbath has passed away, as a matter of obligation, (as every thing else purely Jewish has passed away,) *though its exemplary and typical lessons are evident still.*"

Sabbatarian. She did not explicitly rest her Lord's Day observance on the fourth commandment. She did not explicitly hold the substantial oneness of the Lord's Day and the Sabbath. And if any of her teachers had been abruptly asked the (doctrinal) question, whether the two institutions, apparently diverse and hostile, were not, after all, really and substantially one? he might probably have answered in the negative. For, as we have said, the time for theorizing, for speculative apprehension of doctrines, had not yet come. Any theory of the Lord's Day would in that age have been an *anachronism*." (P. 101.) Surely this and the still more explicit admission of the reviewer on the same page, that "*the early Church did not hold the Sabbatarian theory*," goes quite as far as Dr Hessey's so-called "sweeping assertions," and is but small encouragement to Mr Gilfillan to persist in the comfortable belief (see above, p. 311), that his Sabbatarian opinions are strongly confirmed by their coincidence with those of the Fathers.

But although, as the reviewer justly says, Christian theology had not at this time assumed the systematic form which it afterwards attained, there is no ground for saying that the Fathers or "the Church" represented by them, had formed no theory, Sabbatarian or dominical, of the Lord's Day. Often did the question occur to them, Why do we honour the first day of the week, and assemble for worship upon it? and to this question not one of them who lived before the reign of Constantine has either answered, with Mr Gilfillan, Because the fourth commandment binds the Christian Church as it did the Jews, and the Sabbath-day was changed by Christ or his apostles from Saturday to Sunday;—or replied with Dr Hessey, Because the Apostles, who had a divine commission, appointed the Lord's Day to be observed as a Christian festival. On the contrary, they give sundry other reasons of their own—fanciful in most cases, and ridiculous in some. The best of them is, that on the first day the Saviour had arisen from the dead; and the others chiefly are—that on the first day God changed darkness and matter, and made the world (Justin, as quoted above, p. 323); that on a Sunday Jesus Christ appeared to and instructed his disciples (Justin, *ibid.*); that the command to circumcise children on the eighth day was a type of the true circumcision, by which we were circumcised from error and wickedness through our Lord, who rose from the dead on the first day of the week (Justin and Cyprian, above, p. 324, and below, p. 354); and that manna was first given to the Israelites on a Sunday (Origen, above, p. 347). From which the inevitable inference is, that they neither had found in Scripture any commandment—primeval, Mosaic, or Christian—appointing the Lord's Day to be honoured or observed, nor knew from tradition any such commandment delivered by Jesus or his apostles.

This article may be fitly concluded with the following remarks by a writer in *Notes and Queries*:—

"The only words used in English for the first day of the week,

before the existence of Puritanism, were *Sunday* and *Lord's Day*.

"The former of these expressions we retained from our Saxon ancestors, with all other Teutonic nations. The latter we adapted from the Christian form of southern Europe.

"Saturday, in Italian, still retains the Hebrew name of *Sabbato;* so it is, with the slight literal variations which distinguish the several languages, in Spanish and Portuguese. The French *Samedi* is properly explained by Ménage as merely an abridgment of *Sabbati-di;* just as *Mardi* is of *Marti-di*, and *Vendredi* of *Veneri-di*.

"When Dr Nott, of Winchester, published his very elegant Italian *Translation of the Book of Common Prayer*, he used for 'Sabbath,' in the fourth commandment, the words, '*il giorno di riposo*,' recollecting the equivoque which would result from the use of *Sabbato* to an Italian ear. I remember serious objections being raised to this translation by some critics of the Calvinistic section in our Church, as well as to other translations of his in the same volume, and in which Dr Nott had shown that he understood both languages rather better than those who found fault with him.

"The rabbinical, rather than the Christian observation of one day in seven, which was inculcated by the early [English] Calvinists, may account for their preference of a word which seemed more closely to assimilate Sunday, in their minds, to the day when the disciples were reproved by the Pharisees for 'plucking the ears of corn;' and when they were in their turn reproved by a higher and holier authority.

"The word for Sunday, in Russian, means *resurrection;* identifying the day, as the southern nations do, though more significantly, with the great triumph of the Christian faith." (E. C. H., in *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, vol. xii. p. 54; 21st July 1855.)

Page 121.—Cyprian.

The passage which has mainly been quoted from Cyprian by writers on the Sabbath is one where he recognises the *eminence* of "the eighth day, that is, the first after the Sabbath," and grounds this eminence, not on the allegation that it either had succeeded the Sabbath, or had been appointed by Christ or his apostles to be kept as a festival, but on the fanciful notion of Justin Martyr (above, p. 324), that circumcision on the eighth day was a type of "the day on which our Lord should rise and quicken us, and give us the spiritual circumcision." (*Cypr. Op., Epist.* 64, p. 161, Oxon. 1682; quoted by Holden, p. 304, and Hessey, p. 65.)

In confirmation of Sir W. Domville's translation of the word *Dominicum* in a passage quoted above, p. 303, it may be noticed that in a rebuke by Cyprian to a rich widow, quoted by Heylin, Part II. ch. ii. § 10, the word is used in the two senses of the *church* where the Lord's Supper was administered, and the *supper* itself. She had failed to bring the customary contributions of bread and wine to

church, and he addresses her thus:—"Locuples et dives, dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ corbanam omnino non respicis, quæ in dominicum sine sacrificio venis, quæ partem de sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis?" (*De Op. et Eleemosynis; Cypr. Op.* p. 203.). Which Heylin thus translates:—"Thinkest thou that thou dost rightly celebrate the Lord's Supper, who, being rich and wealthy, hast no care at all of the poor man's box? who comest into the church without thy sacrifice, and eatest a part of that which the poor man offereth?" In his first edition (which, as already mentioned, is followed in the posthumous volume of his *Tracts*), Heylin had translated *dominicum celebrare* "keep the Lord's day," instead of "celebrate the Lord's Supper;" a mistake which Mr James, using probably the posthumous reprint, and ignorant of the correction by the author, points out in his 190th page. Hessey also (p. 376) gives the right translation.

Page 121.—The Edict of Constantine.

A copy of this edict will be found above, p. 257. The following remarks are made upon it by Dr Hessey:—

"Prohibition of work, &c. in the cities, some have regarded as an approximation to Sabbatarianism unknown before in the Church, and lamented it as being an infringement of Christian liberty.

"Others, on the contrary, have considered it to be a movement in the right direction, but not to have gone so far as it was desirable it should have gone. Hooker, for instance, writes thus: 'The Emperor Constantine having with over-great facility licensed Sundays' labour in country villages, under that pretence, whereof there may justly no doubt sometime consideration be had, namely, lest anything which God by his providence hath bestowed should miscarry, not being taken in due time; Leo, which afterward saw that this ground would not bear so general and large indulgence as had been granted, doth by a contrary edict both reverse and severely censure his predecessor's remissness.'*

"Others, as Heylin,† considering the observance of the Lord's Day to be altogether a matter of custom (though of Ecclesiastical custom), and so to be much on a *par* with the observance of other Christian holy days, seem to regard this edict as merely one of the steps by which this Christian holy day, as others afterwards, received assistance and countenance from the state, by which, in fact, not a Divine and apostolic ordinance, but a Church custom, was enabled to prevail in the world.

"We are not, I think, bound to weigh too accurately the motives of Constantine. His position was no doubt a difficult one,

* "*Eccl. Polity*, B. v. § 71. [Hooker quotes the edict of Leo.]
† "*Hist. of the Sabbath*, Part II. ch. iii. § 12.

both externally and internally. He had to deal with an empire in which there was a great mixture of religions, though reducible for practical purposes to two denominations, Paganism and Christianity. He was more than half convinced of the insufficiency of Paganism, and nearly half convinced of the truth of Christianity. He dared not, however, offend the Pagans, much as he wished to encourage the Christians, to whom he had already granted toleration by the edict of Milan (A.D. 313).* Was there any way in which he might advantage both, and yet confer a special though not obtrusive boon upon the latter? All his subjects, it is probable, felt the condition of the kalendar to be a crying and practical inconvenience like that of the old and new style in later times. And the division of his population into two classes was perpetuated by the existence of days for judicature, which one half of them, the heathen, considered to be Fasti, from the fact of their not being heathen festivals—the other half to be Nefasti, or days, to say the least, inconvenient for legal purposes, from the fact of their Christian festivals being held upon them, and requiring cessation from worldly matters for their due celebration. To meet this state of things, he selected for a day of rest for the whole empire a day already, as we believe, regarded by the Christians as a festival of Divine institution, calling it by its civil name, as one which the Christians were well acquainted with and did not scruple to employ, but which could not offend the heathen as having nothing distinctively Christian in it.† The Christians would accept it gladly. It was an evidence to them that the kingdoms of this world were becoming visibly, though the world knew it not, subservient to the Lord of the day. The pagans could not object to it. It produced uniformity in their festivals, and remedied various inconveniences which met them at every turn. As for the rural districts, where paganism especially prevailed, these had an exception made in their favour, which obviated every pretence of hardship. Both Christians and pagans—the former as far as they could, and, from their religious rites requiring their time, the latter altogether—had been accustomed to festival rests; Constantine made these rests to synchronize. His enactment, then, though a political and politic one, was not Sabbatarian, or an advance towards Sabbatarianism; nor was it, on the other hand, a formal permission of labour to Christians which was not enjoyed before. It was such an assistance as the civil power, supposing it to be Christian, was bound to render to ordinances which Christians consider sacred; the care that public

* "Lactantius, *De Morte Persecutorum*, c. 48, has preserved the Latin original of this edict; and Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. x. c. 5, a translation of it into Greek.

† This is a sufficient answer to Mr Godfrey Higgins's remark, that "if Constantine had considered Sunday to be venerable on account of any relation it bore to the Christian religion, he would have said *Venerabili die Domini* or *Christi*." (*Horæ Sabbaticæ*, p. 95, 3d ed.) His reason for calling it venerable can however only be conjectured.—R. C.

proceedings should be administered in such a manner as not to necessitate either submission to wrong on other days, or neglect of Divine offices on the Lord's day. It was, at the same time, all that the emperor could then do. Eusebius well describes his policy. It was 'to effect the turning of mankind to God by gentle means' (*ἠρέμα σύμπαντας ἀνθρώπους θεοσεβεῖς ἀπεργάσασθαι*),* and any more decided declaration would have defeated that policy. The suspension of heathen games on the Lord's day, and the rendering the interdiction of labour general, might be taken up by his successors. He himself ventured upon something more afterwards. His enactment, I say, was not Sabbatarian. There is in it no reference to the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment.† There is in it no discouragement of the *εὐφροσύνη* or cheerfulness, with which the genius of Christianity would suggest that the day should be associated, and with which the testimony of the Fathers proves that it was associated. The willingness with which the Christians, who were mostly in the cities, submitted to the ordinance, is an evidence that rest from their ordinary labours on the day of their religious assemblies was no new thing to them. Thus public interdiction of such labours, and of legal proceedings, only gave sanction to a rest which probably, to their worldly detriment, they had already observed, or which (for there is reason for believing that the first day of the week was a court day) they had, against their consciences, neglected to their spiritual detriment.

"When I say that Constantine afterwards ventured upon something more, I would not be understood to endorse the assertion sometimes made, that he decreed an honour to Friday and Saturday,‡ similar to that which he decreed to Sunday. ('Eusèbe affirme que Constantin avait ordonné qu'on honorât aussi le samedi, et Sozomène y joint même le vendredi,' says Prince Albert de Broglie; but he adds very truly, 'Rien de semblable ne se trouve dans les lois.'§) The Justinian and Theodosian codes are silent on this supposed supplemental ordinance. So far as Friday is concerned, it depends upon the testimony of Sozomen.‖ As for Saturday, the passage in Eusebius is so manifestly corrupt, that unless we adopt the emendation of Valesius (*τὴν πρὸ τοῦ Σαββάτου*, for *τὰς τοῦ Σαββάτου*), we can make nothing of it; while, if we do thus amend it, it will speak of Friday, as that in Sozomen does, not of Saturday.¶ In whatever way the passage is to be read, I

* "Euseb. *De Vitâ Constantini*, iv. 18, p. 635, ed. Reading.

"Compare Prince Albert de Broglie, *L'Eglise et l'Empire*, vol. i. p. 306. 'L'Eglise à ce moment solennel accepta de Dieu et de Constantin la tâche d'émanciper le monde sans le bouleverser.'

† See below, ii. 296, 301, 394.—R. C.

‡ See above, p. 223, and below, ii. p. 12.—R. C.

§ "Euseb. *De Vitâ Constantini*, iv. 18, p. 635. Prince Albert de Broglie (*ut suprà*), vol. i. p. 308, note.

‖ "*Hist. Eccl.*, i. 8, pp. 19, 20.

¶ Dr Hessey quotes the Greek passages from Sozomen and Eusebius, which are here omitted. Sozomen says that Constantine "honoured

would rather trust the codes than statements which were probably suggested by confusion of current practice with imperial legislation. I have only alluded to them, because they are sometimes alleged in derogation of what I believe to be the fact, that Ἡ Κυριακὴ Ἡμέρα was *the day* which would strike an inquirer as necessarily to be observed under Christianity. But to return.

"With every abatement for the state of things already existing, we may justly call the edict of Constantine the inauguration of a new era in the history of the Lord's Day. Christians had now a document, and that not necessarily a Christian document, provided for the observance of a day which had heretofore been reverenced solely as an ordinance existing in and dating from the lifetime of the inspired apostles.* Men are always more inclined to lean on visible and living authorities than on authorities passed out of sight, however venerable; and if both exist, to refer to the former rather than to the latter. And the former sort of authority having once established itself, and having once felt its power, is inclined to extend it. So it was even in matters of the Church. The Lord's Day had, as a festival, hitherto stood almost alone in the Christian ritual (with the exception of Pentecoste, or the interval between the Resurrection and Whit-Sunday). But now, the Church seeing the Lord's Day so unreservedly recognised, began to establish other festivals more or less resembling it, though destitute of the same sure foundation. These were multiplied, as time went on, in great abundance, and the aid of the state, so efficient in one case as it seemed, was called in for other cases. And in order to justify this, by the time that the Reformation commenced the following state of things, which may in a manner be called Sabbatarian, had completely set in.† The Jewish law, or at least the supposed analogy of it, was continually and systematically quoted in favour of these multiplied festivals. Exact and stringent rules had been laid down, professedly for the guidance of consciences, but really to their serious entanglement, in the observance of these festivals. The results were, that the ideas of the Lord's Day and of the Sabbath, originally quite distinct, and indeed almost antagonistic, became confused; and that the reverence especially due to the Lord's Day was swamped amid claims to reverence on the part of other days, depending solely on Ecclesiastical authority in the lower sense‡ of that phrase." (Hessey, pp. 82–89.)

In regard to the agricultural labours allowed on Sunday by Constantine, Gieseler in his *Compendium of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 202 (Davidson's transl., Edin. 1846), observes that such

the Lord's day because on it Christ arose from the dead, and the day before the seventh because on it he was crucified." (*English Transl.* p. 16; Lond. 1846.) In the memoir of Sozomen prefixed to this translation, it is said that his history "is generally admitted to have suffered many alterations and mutilations."—R. C.

* See remark on this statement, below, vol. ii. p. 393.—R. C.

† See below, ii. 383, 389.—R. C.

‡ Ibid. p. 388.—R. C.

labours had been permitted on festivals, according to a Roman custom mentioned in Virg. *Georg.* i., v. 268, &c. and Cato *De Re Rust.* c. ii. He refers also to Erycius Puteanus, *De Nundinis Romanis*, c. 10, in Grævii *Thes. Antiquitt. Rom.*, t. viii. p. 658. With reference to the Christians, Hengstenberg thinks "such a permission inconceivable, if the Sunday was not distinguished from the Sabbath." (*On the Lord's Day*, p. 58.) And Sir W. Domville remarks, that the festival established by Constantine's edict is by no means the Sabbath of Scripture; for it commands a Sabbath to be observed in towns, but exempts the country, in order, says the edict, that the bounty of Providence (intended for the sustenance of man) might not perish. Yet we read in Exodus xxxiv. 21, that the Sabbath day was to be kept even 'in earing time and harvest' (or, as Dr Geddes translates the original, 'in seed time and in harvest')." (Vol. i. p. 291.) The result of Domville's inquiries is, that "history does not furnish us with a single proof or indication that the Sunday was observed as a Sabbath at any time previous to the Sabbatical edict of Constantine in A.D. 321; while, on the other hand, there is inferential proof of the most satisfactory character to be collected from Scripture and from non-Scriptural writings, that from the time of the first promulgation of Christianity to the middle of the second century the Christian Church observed no Sabbath. And whether it did, or did not, observe a Sabbath in the interval between that period and the time of Constantine, can be of no importance whatever in the Sabbath controversy, though it may be safely assumed as a fact that it did not." (Pp. 291, 292.)

It is a curious and little known fact, that markets were expressly appointed by Constantine to be held on Sunday. This we learn from an inscription on a Slavonian bath rebuilt by him, published in Gruter's *Inscriptiones Antiquæ totius Orbis Romani*, CLXIV. 2. It is there recorded of the emperor, that "provisione pietatis suæ nondinas die solis perpeti anno constituit;"—"by a pious provision he appointed markets to be held on Sunday throughout the year." His pious object doubtless was to promote the attendance of the country people at churches in towns. "Thus," says Charles Julius Hare, "Constantine was the author of the practice of holding markets on Sunday, which in many parts of Europe prevailed above a thousand years after, though Charlemagne issued a special law (cap. CXL.) against it." (*Philological Museum*, i. 30.) In Scotland, this practice was first forbidden on holy days by an Act of James IV. in 1503, and on Sundays in particular by one of James VI. in 1579.

Page 122.—Eusebius.

Eusebius, the ecclesiastical historian, and Bishop of Cesarea in Palestine, flourished in the reign of Constantine, whose friend and biographer he was. "He mentions the Lord's Day as a festival well known even in Irenæus' time. He even makes the some-

what questionable assertion that the Apostles had an Easter Festival, and celebrated it on the Lord's Day (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 23). He says that Constantine 'appointed for prayer that day which is really the first and chief of days, which is truly the Lord's Day, and a day of salvation' (*De Vitâ Constant.*, iv. 18). In another place he repeats his statement in the same words, with some enlargements. (*De Laudibus Constant.* c. 9.) Again, he eulogizes Constantine for commanding that 'all should assemble together every week, and keep that day which is called the Lord's Day as a festival, to refresh even their bodies, and to stir up their minds by divine precepts and instruction' (*Id.* c. 17). The Sabbath Eusebius speaks of in quite a different manner. 'It was part of the legislation of Moses. Those before Moses were free from it, and indeed from all accurately prescribed ordinances for devotion' (*Præpar. Evangel.*, lib. vii. cap. 6, p. 304 D. fol. Col. 1628)." (Hessey, p. 90.) Holden quotes or refers to the same passages, and Domville comments on them in the Supplement to his first volume, p. 10. In his second volume, p. 138, he quotes from the introduction to the *Ecclesiastical History* (Cruse's Transl., p. 46), a passage in which Eusebius, speaking of the saints before Abraham, says that "they did not regard circumcision nor observe the Sabbath, nor do we; neither do we abstain from certain foods, nor regard other injunctions which Moses subsequently delivered to be observed in types and symbols, because such things as these do not belong to Christians."

In another work—his *Commentary on the Psalms*—there are several passages about the Lord's Day which were brought to light by the late Moses Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary of Andover, Massachusetts. They are partly quoted in his work on the Apocalypse (vol. ii. p. 40), and are appended to the American and later English editions of Gurney's *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath* (see below, ii. 336). In commenting on Psal. xxi. 30 (xxii. 29 in our English version), Eusebius applies the verse to the celebration of the Lord's Supper every Sunday; on Psal. xlv. 6 (xlvi. 5), he says, "I think that the Psalmist describes the morning assemblies in which we are accustomed to convene throughout the world;" and on Psal. lviii. 17 (lix. 16), he declares that "By this is prophetically signified the service which is performed very early and every morning of the resurrection-day throughout the whole world." (*Comm.*, in Montfaucon's *Collectio Nova Patrum*, pp. 85, 195, 272.)*

* The Scripture passages above referred to are here subjoined, in order that the reader may judge whether the use made of them by Eusebius is rational or otherwise:—

Psal. xxii. 29: "All they that be fat upon earth *shall eat and worship.*"

Psal. xlvi. 5.: "God is in the midst of her [His city]; she shall not be moved: God shall help her, *and that right early.*"

Psal. lix. 16: "I will sing of thy power; yea, I will sing aloud of thy mercy *in the morning*: for thou hast been my defence and refuge in the day of my trouble."

"But," proceeds Mr Stuart, "by far the most important passage of all remains to be adduced. It is in his commentary on Psalm xci. (xcii.), which is entitled, *A psalm or song for the sabbath-day.* He begins his commentary by stating that the patriarchs had not the legal Jewish sabbath; but still 'given to the contemplation of divine things, and meditating day and night upon the divine word, they spent holy sabbaths which were acceptable to God.' Then, observing that the Psalm before him has reference to a sabbath, he refers it to the *Lord's day*, and says, that 'it exhorts to those things which are to be done on resurrection-day.' He then states the precept respecting the sabbath, as addressed originally to the Jews, and that they often violated it. After which he thus proceeds: 'Wherefore as they rejected it [the sabbatical command] THE WORD [Christ], *by the New Covenant*, TRANSLATED AND TRANSFERRED THE FEAST OF THE SABBATH *to the morning light, and gave us the symbol of true rest*, viz. THE SAVING LORD'S DAY, *the first* [day] *of the light*, in which the Saviour of the world, after all his labours among men, obtained the victory over death, and passed the portals of heaven, having achieved a work superior to the six-days' creation. . . . . On this day, *which is the first* [day] *of light and of the true Sun, we assemble, after an interval of six days, and* CELEBRATE HOLY AND SPIRITUAL SABBATHS, *even all nations redeemed by him throughout the world*, AND DO THOSE THINGS ACCORDING TO THE SPIRITUAL LAW, *which were decreed for the priests to do on the sabbath;* for we make spiritual offerings and sacrifices, which are called sacrifices of praise and rejoicing; we make incense of a good odour to ascend, as it is said, 'Let my prayer come up before thee as incense.' Yea, we also present the shew-bread, reviving the remembrance of our salvation, the blood of sprinkling, which is of the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world, and which purifies our souls. . . . Moreover we are diligent to do zealously, on that day, the things enjoined in this Psalm; by word and work making confession to the Lord, and singing in the name of the Most High. In the morning, also, with the first rising of our light, we proclaim the mercy of God toward us; also his truth by night, exhibiting a *sober and chaste demeanour;* AND ALL THINGS WHATSOEVER THAT IT WAS DUTY TO DO ON THE SABBATH [Jewish seventh day,] THESE WE HAVE TRANSFERRED TO THE LORD'S DAY, *as more appriately belonging to it, because* IT HAS A PRECEDENCE *and* IS FIRST IN RANK, AND MORE HONOURABLE THAN THE JEWISH SABBATH. For on that day, in making the world, God said, Let there be light, and there was light; and on the same day, the Sun of righteousness arose upon our souls. WHEREFORE IT IS DELIVERED TO US [παραδίδοται, it is handed down by tradition,] THAT WE SHOULD MEET TOGETHER ON THIS DAY; and it is ordered that we should do those things announced in this Psalm.'

"After some interval, he speaks again of the title to the Psalm, and says, that it does not so much respect the Jewish sabbath, for '*it signifies the* LORD'S DAY *and the resurrection day*, as we have

proved in other places.' 'This scripture teaches, [that we are to spend the Lord's Day,] *in leisure for religious exercises* (*τῶν θείων ἐσχολίων,*) and IN CESSATION AND VACATION FROM ALL BODILY AND MORTAL WORKS, *which the scripture calls sabbath and rest.*'

"This testimony is so full, so ample, so express, as to supersede all necessity for comment. It touches both public worship and private demeanour. It expressly declares, that the usages of the Jewish Sabbath (so far as the nature of the case will permit) are transferred to the Christian Sabbath; *that Christ himself made this transfer;* that Christians are to abstain from all bodily labour on the Lord's Day; and that they should honour it above all other days, by spiritual offerings and works of piety.

"Let it be remembered, now, that this testimony comes from the ancient historian of the Christian Church, who had searched more thoroughly into its usages and antiquities, than any other man in the early ages. It comes, moreover, from no bigot. Eusebius was himself a man of an enlightened and vigorous mind, and very little influenced by superstition.

"When all these things are put together, and it is remembered that he repeatedly asserts the keeping of the Lord's Day *throughout the Christian world,* how can any fair-minded man well doubt, whether the Christians of old kept this day sacred, and kept it so as not only to vie with, but to outdo the Jews, in all the spiritual and holy duties of its consecrated hours?"*

Now, the doubt or disbelief so generally entertained by those acquainted with the writings of the Fathers is, not whether the early Christians kept the first day sacred (that is to say, held it in honour, and met for worship upon it), or whether their mode of worship excelled the Sabbath-worship of the Jews—but whether they *regarded the Lord's Day as the Sabbath,* and believed that to it *the law and the non-sacerdotal duty of the Sabbath had been transferred by Christ.* Eusebius, it will be observed, though he knew so well the usages and controversies of the early Church, says nothing of the opinions of his predecessors on *these* points, but speaks for himself alone; and the questions to be considered are, What does he really say? and What are his statements worth?

By Mr Stuart and his followers† he is understood to affirm that Christ, either directly or through the medium of the apostles, expressly made the transfer. But it is possible (and for my part I think it extremely probable) that Eusebius, in saying that Christ "*by the New Covenant* translated and transferred the feast of the Sabbath to the morning light," &c., intended merely to express, in language adapted to his times, the notion which had been commonly entertained in the Church since the days of Justin

* The italics and capitals are Mr Stuart's.

† Among these are Coleman, p. 530; Phelps, p. 161; Micaiah Hill, p. 392; Gilfillan, pp. 388, 389: Hetherington, in *The Christian Sabbath considered in its Various Aspects,* p. 264; and Dabney, in *The Brit. and For. Evang. Rev.* for Oct. 1858, p. 767.

Martyr—and which Eusebius himself repeats briefly in the passage first above quoted from his *Life of Constantine* (see p. 360)—that Christ, by rising on the first day of the week, had made that day more illustrious than the seventh, and more fit to be used as a prayer-day. (See pp. 323, 333.) So comprehensive a phrase as "by the New Covenant" may mean this as well as anything else; and there is no doubt that Athanasius (or whoever wrote the Homily *De Semente*), in making the similar assertion that "the Lord has transferred the day of the Sabbath to the Lord's Day," meant only that by rising on the first day our Lord effected the transference, or rather gave occasion to its being made by his followers. (See above, p. 257.) Even Mr James (p. 195) agrees with Heylin in so interpreting it; and from other passages in Athanasius it is shown by Domville, that no *command* of Christ could consistently therewith have been referred to in the words just quoted. (See Domville, vol. i. Supp. p. 9; and Holden, p. 313.*) That nothing more was meant by Eusebius, is almost certain from what he afterwards says in the words so emphatically recommended to attention by the large capitals of Mr Stuart. *There*, the statement is, not that "*Christ himself* made the transfer of the usages of the Jewish Sabbath to the Christian Sabbath," but that "WE"—Eusebius and his fellow-Christians—"have transferred these to the Lord's Day, *as more appropriately belonging to it*, BECAUSE *it has a precedence*," &c. And in assigning the authority of tradition for the Sunday meetings, he says nothing of any command of Christ or his apostles having been so transmitted. It is curious that even Mr Coleman, who thinks that "the most decisive and satisfactory authority on this subject is perhaps that of Eusebius" (p. 530), admits in the same page that "no law or precept appears to have been given by Christ or the apostles, either for the abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath or the institution of the Lord's Day, or the substitution of the first for the seventh day of the week. *The reasons for keeping the first day in preference to the seventh, have been already stated from Justin Martyr* [see above, p. 323]; they are more fully explained by Leo the Great, of the fifth century: —'On this day the world had its origin. On the same day, through the resurrection of Christ, death came to an end, and life began. It was upon this day also that the apostles were commissioned by the Lord to preach the gospel to every creature, and to offer to all the world the blessings of salvation. On the same day came Christ into the midst of his disciples and breathed upon them, saying, 'Receive the Holy Ghost.' And finally, on this day the Holy Ghost was shed forth upon the Apostles. So that we see as it were an ordinance from Heaven evidently set before us, shewing that on this day, on which all the gifts of God's grace have

* The words in the Homily are sometimes translated "The Lord hath exchanged the Sabbath-day for the Lord's Day;" in which version it is not the identity of the two festivals, but the substitution of the one for the other, that is predicated.

been vouchsafed, we ought to celebrate the solemnities of Christian worship.'" (*Ancient Christianity Exemplified*, p. 530.) Here, a century after Eusebius, nothing more is asserted than a *quasi* ordinance from Heaven, deducible from all these circumstances, that the Lord's Day should be observed, not as the *sabbath*, but as a day for Christian worship. Mr Coleman, from his point of view as a Sabbatarian, very naturally finds it to be "not a little singular that the Church, though right in theory [whatever that may mean], continued through successive centuries down to the age of the Reformation, and even beyond it, wrong *in principle*, in that she disowned the sanctity of *the law* of the Sabbath. In other words, the Divine authority of the Sabbath neither was recognised by the ancient Fathers, nor by Luther or Calvin or by the early Reformers. It was reserved for the Puritans, to their immortal honour, first to expound and enforce the law of the Christian Sabbath, based on the authority of God's Word." (P. 532.)

But supposing Eusebius to have meant that our Lord, by an express command, put Sunday in the place of Saturday, invested it with all the authority which the Sabbath had possessed, and laid upon his followers the duty of observing it as the Jews were required to observe the Sabbath—supposing Eusebius to say all this, of what value are his opinions to us? The Scripture is our rule, as it was also his; and if the command is recorded there, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced therefrom, surely we can profit but little from knowing that a bishop in the fourth century found or deduced it, as every intelligent Christian may on the supposition do. If, on the contrary, it is *not* in the Bible, or to be well and necessarily deduced from any thing recorded therein, are we bound, or even at liberty, to believe an assertion made for the first time by a writer in the fourth century—a writer, too, that was obviously under a strong temptation to recommend in every possible way the Sunday-Sabbath of Constantine to the Christians of his time? When Eusebius declares that the Sabbath began with Moses, neither his "thorough researches into the usages and antiquities of the Christian Church," nor the "enlightenment and vigour of his mind," have the smallest effect in inducing Mr Stuart, or any other Sabbatarian, to disbelieve in a universal primeval sabbath-law, and its recognition by the early Gentile Christians.* Are not all men equally entitled to reject his supposed interpretation of Scripture as to the transference of the Sabbath to the first day of the week; and also to believe that when he finds in certain Psalms allusions to and prophecies of the Eucharist, and the morning assemblies of Christians on the Lord's Day, he displays a puerile fancy, rather than that soundness of judgment which an interpreter of Scripture stands greatly in need of?

* See the remarks of L'Estrange, Bishop Lake, and R. Hill, on this very subject, above, pp. 201, 214; and vol. ii. p. 174. See also vol. ii. pp. 31, 259, 326.

It can hardly be doubted, that the application made by Eusebius, in this spiritualizing style, of the title of the 92d Psalm to the Lord's Day, must have helped not a little to foster the Sabbatarianism which afterwards became prominent in the Church.*

Pages 122-4.—The later Fathers of the Church.

After the full discussions with which the last fifty pages are occupied, it would be tedious to go on detailing the opinions of the Fathers subsequent to Constantine, which, of course, are comparatively unimportant as evidence of the belief and practice of the primitive Church. Referring, therefore, for particulars to the books already named in pp. 122-4, to the recent publication of Dr Hessey, and to the pages of this work referred to in the index under the names of the various Fathers, I shall here in conclusion merely add some extracts from two of the most eminent amongst them—Chrysostom of Constantinople, and Augustine of Hippo.

Chrysostom against Sabbatizing.—"Listen to Paul's words (Gal. ii. 17) that the observance of the Law overthrows the Gospel, and learn, if thou wilt, how this comes to pass, and tremble, and shun

* Some judicious remarks on the "Views of the Law and the Gospel held in the Early Church," will be found in Mr Baden Powell's *Christianity without Judaism*, pp. 154-162. He observes that "from the mere fact of the twofold observance of the Sabbath and the Lord's Day, which prevailed with some churches, one thing is perfectly manifest—viz., that there could not have existed the slightest notion of the obligation of the one institution having been *transferred* to the other, as imagined by many in later times. There is, again, a wide difference between 'keeping a day holy' and simply *commemorating* an event upon it; yet the latter easily degenerates into the former idea. Down to later times we trace some remains of the observance of the Sabbath in the solemnisation of Saturday as the eve or vigil of the Lord's Day.

"The constant reference to the Old Testament law on the part of the Jewish converts not unnaturally led to the disposition to find in it at least some sort of allegorical application to the Gentiles. Thus guided, possibly, by the figurative language of the Apostle (Heb. iv. 4), and the fondness for what they termed evangelising the Old Testament, some of the Fathers adopted the idea of a metaphorical interpretation of the Fourth Commandment (where, of course, the literal sense could not apply), in the case of Gentile converts, as meaning the perpetual service of a Christian life, preparatory to eternal rest." (Pp. 161, 162.)

In Eusebius I see nothing beyond an attempt to make this figurative application of the law and customary religious exercises of the Sabbath to the Lord's Day. By Chrysostom, Gen. ii. 3 is similarly spiritualised. In his Homily on that verse he says:—"Now already from the beginning God offered us instruction typically (*αἰνιγματωδῶς*), teaching us to dedicate and separate the one day in the circle of the week wholly to employment in things spiritual;" thus (as his translator observes) making the Sabbath a type of the Lord's Day, and rest *from* secular, of rest *in* spiritual work. See Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Statues*, in the *Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church*, vol. ix. p. 209; Oxford, 1842.

this pitfall. Wherefore dost thou keep the Sabbath, and fast with the Jews? Is it that thou fearest the Law and abandonment of its letter? But thou wouldest not entertain this fear, didst thou not disparage faith as weak, and by itself powerless to save. A fear to omit the Sabbath plainly shews that you fear the Law as still in force; and if the Law is needful, it is so as a whole, not in part, nor in one commandment only; and if as a whole, the righteousness which is by faith is little by little shut out. If thou keep the Sabbath, why not also be circumcised? and if circumcised, why not also offer sacrifices? If the Law is to be observed, it must be observed as a whole, or not at all."—*Comm. on Galatians*, transl. in *Lib. of the Fathers*, p. 42; Oxford, 1840.

Chrysostom on Natural and Positive Laws.—"When God formed man, he implanted in him from the beginning a natural law. And what then was this natural law? He gave utterance to conscience within us, and made the knowledge of good things, and of those which are the contrary, to be self-taught. For we have no need to learn that fornication is an evil thing, and that chastity is a good thing, but we know this from the first. And that you may learn that we know this from the first, the Lawgiver, when he afterwards gave laws, and said, 'Thou shalt not kill' (Exod. xx. 13), did not add, 'since murder is an evil thing,' but simply said, 'Thou shalt not kill;' for he merely prohibited the sin, without teaching. How was it, then, when he said, 'Thou shalt not kill,' that he did not add, 'because murder is a wicked thing'? The reason was, that conscience had taught this beforehand; and he speaks thus, as to those who know and understand the point. Wherefore when he speaks to us of another commandment, not known to us by the dictate of conscience, he not only prohibits, but adds the reason. When, for instance, he gave commandment respecting the Sabbath, 'On the seventh day thou shalt do no work,' he subjoined also the reason for this cessation. What was this? 'Because on the seventh day God rested from all his works which he had undertaken to make.' (Exod. xx. 10.) And again, 'Because thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt.' (Deut. v. 15.) For what purpose then, I ask, did he add a reason respecting the Sabbath, but did no such thing in regard to murder? Because this commandment was not one of the leading ones (τῶν προηγουμένων). It was not one of those which were accurately defined of our conscience, but a kind of partial and temporary one; and for this reason it was abolished afterwards (κατελύθη μετὰ ταῦτα)."—*Homilies on the Statues*, pp. 208, 209; Oxford, 1842.

Augustine on the Old Testament.—"Read the Old Testament, and you will see that, as far as precepts are concerned, the very same precepts were given to a people still carnal, which are given to us. For to worship one God, this we are commanded too. 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain,' which is the second commandment; this we are commanded too. 'Observe the Sabbath day:' this commandment concerns us still more than it concerns them; because it is commanded to be observed

spiritually. For the Jews observe the Sabbath in a servile way, spending it in rioting, in drunkenness. How much better would their women be employed at the distaff, than in dancing on that day in the balconies. Let us not say for a moment, my brethren, that these observe the Sabbath. The Christian observes the Sabbath spiritually; abstaining from servile work. For what is 'from servile work?' From sin. How prove we this? Ask the Lord. 'Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin.' (John viii 34.) So that on us likewise is enjoined spiritually the observance of the Sabbath."—*Homilies on the Gospel according to St John, &c.*, vol. i. p. 44, Homily III.; Oxford, 1848.

Augustine on the Sabbath-breaking of Jesus.—"'The Jews persecuted the Lord Jesus, because he did these things on the Sabbath day.' (John v. 16.) What answer, then, the Lord Jesus now made to the Jews, let us hear. Concerning the healing of men on the Sabbath day, I have told you what answer he useth to make, namely, that they slighted not their beasts on the Sabbath, either in delivering or in feeding them. Of the carrying of the bed, what said he in answer? A manifest corporal work had been done before the eyes of the Jews; not the healing of the body, but the working of the body, which seemed not so necessary as the healing was. Then let the Lord openly tell that the sacrament (the spiritual signification) of the Sabbath, and the sign of observing one day, was but for a time given to the Jews, whereas the fulfilment of the sacrament was come in him. 'My Father,' saith he, 'worketh even until now, and I work.' He has sent great tumult among them; by the advent of the Lord the water is troubled, only he which troubleth it is hidden from view. Yet there is that must be healed by the troubled water, one huge sufferer: by the Passion of the Lord, the whole world.

"See we then the answer of him who is the truth—'My Father even until now doth work, and I work.' Is it false, then, which the Scripture hath said, that 'God rested from all his works on the seventh day?' And is it against this Scripture ministered by Moses that the Lord Jesus speaketh, whereas he saith himself to the Jews, 'If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me also, for of me he wrote?' See then whether Moses did not mean it to be significant of something, that 'God rested on the seventh day.' For it cannot be that God was spent in doing the work of his creation, and needed rest like a man. How can it be said that he was spent who had made with a word? Yet is both that saying true, that 'God rested from his works on the seventh day;' and this true which Jesus saith, 'My Father even until now worketh.' But who can unfold it in words, a man to men, weak to weak, unlearned to them that fain would learn, and haply if he have any savour of knowledge, yet unavailing to draw it forth and unfold it to men who perchance with difficulty take it, even if that be possible of unfolding which is taken? Who, I say, my brethren, may unfold in words, how God both at rest doth work, and working doth rest? I pray you, until ye be come farther on

your way defer this matter; for this vision craveth the temple of God, craveth the holy place: bear ye your neighbour and walk; there shall ye see Him where ye shall require no words of men.

"This, perchance, we are better able to declare, that in the saying, 'God rested on the seventh day,' our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ himself, who spake these words and said, 'My Father even until now doth work, and I work,' is by a great mystery signified. Because the Lord Jesus too is, of course, God. For he is the Word of God, and ye have heard that 'In the beginning was the Word;' and not any word indifferently, but 'the Word was God,' and 'all things were made by him.' It may be, he was signified, that he should rest on the seventh day from all his works. For, read the Gospel and see what great works Jesus wrought. He wrought our salvation on the cross, that in Him might be fulfilled all things foretold of the prophets: He was crowned with thorns, hanged upon a tree, said, 'I thirst,' received vinegar on a sponge, that it might be fulfilled which is said, 'And in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.' (Ps. lxix. 22.) But when all his works were fulfilled, on the sixth day of the week he bowed his head and gave up the ghost, and in the sepulchre on the Sabbath rested from all his works. Therefore it is as if he said to the Jews, 'Why look ye that I should not work on the Sabbath? The Sabbath day was enjoined you in signification of me. Ye mark the works of God: I was there when they were made, by me were they all made, I know them: My Father even until now doth work. The Father made the light; but he spake that there should be light. If he spake, then by his Word he made it; his Word I was, I am: by me was the world made in those works; by me is the world governed in these works. My Father both then worked when he made the world, and even until now worketh while he ruleth the world: therefore both by me made he when he made, and by me ruleth while he ruleth."—*Ibid.*, pp. 269-271; Homily XVII.

Augustine on Sabbath-observance.—"The title of the Psalm (xcii.) is, 'Psalm or song for the Sabbath day.' This day on which I address you is a Sabbath day, which the Jews honour by an external rest, and by slothful idleness. For they intermit their usual occupations only to indulge in trifling pursuits; and although the Sabbath was appointed by God, they nevertheless spend the day in doing what God has forbidden. Our Sabbath consists in abstaining from every evil work; that of the Jews consists in abstaining from every good work. It would be much better to till the ground than to dance. They abstain from doing good works, and do not abstain from doing others which are puerile. God commands us to observe the Sabbath; but what is the Sabbath which he commands to us? Look, in the first place, where it is observed. It is within us, it is in our heart, that our Sabbath is. Some appear externally to be at rest when their conscience is troubled and disturbed. No wicked man can observe this internal Sabbath. His conscience is never in peace. He must necessarily

pass his life in continual agitation. The good conscience, on the contrary, is always tranquil; and it is that tranquillity which is the Sabbath of the heart. He who tastes that internal repose expects firmly the promises which God has made to him. If he now suffer afflictions, hope of the future transports him already to heaven, and all the clouds of his sorrow are dispersed, according to the words of St Paul, 'Rejoice in hope.' (Rom. xii. 12.) That joy which we taste in the peace of our hope, is our Sabbath. It is that to which we are exhorted; it is that which is sung in this Psalm. The Christian is there taught to dwell continually in peace, in the Sabbath of his heart—that is to say, never to be troubled, but to be steadfast in repose, in tranquillity, and in the serenity of his conscience. It is for this reason that the ordinary trouble of man is here marked, to enable us, by avoiding it, to celebrate the Sabbath of the heart."—*Homilies on the Psalms*, from vol. v. p. 58 of French Transl.; Paris, 1683.

Augustine on the Approach of the Eternal Sabbath.—"That Sabbath on which it is said that God rested after finishing all his works—that rest of God after the creation of the world—is, then, but a figure of the rest into which we shall enter at the end of all things. The course of time is divided into six ages, which will be followed by an eternal Sabbath; and these six ages are considered as six days. The first includes the time from Adam to Noah; the second, from the Flood to Abraham; the third, from Abraham to David; the fourth, from David to the date of the Babylonish Captivity; the fifth, from that time till Jesus Christ; the sixth from Jesus Christ till the end of the world. It is in this one we live; we are in the sixth age, which answers to the sixth day of the creation; it is that in which man was made in the image of God. He is, therefore, about to receive forthwith a wholly new form, and to become again conformed to Him who made us in his image. Let us remember that man was made in the sixth age, in the image of God, and that we are in the sixth age of the world. Let thus the reformation of the inner man now effect in us what the formation of the first man did then in him; and let the second creation restore us to the condition in which Adam was placed by the first. After the age in which we are—after this latter age of the world—will come the repose promised to the saints, and figured by the rest of God after the six days which he employed in the creation of the world."—*Sermons on the New Testament*, pp. 116, 117 of French Transl.; Paris, 1700.

Page 124.—Bede.

Bede distinguishes sharply the Sabbath from the Lord's Day. In commenting on Acts xx. ("in unâ autem sabbati, cum convenissemus ad frangendum panem," &c.), he explains *unâ sabbati* by adding, "Id est, die dominico, qui est primus a sabbato." (*Op.* t. v., p. 658; Colon. Agrip., 1688.)

On Col. ii. he remarks :—"Observatione sabbati quæ vacatione unius diei figurabatur ablatâ, perpetuum sabbatum observat qui spe futuræ quietis est operibus intentus, nec in ipsis bonis actibus suis, quasi de propriis, et de his quæ non acceperit gloriatur, illum in se operari cognoscens, qui simul operatus et quietus est. Verum sabbatum Christianus observat abstinens ab opere servili, id est, a peccato : Quoniam qui facit peccatum servus est peccati.' (Tom. vi. p. 662.)

See above, p. 167, and below, ii. 9 ; also Baxter's *Works*, xiii. 481.

Page 125.—Aquinas.

Mr Baden Powell, p. 163, observes :—"The strange and inconsistent notion of a *transference* of the obligations of the Judaical religion and its institutions to those of Christianity, more especially of a change in the *day* of the Sabbath, had been partially adopted by some writers of earlier times, though not acknowledged by the Church. But the notion of Christian ordinances *succeeding in the place of* those of Judaism first began to be systematically upheld, among other refinements and corruptions, by the Schoolmen, especially by Thomas Aquinas. (See Heylin, ii. 170, 176.)"—And Hengstenberg (p. 60) says : "Thomas Aquinas regards the command to keep the Sabbath as applicable, so far as the letter is concerned, to the Jews alone ; but he endeavours to extract the kernel from the shell, and to separate from the temporary form, which belonged only to the people of the Old Testament, the eternal truth which the commandment contained. To the form belonged, in his opinion, the appointment of a particular day (which is to be borne in mind, as showing that he did not derive the choice of Sunday, in the place of the Sabbath, from divine appointment) ; and also the precepts as to the manner of keeping it, which were not, in his opinion, inviolable, and to be literally observed. The outward observance is only of worth as means to an end ; and the mode is to be determined (a thing unlawful under the Old Testament) according to its apparent fitness to promote the end. 'This command to keep the Sabbath holy, is, literally interpreted, partly moral and partly ceremonial. *Moral*, inasmuch as men are to devote a certain portion of their time to an attention to divine things. For men have a natural inclination to fix a certain time for everything that is necessary, such as for bodily refreshment, and other things of a similar kind. And therefore, in compliance with the dictates of natural reason, they devote a certain fixed time to that spiritual refreshment by which their spirits are strengthened in God. Thus it is a moral precept, which enjoins upon men to set apart a certain time for the purpose of devoting it to divine things. But inasmuch as a *special* time is named in the commandment as a sign of the creation, it is in this respect a *ceremonial* command.—Servile works are inconsistent with the keeping of the Sabbath, so far as they hinder

us from fixing the mind upon divine things. And because a man is kept away from divine things more by sin than by work, even of the body, the man who sins breaks the command more than he who performs any lawful bodily work.—The observance of Sunday, under the new law, follows the keeping of the Sabbath, not in consequence of a legal precept, but from the decision of the Church, and the custom of Christians. For this observance is not typical, as the keeping of the Sabbath was under the old law. And therefore the prohibition of work on the Sunday is not so strict as on the Sabbath, but some employments are lawful on the Sunday which were forbidden on the Sabbath, such as the cooking of food and other similar things. And with regard to things not allowed, it is easier to obtain a dispensation in case of need under the new law than under the old, since the design of a type is to bear witness of the truth, and therefore must not be departed from in the *smallest* things; but works in themselves considered can be changed according to the changes of time and place.'"

Page 126.—DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ROME CONCERNING THE LORD'S DAY AND OTHER FESTIVALS.

The Catechism of the Council of Trent was not published till 1567; but I insert the following extracts from it before proceeding to consider the views of the Reformers, in order that it may be seen how far they retained, and how far rejected, the doctrine of the Church in which they had been educated. These passages are from the English translation of the Catechism, with notes, by Theodore Alois Buckley, B.A. of Christ Church, Oxford, published at London in 1852, pp. 351–6, 357, 391–403. They occur in Part III., "On the Precepts of God contained in the Decalogue."

"1. *The Decalogue an Epitome of the Entire Law.*—That the Decalogue is a summary and epitome of the entire law, is the recorded opinion of St Augustine;* for 'whereas the Lord hath spoken many things, yet to Moses are given only two tables of stone, which are called tables of testimony, to be deposited in the ark;† and the reason is, because on the ten precepts inscribed thereon, if they be carefully examined with a view to be properly understood, are found to depend all other things that God has commanded; as again, those same ten commandments [depend on] these two, the love of God and of our neighbour, on which hang the whole law and the prophets.'

"2. *Why it should be carefully studied and explained by Pastors.*—Constituting then, as it does, a summary of the whole law, it becomes the duty of pastors to give to its contemplation their days and nights, with the view not only to regulate their lives by its standard, but also to instruct the people intrusted to their care in

* Aug. ii. in Exod. quæst. 140.

† Cf. Exod. xxxi. 18; xxxii. 15; and Matt. xxii. 40.

the law of the Lord; 'for the priest's lips shall keep knowledge, and they shall seek the law at his mouth, because he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts.'* To the pastors of the New Law this pre-eminently applies. . . .

"3. *Who was the Author of the Decalogue and of the Law of Nature?* —Amongst the other motives which may impel the minds of men to the observance of the injunctions of this law, there is one that has most power, and that is, that God is its author; for, although it is said to have been delivered by angels,† yet no one can doubt that God himself is the author of the law. Of this fact we have ample testimony, not only in the words of the legislator himself, which will soon after be explained, but also in almost numberless other passages of Scripture, which will easily occur to pastors;‡ for no one who is conscious that on his heart is inscribed by God a law, by which he is enabled to distinguish good from evil, vice from virtue, justice from injustice; and, as the force and import of this [unwritten] law are not different from that which is written, no one will dare to deny that God is the author of the written, as he is of the unwritten law. But, lest perchance the people, on hearing the abrogation of the Mosaic law, may imagine that they are no longer bound by the precepts of the Decalogue, [the pastor] must teach them that, when God delivered the law to Moses, he rather gave increased splendour to this divine light, that was now almost darkened by the depraved morals and inveterate perversity of man, than passed a new law. For it is most certain that the ten commandments are not to be obeyed because given by Moses, but because they are precepts innate in the minds of all, and have been explained and confirmed by Christ our Lord.§

"4. *Considerations calculated to enforce its Observance by the People.* —It must, however, prove a most powerful and persuasive argument [for enforcing the observance of the law], to reflect that the founder of the law is God, of whose wisdom and equity we can have no doubt,—whose power and might we cannot elude. Hence, when, by his prophets, he commanded the law to be observed, he proclaims that he is 'the Lord God;'‖ and even the opening words of the Decalogue are: 'I am the Lord thy God;'¶ and elsewhere‖ we read: 'If I be a master, where is my fear?'**

"5. *How great is the benefit of having received the Law from God.*— That God has vouchsafed to unfold his will, in which is contained our salvation, is a consideration which, besides animating the minds of the faithful to keeping his commandments, must also call forth the expression of their thanks. Hence the Scripture, in more than one place, setting forth this invaluable blessing,

* Mal. ii. 7. † Gal. iii. 19.
‡ Donovan [a previous translator] refers to Ex. xxiv. 12; Lev. iv. 22, 27; Isa. xxxiii. 22; Ez. xx. 11. § Matt. v. 17; xv. 3; xix. 17.
‖ Ex. xx. 7, 19; Lev. xviii. 4, 21, 30; xix. 2; xx. 8; xxii. 31.
¶ Exod. xx. 2; Deut. v. 6. ** Malach. i. 6.

admonishes the people to know their own dignity and the divine bounty, as in Deuteronomy:* 'This,' says Moses, 'is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations, which shall hear all these statutes, and say: Behold a wise and understanding people, a great nation;' and again, in the Psalm:† 'He hath not dealt so with any nation; and his judgments he hath not made manifest to them.'

"6. *Wherefore God formerly willed to deliver his Law to the Israelites with so great majesty.*—But if the pastor explain the circumstances which attended the promulgation of the law, according to the narrative of Scripture, the faithful will easily understand with what piety and humility they should reverence a law received from God. For three days previous to its promulgation, to all the people was announced the divine command, that they should wash their garments, and abstain from conjugal intercourse, to the end that they might be more holy and better prepared to receive the law, and to be in readiness on the third day. When they had reached the mount, from which the Lord was about to deliver to them the law by Moses, Moses alone was commanded to ascend the mount, whither came the Lord with very great majesty, and filled the place with thunderings and lightnings, with fire and dense clouds, and began to speak with Moses, and delivered to him the law.‡ In this the divine wisdom had solely for its object, to admonish us to receive his law with a pure and humble mind, and that, should we neglect his precepts, the punishments prepared by the divine justice impend over our heads.

"7. *How the Law, promulgated with such Terror, can be fulfilled by Men, and that nothing is easier than Love.*—The pastor will also teach that the commandments of God are not difficult [of observance]; and this he can show by this single reason from St Augustine, when he says: 'How, I ask, is it said to be impossible for man to love, to love, I say, a beneficent Creator, a most loving Father, and also, in the persons of his brethren, to love his own flesh? Yet, he that loveth, hath fulfilled the law;§ hence, John the apostle openly beareth witness, that the commandments of God are not heavy.'‖ . . .

"8. *All men are bound to obey the Injunctions of the Law.*—By explaining moreover the necessity of obeying the law, [the pastor] will contribute very much to induce to its observance, particularly as in these our days there have not been wanting those who impiously, and to the serious injury of their own souls, have not been afraid to say, that the law, whether easy or difficult, is by no means necessary unto salvation. Their wicked and impious opinion the pastor will refute by testimonies from Sacred Scripture, especially from the same apostle, by whose authority they

* Deut. iv. 6. † Ps. cxlvii. (cxlviii.) 20.
‡ Exod. xix. 9, sqq. § Rom. xiii. 8.
‖ Pseudo-Aug. serm. 47, de temp. 1 John v. 3.

endeavour to defend their impiety. What then saith the apostle? 'Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God.'* When he elsewhere† repeats the same doctrine, and says, that 'a new creature in Christ, alone availeth,' by 'a new creature in Christ' we plainly perceive that he means him who observes and keeps the commandments of God; for 'he that hath and keepeth the commandments of God, loveth' God, as our Lord himself testifies in St John: 'If any one love me, he will keep my word.'‡ A man, it is true, may be justified, and from wicked may become righteous, before he fulfil by external acts each of the precepts of the law; yet it is impossible that any one who has attained the use of reason, unless he be sincerely disposed to observe all the commandments of God, can be justified.

"9. *Fruits of the Observance of the Divine Law.* . . .

"10. *Since all things do the Will of God, it is shown that Man ought most justly to follow the same Will.* . . .

"11. *In what manner the Law of Moses is obligatory on Men of all Times, and on what occasion it was promulgated to the Israelites.*—Although this law was given by the Lord to the Jews on the Mount,§ yet as it was long before imprinted and engraved by nature on the hearts of all, and God therefore wished it to be obeyed at all times by all men, it will hence be found very profitable diligently to explain the words in which it was promulgated to the Hebrews by Moses, its minister and interpreter, and also the history of the people of Israel, which is replete with mysteries. First, then, the pastor will relate," &c. . . .

So much for the Decalogue in general; let us now turn to the chapter on the third (our fourth) commandment:—

"CHAP. IV. OF THE THIRD [*i.e.* FOURTH] COMMANDMENT.

"1. *What this Commandment prescribes to the Faithful.*—In this precept of the law is prescribed in due order that outward worship which is due to God from us, this being as it were a fruit of the preceding commandment; for if, guided by the faith and hope that we repose in him, we worship God piously in our inmost souls, we cannot refrain from honouring him with outward worship and thanksgiving. And as this is a duty which cannot be easily discharged by those who are engaged in the occupations of human things, a fixed time has been appointed when it may conveniently be performed.

"2. *Why the Pastor should take Especial Care that what is here prescribed be retained for ever in the Memory of the Faithful.*—As, then, this commandment is such as to be productive of admirable fruit and utility, it is of the utmost importance that the pastor employ the greatest diligence in the exposition thereof. To the zealous performance of this duty the word *remember*, with which

* 1 Cor. vii. 19.
† Gal. vi. 15.
‡ John xiv. 21, 23.
§ Ex. xix. 20; Deut. v. 2, 4.

the precept commences, must serve to animate him; for, since it is the duty of the faithful to *remember*, it is also that of the pastor, by admonishing and instructing, frequently to remind them of this commandment. And the importance of the observance of this commandment is clearly perceived from the consideration that a faithful compliance therewith facilitates the observance of all the other commandments of the law; for as, amongst the other duties which ought to be performed on holy days, the faithful are bound to assemble at church to hear the word of God; when they shall have learned the divine precepts of righteousness, they will also naturally be prompted to keep the law of the Lord with their whole hearts. Hence the celebration and sanctification* of the Sabbath are very often enjoined in Scripture, as may be seen in Exodus,† Leviticus,‡ Deuteronomy;§ in the prophets also, Isaiah,‖ Jeremiah,¶ and Ezekiel;** all of whom, in many places, contain this precept on the observance of the Sabbath.

"3. *In what manner Princes are to be encouraged to aid the Prelates of the Church.*—But princes and magistrates are to be admonished and exhorted to aid with the support of their authority the prelates of the Church, most especially in those things which appertain tot he upholding and extending of this the worship of God, and to command the people to yield obedience to the injunctions of their pastors. With regard to the exposition of this commandment, care is to be taken that the faithful be instructed in what it agrees with and what it differs from the others. For thus will they understand why we observe and sanctify not the Sabbath, but the Lord's day.

"4. *In what this Precept differs from the other Commandments of the Decalogue.*—The difference, then, appears evident, in that the other commandments of the Decalogue are precepts of the natural and perpetual law, under all circumstances unalterable, whence, notwithstanding the abrogation of the law of Moses, all the commandments contained in the two tables are observed by the Christian people, not because Moses so commanded, but because they agree with the law of nature, by the dictates of which men are impelled to their observance; whereas this commandment, touching the sanctification of the Sabbath, if considered as to the time of its observance, is not fixed and unalterable, but susceptible of change, and belongs not to the moral but ceremonial law. Neither is it a natural principle, for we are not taught or formed by nature to give external worship to God on the Sabbath rather than on any other day; but from the time the people of Israel were liberated from the bondage of Pharaoh, they observed the Sabbath day.

"5. *At the Death of Christ, when the Ceremonies of the Law were*

* Cultus.
† xvi. 23, sq.; xx. 8, sq.; xxxi. 13, sq.
‡ xix. 3; xxiii. 3; xxvi. 2.
§ v. 12, sq.
‖ lvi. 2, 4; lviii. 13.
¶ xvii. 21, sq.
** xx. 12, sq.; xxii. 8; xxiii. 38; xliv. 24; xlvi. 1, sq. These passages are given by Donovan.

removed, the Sabbath also, as a Ceremonial, was removed.—The obligation, however, was to cease, together with the abrogation of the other Jewish rites and ceremonies, namely, at the death of Christ. For having been, as it were, images,* that shadowed forth the light and the truth, these ceremonies were of necessity to disappear at the coming of the light and truth, which is Jesus Christ. On which subject St Paul, in his epistle to the Galatians, when reproving the observers of the Mosaic rites, says; 'Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years: I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain.' † To this effect he also wrote to the Colossians.‡ So much, then, touching the difference [between this and the other commandments].

"6. *In what the Third Commandment agrees with the rest.*—But this precept agrees with the others not in what is ritual and ceremonial, but inasmuch as it comprises something that appertains to the moral and natural law. For the worship of God and the practice of religion, which are comprised in this precept, have the natural law for their basis, whereas it is natural for us to give some time to the worship of God; a proof of which is the fact, that we find amongst all nations certain regular and public festivals consecrated to the performance of the rites and solemnities of religion. For it is natural to man to give some time to necessary functions, such as bodily repose, sleep, and other such matters; so also does the same nature require that some time be allowed to the mind, to recruit its energies in the contemplation of God; and thus, as some portion of time ought to be consecrated to divine things, and to paying the worship due to the Deity, this no doubt appertains to the moral law.

"7. *The Jewish Sabbath changed into the Lord's Day by the Apostles.*—The apostles, therefore, resolved to consecrate the first day of the seven to divine worship, and called it 'the Lord's day;' § for St John, in his revelation, makes mention of 'the Lord's day;' ‖ and the apostle orders collections to be made 'on the first day of the week,' ¶ that is, according to the interpretation of St Chrysostom,** on the Lord's day; and thus are we given to understand that even then the Lord's day was kept holy in the Church. In order, now, that the faithful may know what they are to do, what to abstain from on this day, it will not be foreign to the pastor's purpose carefully to explain, word for word the whole precept, which may properly be distributed into four parts.

"8. *Of the General Precept contained in the word 'Remember.'*—First, then, he will explain generally what is prescribed to us by these words: 'Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day.' The word *remember* is appropriately made use of at the beginning of the commandment, because the sanctification of that particular

* Cf. Heb. x. 1.
† Gal. iv. 10, sq.
‡ Col. ii. 16, sq.
§ Aug. in App. fer. 280, n. 2.
‖ Rev. i. 10.
¶ 1 Cor. xvi. 2.
** Chrys. in 1 Cor. (xvi. 2) hom. 43, n. 1.

day belonged to the ceremonial law. Of this it seemed necessary to admonish the people, for, although the law of nature commands us at some time to give external religious worship to God, it prescribes no particular day for the performance of that duty. The faithful are also to be taught, that from these words we may infer in what manner we should employ our time during the week; to wit, that we are constantly to keep in view the Lord's day, on which we are, as it were, to render an account to God of our deeds and works; and that therefore our occupations should be such as not to be repudiated by the judgment of God, or, as it is written, be to us 'a grief, and a scruple of heart.'* Lastly, we are taught —and the lesson certainly merits attention—that there will not be wanting occasions to lead to forgetfulness of this commandment, being led either by the example of others who neglect its observance, or by a love of amusements and spectacles, by which we are frequently withdrawn from the holy and religious observance of the Lord's day. But we now come to the meaning of the word 'Sabbath.'

"9. *Meaning of the word 'Sabbath' in Scripture.*—Sabbath is a Hebrew word, in Latin signifying 'cessation:' to 'sabbatize,' therefore, means 'to cease [from labour,] and rest;' and in this sense the seventh day was called 'the Sabbath.' It is so called by the Lord in Exodus,† because, having finished the creation of the world, God rested from all the work which he had done.‡ But subsequently not only this seventh day, but, in honour thereof, the entire week was called 'the Sabbath;' and in this sense the Pharisee says in St Luke: 'I fast twice in a (Sabbath) week.'§ Thus much will suffice as to the signification of the word 'Sabbath.'

"10. *Of the Sanctification of the Sabbath.*—In holy Scripture the sanctification of the Sabbath is a cessation from bodily labour and from business, as is clear from the following words of the precept: 'Thou shalt do no work on it.' This alone, however, is not the whole meaning of the commandment, for otherwise it would have been sufficient to say in Deuteronomy: 'Keep the Sabbath day;'‖ but as it is there added, 'to sanctify it,' these words prove that the Sabbath is a day sacred to religion, and consecrated to divine offices, and duties of devotion. The Sabbath, therefore, we observe fully and perfectly, when we afford to God the duties of piety and religion; and this is evidently 'the Sabbath' which Isaiah calls 'delight,'¶ for festivals are, as it were, the delight of God and of pious men. If, then, to this religious and holy observance of the Sabbath are added works of mercy, the rewards proposed to us in the same chapter are indeed most important and most numerous.

"11. *The Proper Meaning of the Previous Words.*—The true and pro-

* 1 Sam. xxv. 31. † Exod. xx. 8, sq. ‡ Gen. ii. 2, sq.
§ Luke xviii. 12. Cf. Parkhurst's Lex. s. v. ‖ Deut. v. 12.
¶ Isa. lviii. 13.

per meaning, therefore, of this commandment tends to this, that a man, both in mind and body, give himself up at some fixed time, so that, disengaged from bodily labour and business, he may piously worship and adore God.

" 12. *What is shown by the Second Part of the Commandment.*—The second part of the precept shows that the seventh day was consecrated to the worship of God: 'Six days,' says he, 'shalt thou labour, and do all thy work, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God;' by which words we are to understand that the Sabbath is consecrated to the Lord, and on that day we are to render unto him the duties of religion, and to know that the seventh day is a sign of his rest.

" 13. *Why it was necessary for the Jews that a Certain Day, and that the Seventh, should be fixed for Divine Worship.*—Now this day was consecrated to the divine worship, because it was inexpedient to leave to a rude people the choice of a time of worship, lest perchance they might imitate the rites of the Egyptians. The seventh day was therefore chosen for the worship of God, a circumstance replete with mystery. Hence in Exodus,* and in Ezekiel,† the Lord calls it 'a sign': 'See that ye keep my Sabbath,' says he, 'for it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations, that ye may know that I am the Lord that doth sanctify you.'‡

" 14. *Of what Things the Celebration of the Sabbath was a Sign.*—It was therefore a sign to indicate that men should dedicate and consecrate themselves to God, whereas we see that to him is dedicated even the day; for that day is holy, because on it, in a special manner, men should practise holiness and religion. It is, in the next place, a sign, and, as it were, a memorial of the stupendous work of the Creation. To the Jews it was also a traditional sign, handed down to remind them that they had been freed and delivered by the hand of God from the galling yoke of Egyptian bondage, as the Lord showed in these words: 'Remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out from thence through a mighty hand, and by a stretched out arm. Therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day.'§ It is also a sign of the spiritual and of the celestial Sabbath.

" 15. *Meaning of the Spiritual Sabbath among Christians.*—The spiritual Sabbath consists in a certain holy and mystic rest, wherein the 'old man,'‖ 'being buried with Christ,'¶ is renewed unto life, and zealously exercises himself in those acts that accord with Christian piety; for they who were 'sometimes darkness, but now are light in the Lord, should walk as children of light in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth, having no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness.'**

* Exod. xxxi. 13. † Ez. xx. 12. ‡ Exod. xxxi. 13.
§ Deut. v. 15. ‖ Eph. iv. 22. ¶ Rom. vi. 4.
** Eph. v. 8.

" 16. *The Sabbath of the Blest.*—The heavenly Sabbath, as St Cyril observes, treating of these words of the apostle, ' There remaineth, therefore, a rest for the people of God,'* is that life, in which we shall enjoy with Christ all good things, sin being radically extirpated, according to these words of Isaiah : ' No lion shall be there, nor shall any mischievous beast go up by it, but a path and a way shall be there, and it shall be called the holy way ;' † for the soul of the saints attaineth all good things in the vision of God.‡ The pastor, therefore, will exhort and arouse the faithful in the words of the apostle : ' Let us hasten, therefore, to enter into that rest.'§

" 17. *Other Festivals, besides that of the Seventh Day, observed by the Jews.*—Besides the seventh day, the Jewish people had also other festive and sacred days instituted by the divine law, on which the recollection of the principal favours [conferred on them by God] was awakened.‖

" 18. *Wherefore the Apostles dedicated the First Day, instead of the Seventh, to the Divine Worship.*—But it hath pleased the Church of God in her wisdom, that the religious celebration of the Sabbath day should be transferred to ' the Lord's day.' For as on that day light first shone upon the world ; so by the resurrection on that day of our Redeemer, who threw open to us the gate unto everlasting life, our life was called out of darkness into light ; and hence the apostles would have it called ' the Lord's day.' We also learn from the sacred volume that the first day of the week was held sacred, because on that day the creation of the world commenced, and the Holy Ghost was bestowed upon the disciples.

" 19. *Other Festivals why instituted among the Christians in Addition to the Lord's Day.*—From the infancy of the Church and in subsequent times, other days were instituted by the apostles, and by our holy Fathers, in order to commemorate with piety and holiness the beneficent gifts of God. Amongst these days those are held the most conspicuous which were consecrated to religion in honour of the mysteries of our redemption ; and, next to them, those dedicated to the most blessed virgin mother, and also to the apostles, martyrs, and the other saints reigning with Christ ; in the celebration of whose victories the goodness and power of God are praised, due honours are awarded to their memories, and the faithful are excited to the imitation of their [virtues].

" 20. *Sloth and Indolence condemned by this Precept.*—And whereas, to enforce the observance of this precept, there is great efficacy in these words : ' Six days shalt thou labour, and shalt do all thy work ; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God,' the pastor should carefully explain that portion to the people. For we may implicitly infer from them, that the faithful are to

* Heb. iv. 9. † Isa. xxxv. 8, sq.
‡ Cyril. Al. in Joa. lib. iv. c. 6. § Heb. iv. 11.
‖ Vid. Cyril. Al. de adorat. in spir. et ver. lib. xvii.

be exhorted not to pass their lives in indolence and sloth; but, mindful rather of the words of the apostle, 'each do his own business, and work with his hands.'* By this precept, moreover, the Lord commands, that on those six days we do our works, and defer not to the Sunday what should be done or transacted on the other days of the week, through which neglect our attention must be withdrawn from the care and study of divine things.

"21. *What is chiefly forbidden to be done on the Sabbath.*—The third part of the commandment comes next to be explained. It describes, to a certain extent, the manner in which we are to keep holy the Sabbath day; but explains particularly what is prohibited to be done on that day: 'In it thou shalt not do any work,' says the Lord, 'thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates.' In these words we are taught, in the first place, to avoid altogether whatsoever may interfere with the divine worship. For it is easy to perceive that every manner of servile work is forbidden, not because it is improper or evil of its ownself, but because it withdraws our mind from the divine worship, which is the end of the commandment. Therefore should the faithful be the more careful not to profane the Sabbath by sin, which not only withdraws the mind from the contemplation of divine things, but entirely alienates us from the love of God.

"22. *Outward Actions, referring to the worship of God, are not interdicted on the Sabbath.*—But whatever actions concern divine worship, such as the preparation of an altar, the decoration of a church on occasion of some festival, and the like, although servile works, are not prohibited; and hence our Lord has said: 'The priests in the temple profane the Sabbath, and are blameless.'†

"23. *Certain Servile Works also are allowed on Feast Days, from Necessity.*—Neither are we to suppose that by this commandment attention is forbidden to those things, which, if neglected on a festival, are lost to the proprietor, the preservation of which the sacred canons also permit.‡ There are many other things which our Lord in the gospel declares may be done on Sundays and holidays,§ and which may be easily seen by the pastor in St Matthew,‖ and St John.¶

"24. *Why Cattle are not to be employed on Holy Days.*—But that nothing might be omitted that might interfere with this sanctification of the Sabbath, beasts of burden are mentioned, because their use prevents the observance of the Sabbath day; for, if beasts of burden be employed on the Sabbath day, human labour also becomes necessary to drive them, seeing they cannot work

* 1 Thess. iv. 11.
† Matt. xii. 5.
‡ Decretal. lib. ii. tit. 9, c. 3.
§ Festis diebus.
‖ Matt. xii. 1, sqq.; Mark iii. 2, sqq; Luke vi. 1. sqq.
¶ John v. 10, sqq.; vii. 22, sq.

alone, but aid man in the execution of what he plans. As then on that day it is lawful for no man to labour, neither therefore is it for cattle, of whose co-operation men avail themselves. The law, therefore, of this precept has also another object in view, which is, that if God commands the exemption of cattle from labour on the Sabbath, still more should men avoid all acts of inhumanity towards those whose labour and industry we employ.

"25. *In what Works Christians ought to spend the Festal Days.*—Nor should the pastor omit diligently to instruct the faithful in what works, in what actions Christians should occupy themselves on festivals. Amongst other things we are to visit the temple of God, and there with sincere and pious attention of mind assist at the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the mass; and frequently apply to the healing of the wounds of the soul, the divine sacraments of the Church, instituted for our salvation. But nothing more opportune, nothing better can be done by Christian men, than frequently to confess their sins to the priests; and to this duty the pastor will be enabled to exhort the faithful, recurring for matter and manner to what we have already said in its proper place touching the sacrament of penance. But not only will he excite his people to have recourse to this sacrament, but will also sedulously exhort them again and again, to approach frequently the holy sacrament of the Eucharist. Sermons are also to be heard by the faithful with attention and diligence; for nothing is more intolerable, nothing, in truth, more unworthy of a Christian, than to despise, or hear negligently, the words of Christ. In prayer and the divine praises also should the piety of the faithful frequently be exercised; and an object of their especial attention should be diligently to learn the things that appertain to a Christian life; and to practise with assiduity the duties that comprise piety, giving alms to the poor and the indigent, visiting the sick, and piously administering consolation to the sorrowing and the afflicted; for, as St James says, 'pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction.'* From what has been said it will be easy to conclude what are the things by which this precept is violated.

"26. *Why it was necessary for Certain Days to be set aside for Divine Worship.*—But it should also constitute part of the duty of the pastor to have at hand certain heads, from which he may draw most powerful reasons and arguments, to persuade the people to the most zealous and punctual observance of this commandment. It will materially conduce to this end, namely, to make the people understand, and see clearly, how just and reasonable it is to devote certain days exclusively to the divine worship, to acknowledge, adore, and venerate our Lord, from whom we have received supreme and innumerable blessings. For had he commanded us to offer him, every day of our lives, the tribute

* James i. 27.

of public worship, would it not be our duty, in return for the mighty and infinite benefits bestowed on us, to use every exertion to obey his command with a prompt and ready mind? But now that the days specially dedicated to his service are few in number, there is no excuse for us to plead for neglecting, or discharging with reluctance, a duty which we cannot omit without very great culpability.

"27. *What advantage redounds to those who sedulously obey this Precept.*—The pastor will next point out how lofty is the nature of this precept, whereas those who have been faithful in its observance, are admitted, as it were, into the presence of God, and hold converse with him; for in our prayers we contemplate the majesty of God, and converse with him; and in hearing the preacher we hear the voice of God, which reaches us through those who preach on divine things piously and holily; and at the sacrifice of the altar we adore Christ our Lord there present. And these advantages they pre-eminently enjoy, who diligently observe this commandment.

"28. *What, on the contrary, must be thought of those who have utterly neglected this Law.*—But those who altogether neglect this law, as they disobey God and his Church, and hearken not unto his precept, are enemies of God and of his holy laws; and of this we may find a proof in the perfect facility with which this commandment may be observed. For whereas God imposes no labours upon us, although we should be prepared to undergo the severest for his sake; but in this commandment he only commands us to rest, and disengage ourselves from worldly cares on those festive days: to refuse obedience to this commandment would therefore be a proof of great temerity; and the punishments with which its violators have been visited, as may be understood from the book of Numbers, should be a lesson to Christians.*

"Lest, therefore, we should thus offend God, we should frequently ponder over this word 'remember,' and set before our eyes those important interests and advantages, which, as we have already seen, flow from the religious observance of Sundays and holidays; and also numerous other matters of the same tendency, which the good and diligent pastor will be able to pursue copiously and diffusely, as circumstances shall require."

Pages 126–135.—The Reformers.

The opinions of the Reformers concerning the Sabbath are discussed with care and impartiality by Dr Patrick Fairbairn, Professor of Divinity in the Free Church College of Glasgow, in his *Typology of Scripture*, vol. ii. pp. 130–135, 475–490, 3d edit. I agree with him that they are apt to be misunderstood, or at least but partially apprehended, by superficial readers who merely

* Numb. xv. 32, sqq.

glance at occasional passages in their writings; and for this reason chiefly, I some years ago collected from the works of Calvin, who has delivered his views more copiously than any of the other Reformers, all the passages in which those views are expressed or illustrated. This collection is entitled, *The whole Doctrine of Calvin about the Sabbath and the Lord's Day; extracted from his Commentaries, Catechism, and Institutes of the Christian Religion.* (Edin. 1860; pp. 92.) Though it was not till the seventeenth century that the Sabbath controversy was minutely and systematically handled by theologians, yet the Reformers devoted no small share of their attention to a matter so important; and the reason why they wrote comparatively little about it probably was, not so much that their hands were full of other controversies, as that in some respects they continued to hold the doctrines of the Romish Church on this subject, while, again, they laid so much stress on what St Paul has written against the religious observance of days by Gentile Christians, that the discussion of much that was afterwards insisted on by the Puritans in maintaining the Sabbatarian cause must have seemed to them superfluous.

In regard to the fundamental question, Whether the Decalogue is binding on the Christian Gentiles? certainly the Reformers differed less (if at all) from the Roman Catholics, than from the Puritans of the 16th and 17th centuries. The Romanists, as we have seen, acknowledge that "the Ten Commandments are not to be obeyed because given by Moses, but because they are precepts innate in the minds of all, and have been explained and confirmed by Christ our Lord" (above, p. 372); and that, "notwithstanding the abrogation of the law of Moses, all the commandments contained in the two tables are observed by the Christian people, not because Moses so commanded, but because they agree with the law of nature, by the dictates of which men are impelled to their observance" (p. 375). Of the Fourth Commandment an exception is made in so far as it relates to the time of the observance of the Sabbath, which time is described as being ceremonial and alterable (p. 375).

According to Luther the Mosaic law was imposed on the Jews alone, and even upon them ceased to be obligatory at the coming of Christ. "The Ten Commandments," says he, "do not apply to us Gentiles and Christians, but only to the Jews. If a preacher wishes to force you back to Moses, ask him whether you were brought by Moses out of Egypt. If he says No; then say, How then does Moses concern me, since he speaks to the people that have been brought out of Egypt? In the New Testament, Moses comes to an end, and his laws lose their force. He must bow in the presence of Christ. . . . We must stop the mouths of the factious spirits who say 'Thus says Moses.' Then do you reply, Moses does not concern us. If I accept Moses in one commandment, I must accept the whole Moses. In that case I should be obliged to be circumcised, and to wash my clothes in a Jewish manner, and to eat, and drink, and dress, and do everything of

this kind, in the manner in which the Jews are commanded to do them in the law. Therefore, we will not obey Moses, or accept him. Moses died, and his government terminated when Christ came." (*On the Ten Commandments*, quoted by Hengstenberg, *On the Lord's Day*. p. 62.) Again: "The words of Scripture prove clearly to us that the Ten Commandments do not affect us; for God has not brought us out of Egypt, but only the Jews. We are willing to take Moses as a teacher, but not as our lawgiver, except when he agrees with the New Testament and with the law of nature. . . . No single point in Moses binds us. . . . Leave Moses and his people alone. Their work is done. He has nothing to do with me. I listen to the Word which concerns me. We have the gospel." (*Instruction to Christians how to make use of Moses*, quoted by Hengstenberg, p. 61.)*

But although thus repudiating the Decalogue as a *law*, Luther, we here see, was as willing as the Romanists to take Moses as a *teacher*. On this point he goes on to say: "We do not read Moses because he concerns us—because we have to obey him,—but because he agrees with the law of nature, and has expressed this law better than the heathen ever could. In this way the Ten Commandments are a mirror of our life, in which we see our defects." (*Ibid.*) As to the Fourth Commandment, he says that nature, equally with Moses, "teaches us to give ourselves, from time to time, a day's rest, in order that man and beast may recruit their strength, and that we may go and hear the Word of God preached." (*Werke*, 11. 16, quoted in Hazlitt's transl. of Michelet's *Life of Luther*, p. 271; Lond. 1846.) To the same effect he writes in his *Larger Catechism*, quoted above, p. 126.

Calvin, though nowhere so emphatic as Luther in rejecting the Mosaic law as a *binding* authority, yet evidently agrees with him in holding that to us it stands in no higher relation than the *didactic*. "The law," says he, "in regard to the faithful has the force of an exhortation, not to bind their conscience with a curse, but by its frequent admonitions to arouse their indolence and reprove their imperfection." (*Institutes*, B. II., ch. 7, § 14.) Commenting on the declaration of Jesus that he had come not to destroy the law but to fulfil it, he says: "With respect to *doctrine* (*i.e.* instruction), we must not imagine that the coming of Christ has freed us from the authority of the law; for *it is the eternal rule of a devout and holy life*, and must therefore be as unchangeable as the justice of God, which it embraced, is constant and uniform. With respect to ceremonies, there is some appearance of a change having taken place; but it was only the use of them that was abolished, for their meaning was more fully confirmed. The coming of Christ has taken nothing away even from ceremonies, but, on the contrary, confirms them, by exhibiting the truth of shadows; for, when we see their full effect, we ac-

* This treatise by Luther may be seen in the Latin edition of his *Works*, iii. 68; Jena, 1603.

knowledge that they are not vain or useless. Let us therefore learn to maintain inviolable this sacred tie between the Law and the Gospel which many improperly attempt to break. For it contributes not a little to confirm the authority of the Gospel, when we learn that it is nothing else than a 'fulfilment of the Law;' so that both, with one consent, declare God to be their author." (*Com. on Matth.* v. 17, *and Luke* xvi. 17, in his *Harmony of the Evangelists*, quoted in *The Whole Doctrine of Calvin, &c.*, p. 74.) Again, in reference to what Paul taught concerning the abolition of the Law (Gal. iii. 25), he says: "But here the question is put, Is the Law so abolished that we have nothing to do with it? I answer, The Law, *so far as it is a rule of life, a bridle to keep us in the fear of the Lord, a spur to correct the sluggishness of our flesh—so far, in short, as it is 'profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that believers may be instructed in every good work'* (2 Tim. iii. 16, 17),—is as much in force as ever, and remains untouched." (*Com. on Galatians, Ibid.* p. 62.) And on Heb. vii. 12: "The ministry of Moses was no less temporary than that of Aaron; and hence both were annulled by the coming of Christ, for the one could not stand without the other. By the word *Law*, we understand what peculiarly belonged to Moses; for the Law contains the rule of life, and the gratuitous covenant of life; and in it we find everywhere many remarkable sentences by which we are instructed as to faith, and as to the fear of God. None of these were abolished by Christ, but only that part which regarded the ancient priesthood. For Christ is here compared with Moses; whatever then they had in common, is not to be taken to the account, but only the things in which they differ. They in common offer God's mercy to us, prescribe the rule of a holy and godly life, teach us the true worship of God, and exhort us to exercise faith and patience, and all the duties of godliness. But Moses was different from Christ in this respect, that while the love of the Gospel was not as yet made known, he kept the people under veils, set forth the knowledge of Christ by types and shadows, and, in short, accommodated himself to the capacity of ignorant people, and did not rise higher than to puerile elements. We must then remember, that the Law is that part of the ministration which Moses had as peculiarly his own, and different from that of Christ. That Law, as it was subordinate to the ancient priesthood, was abolished when the priesthood was abolished. And Christ, being made a priest, was invested also with the authority of a legislator, that he might be the teacher and interpreter of the new covenant." (*Ibid.* p. 70.)*

* From Eph. ii. 15, Calvin infers that the Jews are now as free from the Law as the Gentiles are and always were. "It is evident," says he, "that Paul is here treating exclusively of the ceremonial law; for the moral Law is not a wall of partition separating us from the Jews, but lays down instructions in which the Jews were not less deeply concerned than ourselves. This passage affords the means of refuting an

Zuinglius expresses the same thing when he says of the Fourth Commandment, that "in so far as regards *the spirit of the law* (which remains for ever) the Sabbath *concerns Christians most of all.** The spirit of the law is its very marrow—to love God supremely, and our neighbour also. To hear God's word, to meditate on his bounties, to give thanks for the same, and to assemble for public worship,—all this belongs to the spirit of the law; which likewise regards the love of our neighbour, in requiring that our servants and workmen be permitted to rest from their toil. For although we are not bound to a certain time, yet we are bound to set forth the glory of God, to hear his word, to celebrate his praise, and to exercise charity towards our neighbours." (*Note on Col.* ii. 16; in his *Works*, vol. iv. p. 515.)

erroneous view held by some, that circumcision and all the ancient rites, though they are not binding on the Gentiles, are in force at the present day upon the Jews. On this principle, there would still be a middle wall of partition between us; which is proved to be false." (*The Whole Doctrine, &c.*, p. 65.) So also Baxter, *Works*, xiii. 418. On the other side, see Dr Priestley's *Attempt to prove the Perpetual Obligation of the Jewish Ritual*, in his *Theol. Repository*, v. 403, and vi. 1; also Johnstone's *Israel after the Flesh* (noticed below, vol. ii. p. 358). It is curious that both Luther and Calvin sometimes write as if they considered the question of the abolition of the Law to be no less important to us than to the Jews, although they allow that it never was imposed upon the Gentiles. Paul could with perfect propriety tell his converted countrymen that *they* were no longer under the Law; but to say this of Gentile Christians is to overlook in a surprising manner a very obvious difference of cases. In the Romish Catechism no such *express* inconsistency appears; for while it speaks of the abrogation of the Law of Moses, it is silent on the question whether, before being abrogated, that Law bound all mankind. (See above, pp. 372, 375.)

* "Ad Christianos maxime pertinet." He does not say, "*is obligatory on Christians most of all;*" nor do the other Reformers usually employ any stronger phrase than "pertinet." Mr Gilfillan, no doubt, represents Calvin as "repeatedly affirming that the Fourth Commandment is an everlasting *law* of righteousness to mankind" (p. 438); but not a single instance of such an affirmation is quoted by him. One passage from Calvin's 34th Sermon on Deuteronomy, which he gives at pp. 433-4, is, on the contrary, quite opposed to his statement. "Most certainly," says the Reformer in that place, "what was commanded concerning the day of rest must *belong to* us as well as to them [the Jews]. For, let us take God's law in itself, and we shall have an everlasting *rule* of righteousness. And, doubtless, under the Ten Commandments God intended to give a *rule* that should endure for ever. Therefore let us not think that the things which Moses speaks respecting the Sabbath-day are *needless for us;* not because the figure remaineth still in force, but because we have the truth thereof."

Although Calvin's *Sermons on Deuteronomy* did not appear till 1567, three years after his death, and profess merely to have been "faithfully gathered word for word as he preached them in open pulpit," I see no reason to doubt the accuracy of the reporter, a French refugee named Dennis Ragueneau or Raguenier, who was employed by deacons of the church at Geneva to commit them to writing. The two sermons on the Fourth Commandment as given in Deut. v. 12-15, not only coincide

In following the custom of the Roman Church to employ the Ten Commandments as a means of instruction in the moral duties incumbent on all men, the Reformers seem to have at first acted merely on their belief in the utility of the practice; but latterly they were more strongly impelled to do so by that dread of the results of Antinomianism which we find expressed also in the Catechism of the Council of Trent (above, p. 373). Under the influence of this dread, Luther seems to have actually forgotten that God is no less the author of the unwritten law than of the written—a truth acknowledged alike by the Church of Rome (above, p. 372), and by the great body of Protestant divines, with whom some of the Scottish Sabbatarians agree.* He thus fell

perfectly in doctrine with Calvin's own writings, but are unmistakeably Calvinian in their style and flavour. Nevertheless, Mr Gilfillan ought to have mentioned that they were not published by the preacher himself, nor are included in the collective editions of his works.

* In my volume entitled *Sabbath Laws, &c.*, pp. 202-207, I have collected many passages to this effect, from eminent English divines of the last two hundred years. Even Sir Andrew Agnew, as we learn from his biographer Dr M'Crie, believed that "the primary obligation of Sabbath-observance rests not on the revealed law of Moses, nor the remedial law of Christ, but on the law of nature. Hundreds of years before it was graven on the tables of stone, it was written on the heart and grafted on the constitution of Adam." (*Memoirs of Sir A. Agnew*, p. 90.) Yet the Sabbath Alliance, of which Sir Andrew was the founder, has published a solemn warning that "if the Fourth Commandment goes, all the others go with it, and henceforth the love of God and the love of man cease to be commanded duties, and are left merely to the impulse of feeling." (*Tract* No. I., quoted in *Sabbath Laws, &c.*, p. 196.) How are these two opposite opinions to be reconciled?

At the present time, when the question how far the Bible is a divine revelation perplexes so many pious minds, believers in the natural law of God are able to witness the controversy without the slightest fear that, whatever the fate of the Pentateuch may be, religion and morality will disappear from the earth. Those who recognise the importance of natural religion as an anchorage in every storm of doctrine, will acknowledge the high purpose and tendency of the labours of such men as George Combe, who has earnestly and effectively inculcated the religious duty of studying and conforming to the divine arrangements revealed in the constitution of man and its relations to external objects. A quotation from his *Moral Philosophy*, respecting the natural foundations of the duty of Sabbath-observance, will be found below (ii. 407); but on the general subject of natural religion I refer especially to his last and ripest work, *The Relation between Religion and Science* (4th ed., Edin. 1857). Dr Fairbairn is anxious that the Sabbath should not "lose its hold upon men's minds in a religious point of view" (*Typology*, ii. 125); but if its natural foundations are so strong as they are on all hands admitted to be, surely there is little ground for apprehension that, in an intelligent community like ours, its stability will be endangered if the duty of observing it be disconnected from the Fourth Commandment, and enforced from *the pulpit* and the press as a requirement alike of wisdom and of natural religion. Some who have watched the recent progress of science and biblical criticism, and have observed that the Hebrew cosmogony is never mentioned by Jesus or Paul, are even

into the delusion that without the preaching of the written Law of Moses no sinner could be conscious of sin!*

inclined to wish that the Lord's Day were well rid of what, in their opinion, is rather an antiquated encumbrance than a support. As we now universally cherish loyalty to the sovereign without the slightest belief in that "divine right" which once was thought to be its true and indispensable foundation, so we may adhere steadfastly to Sunday-observance because we value the refreshment, the improvement, and the enjoyment which it affords, and are convinced that what our constitution needs, its Author designs and requires us to do. In the one case as in the other we may say with Cowper—

> "Our love is principle, and has its root
> In reason, is judicious, manly, free."

* "Master Jobst dining with Luther one day [in the year 1541], shewed him certain propositions he had drawn up, to the effect that the Law ought not to be preached, since it is not the Law which justifies us. Luther grew quite angry at this: 'What!' he exclaimed, 'shall our own people, while we ourselves are yet alive, propound such things as these? Oh! how highly ought we to honour Master Philip (Melancthon), who inculcates with such perspicuity and truth the use of the Law. That which Count Mansfeldt prophesied to me in a letter is becoming fulfilled: "behind this new doctrine there will be seen another Munzer." He who destroys the doctrine of the Law, destroys at the same time political and social order. If you eject the Law from the church, there will no longer be any sin recognised as such in the world; for the Gospel only defines and punishes sin by reference to the Law. If, heretofore, I in my discourses spoke and wrote so harshly against the Law, it was because the Christian Church was overwhelmed with superstitions, under which Christ was altogether hidden and buried; and I am anxious to rescue pious and God-fearing souls from the tyranny of the conscience; but as to the Law itself, I never rejected it.'" (Michelet's *Life of Luther*, Hazlitt's Transl. p. 315.)

Luther here advocates the "doctrine" (*i.e.*, the teaching) of the Law—not its binding force. This fact, however, does not appear from Mr G. H. Smith's translation of Michelet's work, p. 73 (which is the one used by Mr Gilfillan, p. 441), where the passage is rendered, "He who pulls down the Law," &c.

In a letter against the Antinomians, printed in Samuel Rutherford's *Spiritual Antichrist* (Lond. 1648), Luther says:—"I wonder exceedingly how it came to be imputed to me that I should reject the Law or Ten Commandments....Can it be imaginable that there should be any sin, where there is no law? Whosoever abrogates the Law must of necessity abrogate sin also." (Pp. 71, 72.) That he here regards the Decalogue, *interpreted from a Christian and rational point of view*, as so thoroughly coincident with the law of nature or "moral law" that the two names may be applied indifferently to each, is plain from his adding that the Law is "engraven in the bottom of the heart," so that "it is impossible to raze it out; and the devil also," says he, "is not ignorant of this, that it is impossible the Law should be taken out of the hearts of men, as the Apostle proves in his second chapter to the Romans, 14, 15: 'For when the Gentiles which have not the Law (in the German copy, which received not the Law of Moses), do by nature the things contained in the Law, they having not the Law are a law to themselves, which shew the work of the Law written in their hearts,' &c." (P. 72.)

The qualification which I have printed in italics must always be kept

Like the Roman Catholics, too, the Reformers sometimes express themselves in terms which, if strictly interpreted, might imply that they regarded the Decalogue not merely as a lesson, in mind, else we shall frequently misapprehend what the Reformers say in connexion with the Fourth Commandment. Melancthon's statement is, that "the principal part of the Law is called the Moral, which is the Decalogue *rightly understood*" (Introduction to his treatise *On the Decalogue*, quoted by Fairbairn, ii. 479); and this Decalogue he proceeds to describe as follows:—"The Moral Law is the eternal and unchangeable wisdom that is in God, and a rule of life, distinguishing what is right from what is wrong, commanding the one, and with severe indignation forbidding the other, the knowledge of which was in creation implanted in rational creatures, and afterwards often repeated, and by Divine voice proclaimed, that men might know that God is, and what he is, and that he is a judge who obliges all his rational creatures to be conformed to himself, to yield our obedience entirely accordant with his law, and accusing and destroying all that are not possessed of this conformity." (*Ibid.*) Hengstenberg, p. 88, quotes from him the pointed declaration that "the law of Moses is not binding upon us, though some things which the law contains are binding, because they coincide with the law of nature." And how fully this illustrious Reformer recognised the Divine authority of the law of nature, we may learn from a well-known passage in his writings, quoted and translated by Dugald Stewart in the First Preliminary Dissertation to the *Encylopædia Britannica*: "Wherefore our decision is this; that those precepts which learned men have committed to writing, transcribing them from the common reason and common feelings of human nature, are to be accounted as not less divine than those contained in the tables given to Moses: and that it could not be the intention of our Maker to supersede, by a law graven upon stone, that which is written with his own finger on the table of the heart." (P. 20.)

Dr Fairbairn is puzzled to account for the inconsistency which he thinks there is between the habit of the Reformers to style the Decalogue "the Moral Law," and their rejection of the letter of the Fourth Commandment as a precept of universal and permanent obligation. (*Typology*, ii. 479.) The explanation, I submit, is contained in the important qualification of "rightly understood," which he seems to overlook. It answers to "extended and enlarged" in Irenæus (above, p. 326), and to Dr Barrow's expression, "spiritually and wisely understood" (below, ii. 67). The Reformers, I think, have fallen into no such "manifest inconsistence" as Dr Fairbairn supposes. And that their English brethren used the Commandment in the same qualified manner is plain from their writings; see, for instance, Cranmer (above, p. 135), and especially the Catechism of the Church of England (p. 139, and below, ii. 349), which, though it contains an *authoritative* summary of "duty towards God," as taught to us *Christians* in the first four commandments, Mr Gilfillan (p. 50) has omitted even to mention in his account of "the sabbatic creed of the English Church," or anywhere else in his book! That summary contains not one word about the Sabbath, but speaks merely of loving God, worshipping him, and serving him truly all the days of our life. To the same effect is the summary in the first Scottish *Confession of Faith* (above, p. 127), drawn up chiefly by Knox, whom nevertheless Mr Gilfillan, without venturing to *quote* it, represents, on most inadequate circumstantial evidence (pp. 435-445), as a Sabbatarian of the Puritan stamp.

The relation of the Decalogue to Gentile Christians is elaborately dis-

but as binding law. As the Council of Trent directs the pastor to explain "what is *prescribed to us* by these words, 'Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day'" (above, p. 395); so Luther speaks of "that which God *requires of us* in this commandment" (above, p. 126), and Calvin says that "the Law has sustained no diminution of *its authority*, but ought always to receive *from us* the same veneration *and obedience*" (*Institutes*, B. II. ch. vii. § 15). By authority and obedience, however, he probably here means *either* such authority merely as a learner acknowledges in his teacher, and such obedience as a teacher is entitled to receive; *or* the absolute authority of, and obedience to, not the Decalogue itself, but those natural laws which are *repeated* in the Decalogue, and which, because they were expressly imposed by God upon his ancient people, are all the more worthy of *our* respect and obedience. But as such ambiguous expressions were apt to be

cussed by Dr Wardlaw in his *Discourses on the Sabbath*, p. 30, *et seqq.* where he somewhat perplexes the matter by his loose definition of the word "law."—"I would farther ask," says he, "what is a law? Is it the mere form of words, in which a duty is enjoined, or a sin prohibited? Is it not, rather, the injunction of the duty, and the prohibition of the sin, under whatever form of words they are conveyed? The same duties may be commanded, and the same sins forbidden, in different terms, and yet the law itself remain unchanged. . . . It is the *matter* of the duty, and not the *expression*, that constitutes the law. We can readily conceive the legal codes of two nations to be very different in their forms of expression, and yet substantially, and even to the minutest item, to contain the same enactments. Should we not, in such a case, say of the two countries, that they were governed by the same laws?" (P. 39.) Certainly not: they would be governed by *different* laws commanding *the same duties*, and this although the duties were enjoined in the same terms by the lawgivers—nay, if one lawgiver were the common authority. The same legislature gives laws to England and to Scotland, but in many cases two laws have been enacted, commanding the same duties to be performed in both: the substance of the laws is the same, but the laws are different. Dr Wardlaw says further: "The sole question ought to be, whether the ten commandments, uttered from Sinai by the voice of God, and by his finger written on the tables of stone, do, or do not, contain a summary of the leading articles of moral duty. If they do, they were binding before, they have been binding since, and they must be binding to the end. They have never been binding, however, either before or since, because they were given to the Jews; but they were given to the Jews, because they were the principles, universally and perpetually obligatory, of moral rectitude." (P. 44.) It is a pity that a passage containing so much sound doctrine should be disfigured by the odd proposition that "the ten commandments" were binding *before they were promulgated!*

I shall add three questions from Baxter, suggested by the assumption of his opponents that "the law" said by Paul to be written on the hearts of the Gentiles was the Ten Commandments. "Where is it proved that the Law or the Decalogue are words of the same signification or extent, any more than the whole and a part are? Or where is it proved that none of the rest of the Law is written in nature, but the Decalogue only? Or else that every word in the Decalogue itself is part of the law of nature?" (*Works*, xiii. 498.)

misapprehended by the undiscriminating multitude, it is not surprising that Judaism continued greatly to influence both opinion and practice in the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches. Least of all need we wonder that when the Commandments were formally installed in the English Liturgy as "laws" to be "kept" by Gentile worshippers, the Judaizing spirit broke out with unexampled intensity among the earnest and scrupulous Puritans.* And as the Decalogue is still thus employed in England, while in Presbyterian Scotland it is carefully inculcated, through the Confession and Catechism composed by a Puritan Assembly at Westminster, as a code of laws binding us in the letter, there naturally and inevitably exists at the present day a strong infusion of Judaism in the popular Christianity of Britain.

Some perhaps may think, that, after all, it is of little consequence whether the Law of Moses be regarded as directly *obligatory* on us, or as *teaching* us indirectly, through Divine laws to others, the will of God in regard to our own behaviour. But there is this very important practical difference: A Divine law clearly enunciated, and expressly imposed upon those whom it is intended to oblige, runs little risk of being misunderstood or misapplied; every man to whom it has been promulgated knows that he is bound by it, and is made aware of the duty it requires him to perform. But when the question is, What *lesson* or inference as to *our* duty is derivable from God's law to a peculiarly circumstanced people in comparatively ignorant and barbarous times—a people noted for the "hardness of their hearts," and whom it was a leading design of the Lawgiver to keep apart from the heathen around them?—there is room for such a variety of opinion, that nobody can with any show of reason require his neighbours to draw the same inference with himself, on pain of being stigmatised as disregarders of the will of God.† From the Law of Moses, and other parts of the Jewish Scriptures, it has been inferred to be the duty of Christians to worship in temples, to establish priesthoods, to pay tithes, to slay witches and idolaters, and to punish capitally disobedient and drunken children.‡ On the same ground, the taking of interest for money was in Calvin's time generally regarded as a sin, though he, with a perspicacity that did him honour, rejected what every one now acknowledges to have been a misapplication of the law.§ So even now, in America, slavery and polygamy are advocated by many on the ground of the Penta-

* See above, p. 146.

† This is illustrated in a lively way by Mellet, pastor of Yvorne, in his clever little treatise entitled *Sunday and the Sabbath*, p. 62 of the English translation; Lond. 1856.

‡ See below, ii. 97; also Dr Graves on the Pentateuch, 2d ed., vol. i. p. 264, where he expresses the opinion that the Mosaic laws for the capital punishment of such children were intrinsically "just and moderate," and that the offence "surely merited infamy and death." If so, why not inflict the same punishment now?

§ See *Sabbath Laws, &c.* p. 180.

teuch. And among ourselves on no question is there a greater diversity of opinion than on that concerning the duty taught *to us* by the Fourth Commandment. Hence the desire so generally felt by thoughtful Christians who seek for lessons of duty in the Pentateuch, for some test whereby to distinguish those of its enactments which intimate or involve a divine commandment to the Christian. The principle sometimes stated is, that when the reason of the law is as strong in our case as it was to the Jews, we ought to infer that God *intends us* to do what he *commanded them*; or, as some would express it, we learn that the *law* itself is as binding upon us as it was upon them. (See below, vol. ii. pp. 143, 144.) Bishop Hopkins's proposition is, that what "*we are bound to* by the law of Moses is only what was of moral and natural right in that law." (*Ibid.* p. 85.) "We do not," says he, "celebrate the Lord's Day itself upon any obligation laid upon us by the letter of this Fourth Commandment (for that expressly enjoins the seventh day from the creation, whereas ours is the eighth), but only *from the analogy and proportion of moral reason*; which requires that a due and convenient portion of our time should be separated to the service and worship of God." To this reason Baxter adds another —that God himself having once determined by a law that one stated day in seven was the fittest proportion of time to be separated to holy worship, and this upon the ground of his own cessation of his creation-work, which is a reason not belonging to the Jews only, but to the whole world from the creation till now, "we are bound to judge God's determination of the proportion to be wiser than any that we can make. And so by parity of reason consequentially even those abrogated laws do thus far bind us still; not so far as abrogated; but because the record and reason of them is still a signification of the due proportion of time, and consequently of our duty." (*Works*, xiii. 402–4).* According to Dr Arnold, again, "*we are bound by the spirit of the Fourth Commandment*, because we are not fit to do without the observance" of the Lord's Day (see below, ii. 349): which view he in another place thus expounds with respect to the Mosaic Law in general:—"It should be remembered that a command given to one man, or to one generation of men, is, and can be, binding upon other men and other generations, only so far forth as the circumstances in which both are placed are similar. A commandment of eternal and universal

* To the obvious objection that the reason here held to determine the right proportion of time is equally valid for the observance of the seventh day of the week, Baxter's reply was, that the Lord's Day had by divine authority been substituted for the Sabbath. He did not consider the two institutions to be identical. "We are not bound," says he, "to the seventh day; because God our Redeemer, who is the Lord of the Sabbath, hath made a change. And we are not bound to a Sabbath in the old notion, that is, to a day of ceremonial rest for itself required; but to a day to be spent in evangelical worship." (P. 427.) See also p. 485; and below, ii. 28 *et seqq.*

obligation is one that relates to points in which all men at all times are alike, and which there is the same reason, therefore, for all obeying equally. Other commandments may be of a transitory nature, and binding only upon particular persons, or at particular times; but yet, when they proceed from the highest authority, their indirect use may be universal, even although their direct use be limited. That is, from knowing what was God's will under such and such circumstances, we may gather, by parity of reasoning, what it will be in all other circumstances; namely, the same when the circumstances are the same; analogous when the circumstances are analogous; and absolutely contrary, when they are contrary. It is these two rules, taken together, that will enable us to use the Old Testament, and, indeed, every part of God's revelation to man, at once fully and rightly. For while, on the one hand, they will prevent us from applying to ourselves commandments which we were never intended to obey; so, on the other hand, they will hinder us from neglecting any part of God's dealings with men, as if it was of no concern to us; whereas it is, in truth, of concern to us; and where it does not teach directly, it yet teaches according to the analogy of circumstances,—that as we should do the same under the same circumstances, so we should act analogously under analogous circumstances, and oppositely when the circumstances are opposite." (*Essay on the Right Interpretation of the Scriptures*, appended to his *Sermons*, 3d ed., ii. 379, 380; Lond. 1844.)

Although the distinction between the obligatory and the didactic characters of the Jewish law is here well stated, there is still a trace of the erroneous principle that some laws given to the Jews are binding on the Gentiles. This objection applies more obviously to a passage in Hengstenberg *On the Lord's Day*, where, rightly (as I think) maintaining that the distinction in this respect so often drawn between the Decalogue and the rest of the law is "an arbitrary proceeding," he argues that portions of the entire Mosaic code are binding on all men in their "eternal substance," though not in their "temporary form." (Pp. 88–91.) I have elsewhere endeavoured to show the impracticability, as well as the fundamental unsoundness, of such a rule of conduct. (*Sabbath Laws, &c.* pp. 496–499.) Moses Stuart's doctrine on the subject is essentially the same as Hengstenberg's: "All," says he, "that is founded in the perpetual relations of men to God, to each other, and to themselves, and which is the subject of prescription, command, or instruction on the part of Heaven, is permanent." (*Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon*, p. 414; Andover, Mass., 1845.) The difficulty with simple people must always be to determine what falls within this elaborate definition. Nor will they see their way very clearly by the help of his concession, that "even in cases of this nature, whatever there is in any command or instruction, which concerns merely the *manner* of the thing, and not the essential nature of the duty, is no longer obligatory on us;" for it is sometimes no

easy task to distinguish between the manner and the essential nature of duties. In what he adds, however, a firm enough footing may be found. "We have a *new* and a *better* Testament than the ancient. In itself it is a sufficient guide. But we should thankfully accept whatever of confirmation or illustration of our Christian duties there is in the ancient Hebrew Scriptures." This seems to be the whole truth of the matter, and, by accepting it, some tender consciences may be saved from troublesome scruples. In short, the only principle that will be found satisfactory in itself, and beneficial in its consequences, is the one so clearly laid down by Baxter and Whately—that natural and Christian laws which *coincide with* laws of Moses, oblige mankind not as laws Mosaic, but as laws natural and Christian.* The plain dictate of common sense, that a law *obliges only those on whom it is imposed*, has been urged in reference to the Decalogue by many eminent writers quoted or mentioned in the present work; such as Zanchius (above, p. 201, and below, ii. 93), Musculus (ii. 93), Rivetus (i. 162), Grotius (*On the Rights of War and Peace*, B. I. ch. i. § 16, quoted afterwards), Baxter (i. 244, ii. 30), Milton (ii. 52, 54), Locke and Sherlock (ii. 36), Sharp (ii 143), Beausobre and Lenfant (ii. 164), Watts (ii. 188), Chandler (ii. 207), Doddridge (ii. 209), Amner (ii. 212), Jortin (ii. 230), Horsley (ii. 325), Paley (ii. 250), and the whole body of those holding the Dominical view (ii. 292, 332, 333, 337, 347–393). See also Baxter's *Works*, v. 544–7; vi. 322; xiii. 417; Hallet's *Free and Impartial Study of the Holy Scriptures Recommended*, i. 152, section entitled "The Ten Commandments given at Mount Sinai do not oblige Christians;" Mellet's *Sunday and the Sabbath*, pp. 4–21; and *Sabbath Laws, &c.*, pp. 164-6, 183-8. But indeed the words of Calvin

* See quotations from Baxter and Whately, below, vol. ii. pp. 30, 144; and the remarks of Jeremy Taylor, p. 11 of that volume. The lessons which the Fourth Commandment yields to the wise and well-instructed Christian are admirably set forth by Dr Barrow, as quoted in the same volume, pp. 67–69. Dean Hook applies the name of "principles" to rules derived from the consideration of laws not binding us; and on those principles he says "we *are* to act,"—not that we are *bound* to act (*ibid.* pp. 370, 372). The distinction, it must be admitted, is somewhat nice; but perhaps he shrank from dogmatising about duties flowing from "principles" which, though recognised by himself, might be seen less clearly, or not at all, by other able and learned men.

To the Christian, the Law of Moses stands essentially in the same relation that the Roman Law does to the Scottish judges: "Though it be not acknowledged as a law binding for its authority, it is, as a rule, followed for its equity." (Lord Stair's *Institutions of the Law of Scotland*, B. i. tit. 1, § 12.) That the Lawgiver of the Jews was wiser and more venerable than the legislators of ancient Rome, could not make the Jewish law more extensively binding than it was expressly decreed to be. See below, ii. 99: also the 15th Dissertation appended by Mr Myers to his translation of Calvin's *Commentary on Ezekiel*, p. 466; the article LAW OF MOSES in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, ii. 77; Baxter's *Works*, xiii. 420, 427; and Bialloblotzki *De Abrogatione Legis*, criticised by Fairbairn, ii. 189, and by Hengstenberg, p. 89.

himself on this subject are abundantly explicit: "The Lord," says he, "did not deliver his Law by the hand of Moses to be promulgated in all countries, and to be everywhere enforced; but having taking the Jewish nation under his special care, patronage, and guardianship, he was pleased to be specially its legislator, and, as became a wise legislator, he had special regard to it in enacting laws." (*Inst.* B. IV. ch. xx. § 15; in *The Whole Doctrine, &c.*, p. 85.) The contradictions in which divines of the Church of England are sometimes involved by holding this opinion, while knowing that the Liturgy treats the Fourth Commandment as a "law," are exemplified in the cases of Howell, Sharp, and Jephson (below, ii. 129, 143–4, 192). Mr Amner (ii. 212) approves of the use of the Decalogue in forms of public devotion, and in catechisms, as a compendium of universal duty; but expresses no opinion of the propriety of making Christian worshippers pray for help to enable them to keep the Fourth Commandment as a law.

On the other hand, it is argued by many that the Decalogue is, and ever was, as binding on the Gentiles as it was on the Jews. So thought L'Estrange (above, p. 201), the Westminster Assembly (p. 233), Cawdrey and Palmer (p. 244), Sellers and Walker (ii. 36), Witsius (ii. 93), Howell (ii. 127), and, in general, the Puritans and Seventh-Day Baptists. The latter sect stands, however, almost alone in exemplifying consistency between principle and practice; for most other asserters of the universal and perpetual authority of the Decalogue allow that the Fourth Commandment was partly positive and alterable. If rest on the seventh day of the week was prescribed by it to the Jews, then all who observe the Sunday instead of the Saturday must admit a change of the law. The argument of some (as Howell and Kennicott, quoted below, ii. 128, 243), that no particular day of the week is fixed by the Commandment, is met by Dr Hessey's remark that "the Sabbath and the seventh day are so completely identified throughout the Commandment that it is impossible to distinguish them. The Hebrew says, 'Remember *the* Sabbath day,' &c. in Exod. xx. 8; 'But *the* seventh day is *a* Sabbath of the Lord thy God,' 10; 'And rested *the* seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed *the* Sabbath day,' &c., ver. 11" (p. 418). Archbishop Whately also observes—"Throughout the whole of the Old Testament, we never hear of keeping holy *some one* day in every seven, but *the* seventh day, as the day on which 'God rested from all his work.' The difference, accordingly, between the Jews and the Christians is not a difference of *reckoning;* which would be a matter of no importance. Our computation is the same as theirs. They, as well as we, reckon Saturday as the seventh day of the week; and they keep it holy *as* the seventh day, in memory of God's resting from the work of creation; we keep holy the *first* day of the week, *as* the first, in memory of our Master's rising from the dead on the day after the Sabbath." (*Thoughts on the Sabbath*, 8d ed. p. 8.) So Milton and the Jew Abendana, quoted below (ii. 51, 132).

The most ample plea that I know for the Decalogue as a code of Christian laws is contained in sections 13 to 17 of Dr Stopford's *Scripture Account of the Sabbath* (below, ii. 340); where he treats of "the Covenant," the "Connexion of the Commandments with the original and everlasting Covenant," "A revelation, laws, and commandments before Moses," "The distinction necessary to be observed between different classes of the laws of the Israelites," and "The Israelites and Jews the depositories of Revelation for the purpose of communicating it to the other nations of the world." Robert Haldane, in like manner, thought that since "to the Jews were committed the oracles of God, and they were appointed his witnesses to all nations (Isa. xliii. 10, 12), it is most erroneous to suppose that because the ten commandments were delivered to them [only], for them they were exclusively intended." (*On the Epistle to the Romans*, iii. 306.) But of *what* were they the appointed witnesses? Expressly of the existence of Jehovah, the only God. If by the words, "intended *for them*," Mr Haldane meant "intended *to bind* them," consistency required him to maintain on this ground that the whole Jewish law was binding on the Gentiles. But to return to the Reformers.

2. Another great principle which they continued to hold in common with the Church of Rome was, that the Sabbath was "a day sacred to religion, and *consecrated to Divine offices, and duties of devotion.*" These are the words of the Catechism of the Romish Church, as quoted above, p. 377; and among innumerable passages which might be adduced to shew that this was what the Reformers also meant by "sanctifying" the day, it will suffice to cite one taken from Melancthon's *Christian Doctrine*. In reference to the Fourth Commandment he says: "It speaks not of bodily rest only, but expressly of sanctification also. It requires on that day the doing of holy works—works consecrated to the worship of God—that is, the instruction of the people, and performance of the ceremonies appointed by God." (*Corpus Doctrinæ Christianæ*, p. 404; Lips., 1561.) That the Hebrew word translated "sanctify" or "keep holy" in the English Bible, conveyed no such meaning as this to *the ancient Jews* is admitted by both parties alike; the Romish Catechism declaring that "in Holy Scripture the sanctification of the Sabbath is a cessation from bodily labour and from business, as is clear from the following words of the precept—'Thou shalt do no work on it'" (see above, p. 377); while Calvin as plainly teaches that "*kadesh*, with the Hebrews, is to separate from the common number" (on Gen. ii. 3),—or, as he elsewhere says, "If any one wishes to render 'sanctify' by one word, it will be, 'to separate'" (on Ezek. xx. 12–20). From Scripture and all other ancient Jewish sources of information, we learn that the chosen people regarded cessation from work and business as the fulfilment of the Fourth Commandment—the express and sole appointed mode of separating and distinguishing the day of rest from the days of labour. Not only is the Commandment

itself clear on this point, but we find that, severely as the Israelites were rebuked by their prophets for Sabbath-breaking, the only form of the offence ever laid to their charge was the doing of bodily work.* With the single exception of their annual day of atonement, which was a fast, they regarded the Sabbaths as *festivals*. (Isa. xxx. 29; Hos. ii. 11; Luke xiv. 1–12: also Deut. xiv. 26; xxvii. 7; Neh. viii. 9–12);—and if we ought to understand the phraseology in Isa. lviii. 13, 14, as a reproof of *misemployment* of the leisure which the day of rest afforded, the ground

* See a pamphlet entitled *What is Sabbath-breaking?* (Edin. 1863), especially Notes VIII. and IX. in the Appendix, pp. 76–86. It is there pointed out that "the only cases of Sabbath-breaking, real or imputed, of which we read in Scripture, are—going out to gather manna (Exod. xvi. 27); gathering sticks (Numb. xv. 33); treading wine-presses, lading asses, and bringing in sheaves, wine, grapes, figs, and all manner of burdens, into Jerusalem (Neh. xiii. 15-19; Jer. xvii. 22); and doing work in general (Jer. xvii. 22): also the alleged but justified cases of plucking and rubbing ears of corn (Matt. xii. 1-8; Mark ii. 23–28; Luke vi. 1-5); carrying the sick to be cured by Jesus (Luke xiii. 14, compared with Mark i. 32 and Luke iv. 40); and carrying home a little couch, after being healed upon it (John v. 10, 11). The slaughtering of animals by the priests, and the circumcision of children on the eighth day though a Sabbath, were by all allowed to be lawful (because specially commanded) profanations of the Sabbath-day (Matt. xii. 5; John vii. 22, 23); as were likewise works of urgency and charity (Matt. xii. 11; Mark iii. 4; Luke xiii. 15-17; xiv. 5, 6), though the Pharisees, against their own admission and practice, made the healing of the sick on the Sabbath a ground of accusation against our Lord." (P. 84.) The texts by which this view of the meaning of "sanctify" in the Fourth Commandment are maintained and controverted are noted above, p. 110. For writers who assert it, see above, pp. 168, 176, and below, ii. 1, 78, 107, 164, 358, 382. On the same side are Thorndike (*Theol. Works*, iv. 490; Oxford, 1853); Domville (*The Sabbath*, vol. ii. ch. ii. § 1; also ch. iii.); and some eminent German theologians, such as Gesenius, Hävernick, and Döllinger. The subject is discussed by Dr Fairbairn (*Typology*, ii. 129, 131–4, 136), who maintains the doctrine of the Westminster Assembly, which is quoted above, p. 233. See also the second note in p. 3 of this volume; and, in regard to the meaning of the word translated "blessed," Kitto's *Jour. of Sacred Literature*, vol. vi. p. 437, where it is shewn by an extensive comparison of passages in the Old Testament, that "distinguished—signalised—made eminent"—is its radical signification. By a natural gradation, "to sanctify" or "set apart" or "taboo" easily came to mean, secondarily, "to make or keep physically pure or clean" (see examples of the two senses in (1.) Exod. xix. 12, 23, and (2.) Exod. xix. 10, Deut. xxiii. 14); and, lastly, to make *morally* pure. To say, as the Romish Catechism does, that "the [Sabbath] day is holy, because on it, in a special manner, men should practise holiness and religion" (above, p. 378), is to lay down a reason for which the Bible affords no warrant whatever, and which probably would never have been thought of by either Romanists or Protestants, if they had not been led by the long-established custom of observing the Lord's day as a time for worship, and of enforcing from the Fourth Commandment the duty of so observing it, to attribute to the Jewish festival not only its own character of a *rest-day*, but the Dominical character of a *prayer-day*.

of that reproof appears to have been the one on which the Christian Fathers long afterwards founded their low estimate of the Sabbath-observance of the Jews—namely, that bodily rest was no genuine and acceptable worship of a holy God, if the time set free by this ceremonial observance was spent in breaking those moral laws, obedience to which was far more important in his sight.* That in the early Christian ages the Jews still continued to regard the Fourth Commandment as a law for the sanctification or *separation* of the weekly "Rest-day" by mere cessation from labour, is proved by ample evidence. It appears especially from the summary given by Josephus of the Fourth Commandment, which he represents as ordaining that the Jews "must keep the seventh day by resting from all sort of work." (*Antiq.* B. III. ch. v. § 5; see also B. I. ch. i. § 1, quoted above, p. 115.) To the same effect are passages quoted in this work from Tertullian (below, ii. 298), and Augustine (above, p. 368); also that portion of the Mischna which treats of the Sabbath, and which is translated in Wotton's second volume (see below, ii. 165), and is quoted by Fairbairn (*Typology*, ii. 487–8). I regard as unimportant the mystical interpretations of Philo, referred to above, p. 351, and the attempts made by him and Josephus to avert the

* See above, p. 368. This principle, it hardly needs be said, is abundantly laid down also in Scripture—as in Isa. i. 10–17; xxix. 13, compared with Matt. vii. 21; xv. 8; xxi. 28–31; and James i. 27. See likewise *What is Sabbath-breaking?* Note XIV. in App. p. 90, and the places referred to in that place. Mention is there made of the various opinions of commentators concerning the meaning of the words translated in our version of Isa. lviii. 13, "doing thy (will or) pleasure," and "not doing thine own ways nor finding thine own pleasure." Some (as Calvin, Owen, and Chandler) understand it of vicious pleasures, contrary to the will of God; others (as Rosenmüller and Bishop White) of bodily labour, as being a breach of the Divine law expressed in the Fourth Commandment; while others (as Vitringa, Towerson, and Holden) think that both of these sins may be referred to. On the other hand, the Scottish Presbyterians generally hold that every agreeable occupation, however innocent and wholesome in itself, if not a religious employment, is discountenanced by the expression in Isaiah. That *work alone* is aimed at there, was the opinion of men who may be assumed to have been much better qualified to interpret the passage than we modern Gentiles are—I mean the Hebrew authors of the Septuagint, by whom the words rendered in our version "nor finding thine own pleasure" are translated *οὐκ ἀρεῖς τὸν πόδα σου ἐπ' ἔργῳ—i.e.* "thou shalt not lift thy foot to work."

What the Fathers objected to in the Jews of their time, the Reformer Chemnitz exclaims against, as exhibited in the Christian Church of the 16th century. "The Sabbath," says he, "is violated chiefly by those who abuse that time of rest unto pleasures, lightness, surfeiting, drunkenness, and all other kind of wickedness; whereby it cometh to pass, that commonly God is upon no day more offended than upon those which are specially appointed unto his worship and service." (*Exam. de Diebus Festis*, quoted by Gilfillan, p. 425.) By "pleasures" he here evidently means such sensual indulgences as are intrinsically sinful.

ridicule of the Gentiles from the Sabbath, by ascribing to Moses laws and intentions concerning which the Scriptures are silent. (See above, pp. 115, 116, 118, 294; and below, ii. p. 229.)

On what, then, do the Romanists and the Reformers found their belief that *other* forms of worship than cessation from labour were enjoined in the Fourth Commandment? The only Scriptural ground adduced in the Catechism of the Council of Trent is, that in Deut. v. 12 the word "keep" is used in addition to "sanctify;" that it must therefore mean something else than the *resting* which is the expressly appointed mode of sanctification; and that this something else must be, that the Sabbath was "a day sacred to religion, and consecrated to divine offices and duties of devotion:" which view is supposed to be confirmed by the use of the word "delight" in Isa. lviii. 13. (See above, p. 377.) Calvin, on the other hand, finds in the word "keep" no other meaning than what "remember" has in Exodus (*Com. on Exod.* xx. 8). But if he *had* agreed with the Romanists on this point, it would have been as little allowable to him as to them to found on both editions of the Commandment, as if both could be genuine copies of the law that was written on stone. (See above p. 155–6; and below, ii. 104, 157, 173, 213, 345, 373–4.) Calvin, though he prefixes both editions to his commentary on the Fourth Commandment, not only avoids the question which of them ought to be preferred, but does not even allude to the fact of a difference between them. One of his reasons for thinking with the Church of Rome that other worship than rest was required of the Jews by the Commandment is, that the Divine intention to "provide for" the one purpose as well as the other "is abundantly evinced by the mere practice of the Jews." (*Institutes*, B. II. ch. viii. § 32; in *The Whole Doctrine, &c.*, p. 81.) This argument, if sound, would prove that meetings such as those which the Jews held in synagogues after their return from Babylon were provided for in the Fourth Commandment; but it would prove nothing as to those portions of the day which were otherwise employed—and moreover, if good so far, would equally suffice to show that the Jewish practice of feasting on the Sabbath had the same Divine authority. But is there any ground in Scripture for believing that *either* practice was followed as in obedience to the Fourth Commandment? The day set free from work must necessarily be spent somehow; and the wisdom, piety, and sociableness of the Jews would naturally lead them to meet regularly in their synagogues to hear the law read and expounded, and, it might be, to engage in common prayer.* To the practice of feasting they would in like manner be led, not only by the suitableness of feasting to all but one of their holidays, but by its conduciveness to that "refreshment" which is expressly mentioned in the Pentateuch as a purpose of the weekly Sabbath (Exod. xxiii. 12;

* Dr Barrow (below, ii. 68) finds in the practice of the Jews a proof that they "were so wise as to understand" the duties of public prayer and hearing God's Law "to be couched in the sanctification of the day prescribed to them" though not expressly ordered. While

and see above, p. 240, and ii. 304). But the *main* reason assigned by Calvin for his opinion, and one which he never tires of repeating, is, that "under the rest of the seventh day, the Divine Lawgiver meant to furnish the people of Israel with a type of the spiritual rest by which believers were to cease from their own works, and allow God to work in them;" which last phrase is Calvin's mode of expressing cessation from sin. (*Inst.* B. II. ch. viii. § 28: See also his comments on Exod. xx. 8; Numb. xv. 32–36; Ps. xcii.; Isa. lvi. 1–5; lviii. 13, 14; Jer. xvii. 22; Ezek. xx. 12–20; in *The Whole Doctrine, &c.*, pp. 5–7, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 22, 24–27.) In the *Institutes* he goes on to say, § 29:—"We are taught in many passages (Numb. xiii. 22; Ezek. xx. 12; xxii. 8; xxiii. 38; Jer. xvii. 21, 22, 27; Isa. lvi. 2; Neh. ix. 14) that this adumbration of spiritual rest held a primary place in the Sabbath. Indeed, there is no commandment the observance of which the Almighty more strictly enforces. When he would intimate by the Prophets that religion was entirely subverted, he complains that his Sabbaths were polluted, violated, not kept, not hallowed; as if, after it was neglected, there remained nothing in which he could be honoured. The observance of it he eulogises in the highest terms, and hence, among other divine privileges, the faithful set an extraordinary value on the revelation of the Sabbath. In Nehemiah, the Levites, in the public assembly, thus speak: 'Thou madest known unto them thy holy sabbath, and commandedst them precepts, statutes, and laws, by the hand of Moses thy servant.' You see the singular honour which it holds among all the precepts of the Law. All this tends to celebrate the dignity of the mystery, which is most admirably expressed by Moses and Ezekiel. Thus in Exodus: 'Verily my sabbaths shall ye keep: for it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations; that ye may know that I am the Lord that doth sanctify you. Ye shall keep my sabbath therefore; for it is holy unto you: every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death; for whosoever doeth any work therein, that soul shall be cut off from among his people. Six days may work be done; but in the seventh is the sabbath of rest, holy to the Lord: whosoever doeth any work in the sabbath-day, he shall surely be put to death. Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetual covenant. It is a sign between me and the children of Israel for ever,' (Exod.

Zanchius, applying the term *work* to two different things, only one of which it signifies in the commandment, teaches that the prohibition to the Jews of servile labour (which might divert them from the worship of God), was a *tacit injunction* to do "works" pertaining to His worship. "Primum jubet ut sanctifices Sabbatum; deinde explicans ex parte, quo modo sanctificandum sit, vetat, ne ullum in eo die facias opus tuum, servile scilicet, et quo a cultu Dei avocari possis, tacite mandans ut ea opera facias, quæ ad cultum Dei pertinent." (*Op. Theolog.* iv. 651; edit. 1605.) Is it not likely that if such an injunction had been *meant*, it would have been *expressly given?*

xxxi. 13–17.) Ezekiel is still more full, but the sum of what he says amounts to this: that the Sabbath is a sign by which Israel might know that God is their sanctifier. If our sanctification consists in the mortification of our own will, the analogy between the external sign and the thing signified is most appropriate. We must rest entirely, in order that God may work in us; we must resign our own will, yield up our heart, and abandon all the lusts of the flesh. In short, we must desist from all the acts of our own mind, that God working in us, we may rest in him, as the Apostle also teaches (Heb. iii. 13; iv. 3–9). This complete cessation was represented to the Jews by the observance of one day in seven, which, that it might be more religiously attended to, the Lord recommended by his own example. For it is no small incitement to the zeal of man, to know that he is engaged in imitating his Creator." (*The Whole Doctrine, &c.*, pp. 79–80.)*

In all this, so far as Christians are concerned, Calvin, it will be seen, agrees with the Fathers and the Romish Church (see above, pp. 124, 325, 327, 349–351, 367, 378). That the outward Sabbath enjoined to the Jews was a type of that rest from sin which the Fathers and Reformers regarded as the *Christian* or spiritual Sabbath, seems legitimately deducible from Heb. iv. 3–11. But it is by no means so clear, or so generally admitted, that *the Jews* under the Mosaic law understood that it typified any thing to them. As already observed, their writings and their practice concur to prove that they found in the Fourth Commandment an injunction of bodily rest, and nothing more; and few if any modern theologians seem to deduce from the texts referred to by Calvin, either that the Jews, for whom primarily these texts were written, understood them as he has done, or that the meaning he supposes to be contained in them is really thereby expressed. The statement that "the Sabbath was a sign between Jehovah and his chosen people throughout their generations, that they might know that He was the Lord that sanctified them" (Exod. xxxi. 13; Ezek. xx. 12, 20), may mean nothing more than this—(1.) "that God would have the Sabbath to be a notable symbol of distinction between the Jews and the heathen nations" (Calvin's own words in commenting on Exod. xx. 8–11; see also what he says on Numb. xv. 32–36); and (2.) that it was designed, moreover, to keep them in mind of (to make them "know," *i.e.*, continue to know) Jehovah the true God, who had separated them from all other peoples in the world. On the latter point Calvin expressly remarks, that the fact of this election of the Israelites for a peculiar nation "the prophet sufficiently expresses by the word *sanctified*, for it means that the

* In his *Reply to Pighius on Free Will*, Calvin deduces very summarily from the Fourth Commandment spiritualised, the doctrine of the sinfulness of all human actions. "For when God," says he, "who does not wish us to be weary of well-doing, commands us to rest from our own works, does he not thereby declare that all our own works are evil?" (*Tract. Theol.*, p. 173; Amst. 1677.)

people were separated from the profane nations to be God's peculiar inheritance." (On Ezek. xx. 12–20, p. 24.) And further, he admits that the Jews *did not in fact* obey the commandment in the spiritual sense supposed to have been contained in it: they "overlooked that which was of the highest importance; for, by resting satisfied with outward ceremony, they neglected the truth, that is, reformation of life." (On Isa. lvi. 1–7, p. 16.) Yet if we may believe what he elsewhere says, these blind Jews were gifted with a wonderful insight into the mystical import of another fact in their history: "the land of Canaan was not otherwise so much valued except for this reason, because it was an image and a symbol of the spiritual inheritance." (On Heb. iv. 8, p. 69.)

Although Calvin often ridicules the idea that mere rest could be worship, he allows in one place that "it was a general profession of God's worship, when the Jews rested on the seventh day." (On Jer. xvii. 21, 22, p. 21.)

He repeatedly speaks of God's example as a designed incentive to the Israelites to rest like Him from labour on the seventh day; but this divine rest also he spiritualises in a manner unwarranted by Scripture. Six days, says he, were employed by God in the work of creation, not because He needed this succession of time, but that He might engage us in the consideration of His works; and "He had the same end in view in the appointment of His own *rest*, for He set apart a day selected out of the remainder for this special use. Wherefore, that benediction is nothing else than a solemn consecration by which God claims for Himself the meditations and employments of men on the seventh day." (On Gen. ii. 2, 3; in *The Whole Doctrine, &c.*, p. 1.) Here he foresees that a difficulty may be started, on the ground of his own doctrine that the law and history of the Sabbath taught the Jews mystically their *daily* duty; and he endeavours to obviate it by adding—"This is, indeed, the proper business of the whole life, in which men should daily exercise themselves, to consider the infinite goodness, justice, power, and wisdom of God in this magnificent theatre of heaven and earth. But, lest men should prove less sedulously attentive to it than they ought, every seventh day has been especially selected for the purpose of supplying what was wanting in daily meditation." (*Id.* p. 2; also *Inst.* B. II. ch. viii. § 32, quoted in the same pamphlet, p. 82.) He then proceeds as follows: "First, therefore, God rested; then He blessed this [*i.e.* His own] rest, that in all ages it might be held sacred among men: or He dedicated every seventh day to rest, that His own example might be a perpetual rule. The design of the institution must be always kept in memory: for God did not command men simply to keep holiday every seventh day, as if He delighted in their indolence; but rather that they, being released from all other business, might the more readily apply their minds to the Creator of the world" (p. 2). It may well be doubted whether, if the divine intentions were really those so precisely set forth here, they would not have been mentioned in Scripture,

instead of being left to be imagined by ingenious but fallible theologians.* The Fathers in the fourth century seem to have been the first expounders of Scripture who made a spiritual application of the Sabbath to the Lord's Day beyond the other days of the week: thus Chrysostom, as we have seen (p. 365), fancied that in the narrative of the creation God instructs us typically to dedicate and separate one day in the week wholly to employment in things spiritual; and in another place he similarly remarks of the Sabbath itself—"The Jews think that the Sabbath was given them for ease and rest: its true purpose, however, is not this, but that they may withdraw themselves from worldly affairs, and bestow all their study and labour upon spiritual things." (*Homil.* 35, tom. v. p. 227, quoted by Suicer, ii. 918.) The foolish spiritualising of Eusebius has already been exhibited (above, p. 360–2). From these small beginnings appears to have originated the copious stream of mediæval and modern fancies about the sanctification of the Sabbath. From Gen. ii. 3, Luther infers "that if Adam had remained in innocence, he would still have kept the seventh day sacred; that is, he would on it have instructed his descendants concerning the will and worship of God, and have given Him praise, and thanks, and offerings; while on the other days he would have tilled the ground and tended his cattle. Nay, even after the fall the seventh day was held by him sacred; that is, he taught his family on that day, as appears from the sacrifices of his sons Cain and Abel.† From the beginning of the world, therefore, the Sabbath was appointed to the worship of God." And Calvin, on the same text, says: "So far as the Sabbath was a figure of spiritual rest, it was but for a season; but inasmuch as it was commanded to men from the beginning that they might employ themselves in the worship of God, it is right that it should continue to the end of the world." (*The Whole Doctrine, &c.*, p. 2.) From these two passages, especially the former, I judge that the writers had in their minds an idea afterwards more clearly set forth by Grotius (above, p. 220); viz., that though the seventh day was appointed at the creation of the world, to be observed in memory of that event by being, in part at least, employed in prayer, praise, and devout contemplation, the duty of *resting* upon it was originally and exclusively imposed upon the Jews.‡ Yet this view, if it *was* held by these Reformers, seems to have taken but a wavering hold of Calvin; for afterwards, in considering the reason annexed to the Fourth Commandment in Exod. xx. 11, he remarks that "from this passage it may be probably conjectured that the hallowing of the Sabbath was prior to the Law; and undoubtedly, what Moses has before narrated, that they *were forbidden to gather the manna on the seventh day*, seems to have had its origin from a well-known and received custom."

* See the yet wider amplification of God's rest by Witsius, below, ii. 92.
† How this premiss leads to the conclusion is not quite evident.
‡ Objections to the opinion of Grotius are stated below, ii. 146.

(*The Whole Doctrine, &c.*, p. 10.) Still, of the origin of this possible custom he offers no opinion here, and in commenting on Exod. xvi. 5, he allows it to be "questionable," though probable, whether the Sabbath was observed by the Patriarchs. (P. 8.)

Assuming, however, that in Calvin's belief the seventh day was observed as *a day of rest* by the Patriarchs, it remains to be inquired whether the primeval institution of the Sabbath was thought by him to involve its continuance after the coming of Christ. On this point, with Paul's Epistles before him, he exhibits none of that ambiguity which at times perplexes the reader of his expositions of the Old Testament; but sees clearly the impossibility of reconciling the continuance of a Sabbath, in the proper meaning of the word, with the principles enunciated by the apostle in respect to the observance of days. Thus, in commenting on Rom. xiv. 6, he says: "Since Paul well knew that a respect for days proceeded from ignorance of Christ, it is not probable that such a corruption was altogether defended by him; and yet his words seem to imply that he who regarded days committed no sin; for nothing but good can be accepted by God. Hence, that you may understand his purpose, it is necessary to distinguish between the notion which any one may have entertained as to the observance of days, and the observance itself to which he felt himself bound. The notion was indeed superstitious, nor does Paul deny this; for he has already condemned it by calling it infirmity, and he will again condemn it still more plainly. Now, that he who was held fast by this superstition, dared not to violate the solemnity of a particular day; this was approved by God, because he dared not to do anything with a doubtful conscience. What indeed could the Jew do, who had not yet made such progress as to be delivered from scruples about days? He had the word of God, in which the keeping of days was commended: there was a necessity laid on him by the law; and its abrogation was not clearly seen by him. Nothing then remained, but that he, waiting for a fuller revelation, should keep himself within the limits of his own knowledge, and not avail himself of the benefit of liberty before he embraced it by faith." (*The Whole Doctrine, &c.*, p. 56.) And on Gal. iv. 10, he remarks: "The apostle adduces as an instance one description of 'elements,' the observance of days. . . . Of what nature, then, was the observation which Paul reproves? It was that which would bind the conscience by religious considerations, as if it were necessary to the worship of God, and which, as he expresses it in the Epistle to the Romans, would make a distinction between one day and another (Rom. xiv. 5). When certain days are represented as holy in themselves, when one day is distinguished from another on religious grounds, when holy days are reckoned a part of divine worship, then days are improperly observed. The Jewish Sabbath, new moons, and other festivals, were earnestly pressed by the false apostles, because they had been appointed by the law. When we, in the present age, make a distinction of days, we do not represent them as necessary, and thus lay a snare for the con-

science; we do not reckon one day to be more holy than another; we do not make days to be the same thing with religion and the worship of God; but merely attend to the preservation of order and harmony. The observance of days among us is a free service, and void of all superstition." (*The Whole Doctrine, &c.*, p. 63.)*

3. In regard to the degree of strictness with which the Jews were required by the Law to abstain from work on the Sabbath, Dr Fairbairn speaks of the Reformers as generally "conceiving the external rest to be so rigorously binding on the Jews, that even the doing of charitable works was a breach of it—the very mistake of the Pharisees." (*Typology*, ii. 135.) This representation is perhaps too highly coloured. No doubt there are passages in the works of the Reformers which give it much support (as Luther's commentary on Matt. xii., referred to above, p. 126—and Calvin's on Exod. xxxiv. 21, to be immediately quoted); but the tenor of the writings of the latter at least, on this subject, is decidedly to the opposite effect. Works of charity, and those required for sacrifices in the temple and the circumcision of infants on the Sabbath, he represents as not falling within the scope of the Commandment at all, which, says he, prohibits only *human* works, and not works like these, which are not human but *divine*. (See, for instance, his commentary on Luke xiv. 1–6, in *The Whole Doctrine, &c.*, pp. 38, 39; and *Confutatio cujusdam Hollandi*, in his *Tractatus Theologici*, p. 487.) In this category of divine works, however, the work of saving crops from destruction in rainy weather is not included by him; for he says—"When in Exod. xxxiv. God especially commands them to rest 'in earing-time [*i.e.* ploughing-time] and in harvest,' it is not as if He would let loose the rein for the rest of the year; but He rather draws it tighter, since no necessity must interrupt this sacred observance. Else it might have seemed a just pretext, if, on account of continued rains, or other ungenial weather, ploughing should be difficult, husbandmen were to be released from the obligation of the law, lest their resting should have produced sterility. The same opinion might have prevailed as to the ingathering of the harvest, lest it should have been spoilt on the ground. God, however, allows of no dispensation; but the Sabbath is to be observed, though at the risk of general loss." (*Comm. on the Four Last Books of Moses*, vol. ii. p. 444; in *The Whole Doctrine, &c.*, p. 13.) But in commenting on Matt. xii. 7 ("If you knew what that is, 'I choose mercy and not sacrifice,' you would not have condemned the innocent"), and Mark ii. 27 ("The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath"), Calvin sees the matter in a different light, and resorts to no quibbling distinction between works divine and human in justifying the performance of such as promote the benefit of man. "Christ," says he, "conveys an indirect reproof to the

* On the question whether a primeval Sabbath-law, if such there was, must still be binding on us, see below, ii. 253, 259, 352, 370.

Pharisees, for not considering why ceremonies were appointed, and to what object they are directed. This has been a common fault in almost every age; and therefore the prophet Hosea (vi. 6) exclaims against the men of his own age for being too much attached to ceremonies, and caring little about the duties of kindness. But God declares aloud, that He sets a higher value on *mercy* than on sacrifice, employing the word *mercy*, by a figure of speech, for offices of kindness, as *sacrifices* include the outward service of the Law. This statement Christ applies to his own time, and charges the Pharisees with wickedly torturing the Law of God out of its true meaning, with disregarding the second table, and being entirely occupied with ceremonies. But a question arises: Why does God declare that He is indifferent about ceremonies, when He strictly enjoins in his Law that they should be observed? The answer is easy. External rites are of no value in themselves, and are demanded by God in so far only as they are directed to their proper object. Besides, God does not absolutely reject them, but, by a comparison with deeds of kindness, pronounces that they are inferior to the latter in actual value. Nor is it inconsistent with this to say, that in the perfection of righteousness the highest rank belongs to the worship of God, and the duties which men owe to each other occupy the second rank. For, though piety is justly reckoned to be as much superior to charity as God is higher than men, yet as believers, by practising justice towards each other, prove that their service of God is sincere, it is not without reason that this subject is brought under the notice of hypocrites, who imitate piety by outward signs, and yet pervert it by confining their laborious efforts to carnal worship alone. From the testimony of the Prophet, Christ justly infers that no blame attaches to his disciples; for while God trained his people in the rudiments of the Law, it was far from being his design to kill wretched men with famine." Again, upon Mark ii. 27, he says: "The general meaning is, that those persons judge amiss who turn to man's destruction the Sabbath which God appointed for his benefit. The Pharisees saw the disciples of Christ employed in a holy work; they saw them worn out with the fatigue of a journey, and partly with want of food; and yet are offended that, when they are hungry, they take a few grains of corn for the support of their wearied bodies. Is not this a foolish attempt to overturn the purpose of God, when they demand to the injury of men that observation of the Sabbath which he intended to be advantageous? But they are mistaken, I think, who suppose that in this passage the Sabbath is entirely abolished; for Christ simply informs us what is the proper use of it. Though he asserted, a little before, that he is *Lord of the Sabbath*, yet the full time for its abolition was not yet come, because *the veil of the temple* was not yet *rent* (Matt. xxvii. 51)." (*The Whole Doctrine, &c.*, pp. 33, 34.)

The conclusion drawn by Calvin from Exod. xxxiv. exemplifies the liability of commentators to be misled by confining their atten-

tion too exclusively to the texts before them at the moment, and especially to those found in the Old Testament Scriptures. But does the passage really warrant a conclusion so different from the doctrine of Jesus about the Sabbath? It no doubt *seems* to warrant the inference; but I doubt if it really does so. In the regular climate of Palestine there was no such risk as there is in Britain, of injury to the crops from bad weather in harvest, or of inconvenience to the farmer in ploughing-time. As Michaelis observes, the prohibition of work even in harvest "answered quite well in that country, where the weather at that season is always settled; but with us, and still more towards the north, where the harvest is later and more precarious, such a law would be intolerable." (*Comm. on the Laws of Moses*, Smith's Transl., vol. i. p. 21.) At the ploughing season, the weather in Palestine appears to be equally steady. May not then the scriptural phrase, "in earing-time and in harvest," be merely a mode of saying "at all times,"—as are our own phrases "day and night," "summer and winter," "foul day and fair day," and the like?

In the article on Calvin, above, p. 129, it is observed that he finds in 1 Cor. xvi. 2 no indication that the first day of the week was religiously observed in the apostolic times. The fact is, that by the phrase κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων (translated by him *in uno sabbathorum*), he understands "on one of the sabbaths,"—not "on the first day of the week," as it is now generally rendered.* In Mr Beveridge's translation of his *Institutes*, there is a passage where that gentleman has been misled by the received English version into making him speak of Paul as identifying the Lord's Day with the Sabbath. In B. II. ch. viii. § 33, where he mentions "that legitimate selection of days which is subservient to the peace (or good order) of Christian society," Calvin is made to say, that "in the churches established by Paul, this was the use for which the Sabbath was retained: he tells the Corinthians *to set the first day apart* for collecting contributions for the relief of their brethren at Jerusalem." (*The Whole Doctrine, &c.*, p. 83.) Now the words of Calvin are—"Siquidem in Ecclesiis ab eo institutis Sabbathum in hunc usum retinebatur: *illum enim diem* præscribit Corinthiis, quo symbola ad sublevandos Hierosolymitanos fratres colligantur;"—"He tells the Corinthians to set *that day* apart," &c. Paul is here represented by Calvin as prescribing to the Corinthians for the performance of this charitable office, not the Sunday, but "*that day*"—the Sabbath—the day which, as he had just said, the Apostles continued to employ for such useful purposes. In Allen's translation of the *Institutes* the words are correctly enough rendered, "He prescribes *the same day* to the

* See *The Whole Doctrine, &c.*, p. 57. His view is, that "Paul means that the Corinthians should contribute, one on one Sabbath, and another on another; or even each of them every Sabbath, if they chose." Few now adhere to Calvin's translation of the phrase. Milton thought its meaning doubtful (below, ii. 53).

Corinthians." Mr Gilfillan, though he does not mistranslate the passage (p. 432), argues from it nevertheless on the erroneous supposition that by "the Sabbath" Calvin means the Sunday. He must have forgotten the Reformer's commentary on 1 Cor. xvi., where dissent is expressed from the opinion of Chrysostom that the Greek words above quoted mean "on the first Sabbath," and that this is employed to mean the Lord's-day; "for the probability," says Calvin, "is, that the Apostles, at the beginning, retained the day that was already in use, but that afterwards, constrained by the superstition of the Jews, they set aside that day and substituted another. Now the Lord's-day was made choice of, chiefly because our Lord's resurrection put an end to the shadows of the Law. Hence the day itself puts us in mind of our Christian liberty." (*The Whole Doctrine, &c.*, pp. 57, 58.)

As Calvin's *Sermons upon the Book of Deuteronomy*, for the reason mentioned above (p. 386), are seldom to be met with, I shall conclude this article by quoting a characteristic passage from Sermon 34th, one of those in which he treats of the Fourth Commandment:—

"Yea, and we have to mark also, that it is not enough for us to think upon God and his works upon the Lord's day every man by himself; but that we must meet together upon some day certain, to make open confession of our faith. Indeed this ought to be done every day, as I have said afore. But yet in respect of men's rawness, and by reason of their slothfulness, it is necessary to have one special day dedicated wholly thereunto. It is true that we be not bound to the seventh day: neither do we (in deed) keep the same day that was appointed to the Jews; for that was the Saturday. But to the intent to show the liberty of Christians, the day was changed because Jesus Christ in his resurrection did set us free from the bondage of the Law, and cancelled the obligation thereof. That was the cause why the day was shifted. But yet must we observe the same order of having some day in the week, be it one or be it two, for that is left to the free choice of Christians. Nevertheless, if a people assemble to have the sacraments ministered, and to make common prayer unto God, and to show one agreement and union of faith, it is convenient to have some one day certain for that purpose. Then it is not enough for every man to withdraw himself into his own house, whether it be to read the Holy Scripture or to pray unto God; but it is meet that we should come into the company of the faithful, and there shew the agreement which we have with all the whole body of the Church, by keeping this order which our Lord hath so commanded. But what? There a man may see too apparent unhallowing of God's service. For (as I have touched afore) are there not a great sort which could well find in their hearts to show that they do but mock God, and that they would fain be exempted from the common law? It is true that they will come to a sermon a five or six times a year. And what to do there? Forsooth, even to mock at God and all his doctrine. In deed they

be very swine, which come to defile God's temple, and are worthier to be in stables than there, and they were better to keep themselves at home in their stinking cabins. To be short, it were better that such rascals and filthy villains were quite cut off from the Church of God, than that they should come and intermingle themselves after that sort in company with the faithful. But yet how many times come they thither? The bell may ring well enough: for look where a man left them, there shall he find them. So then we ought to be the more diligent and careful, in quickening up ourselves to make such confession of our faith, as God may be honoured with one common consent among us. And besides that, all superstitions must be banished. For we see how it is an opinion in popery that God is served with idleness. It is not after that sort that we must keep holy the Sabbath-day. But to the intent it may be applied to the right and lawful use, we must consider (as I said afore) how our Lord requireth to have this day bestowed in nothing else but in hearing of his Word, in making common prayer, in making confession of our faith, and in having the use of the sacraments. These are the things that we be called to. Howbeit, we see how all things have been corrupted and confounded in the popedom. For like as they have allotted days to honouring of their he saints and she saints, and set up images of them, so have they surmised that they were to be worshipped with idleness. But seeing that the world is so given to corruption, it standeth us so much the more in hand to mark well this discourse concerning the Sabbath-day, as it is set down here by Moses. And let us consider to what end our Lord commanded the people of old time to have one day in the week to rest in: to the intent that we, knowing how the same is abolished by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, may take ourselves to the spiritual rest—that is to say, dedicate ourselves wholly unto God, forsaking all our own reason and affections. Again, let us retain still the outward order so far as is meet for us; that is to wit, of forbearing our own affairs and worldly businesses, that we may intend wholly to the minding of God's works, and occupy ourselves in the consideration of the good things that he hath done for us. And above all things, let us strain ourselves to acknowledge the grace that he offereth us daily in his Gospel, that we may be strengthened in it still more and more. And when we have bestowed the Lord his day in praising and magnifying God's name, and in minding his works, let us show all the week after that we have profited in the same." (Pages 204–5 of Golding's transl.)

The opinions of the Reformers about the Sabbath and the Lord's-day are treated of by Dr Hessey in his sixth and seventh *Bampton Lectures*. See also Gilfillan, pp. 417–446; Mr Baden Powell's *Christianity without Judaism*, pp. 237, 241; *The North British Review*, Feb. 1861, vol. xxxiv. p. 228; *The British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, Oct. 1858, vol. vii. p. 732, and Jan. 1863, vol. xii. p. 96: also sundry notices in the present work, i. 178, 203, 204, 209, 249; ii. 81, 121, 200, 380.

Page 130.—*The Confession of Augsburg.*

The following extracts are additional to the passage quoted from this Confession in pp. 130, 131 :—

"It is disputed besides, whether bishops or pastors have the right to institute ceremonies in the church, and to make laws respecting meats, and holidays, and orders of ministers, &c. Those who attribute this right to bishops, allege for a testimony, 'I have many things to say unto you, but you cannot bear them now; but when He, the spirit of truth, is come, He shall lead you unto all truth.' They allege, besides, the example of the apostles, who commanded abstinence from things strangled and from blood. They allege the Sabbath changed into the Lord's day contrary to the Decalogue, as it would seem. Nor is any example more vaunted than the mutation of the Sabbath. Great, they contend, must be the power of the Church, which can dispense with a precept of the Decalogue. . . . Many writers, again, pretend that in the New Testament there ought to be a *cultus* similar to the Levitical, . . . and writers appear to be deceived by the example of the law of Moses, as if the righteousness of the New Testament were the external observance of certain rites, just as the righteousness of the Law was the external observance of certain rites. As in the Law it was sin to eat the flesh of swine, &c., so in the New Testament they place sin in meats, and days, and vestments, and the like. And they think that without these things the righteousness of the New Testament could not exist. Hence come these burdens, that certain foods pollute the conscience, that it is mortal sin to omit the canonical hours, that fasts merit the remission of sins, &c. . . . Whence do bishops derive the right to impose these traditions to the burdening of consciences? For there exist clear testimonies which prohibit the framing of such traditions either for obtaining remission of sins, or as if necessary to the righteousness of the New Testament or to salvation. Paul to the Colossians: 'Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holiday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbaths.' . . . It is necessary to hold by the chief point of the gospel that we obtain remission of sin and justification *gratis* by faith in Christ, not on account of certain observances or rites instituted by men.

"What, then, is to be thought concerning the Lord's day and other similar rites of times?* (and so on, as in p. 130).

"There are extant prodigious disputations on the change of the Law, on the ceremonies of the New Law, on the mutation of the

* The words in the ordinary editions of the Augsburg Confession are here "ritibus *templorum*;" but it was with much reason suggested by the late Mr William Dyce, R.A., that the true reading is *temporum*. I have here altered my translation accordingly. Two others corrections need to be made on it:—P. 131, line 21, after "not" insert "now;" line 27, for "seemed" read "seems."

Sabbath; all of which proceed from the false persuasion that there ought to be in the Church a *cultus* similar to the Levitical, and that Christ committed to the apostles and bishops the power to devise new ceremonies which are necessary to salvation. . . Some say that the observance of the Lord's day is not indeed *juris divini*, but *quasi juris divini*, and they prescribe how far it is lawful to work on festivals. But what are disputations of this sort but snares to the conscience?" (*Sylloge Confessionum*, pp. 227–231.)

The doctrine involved in this statement is thus summed up by Mr Dyce:—

"1. That the Lord's day is not to be observed on account of any obligation imposed by the fourth commandment of the Decalogue.

"2. That its observance has been instituted by the Church for reasons of expediency.

"3. That the non-observance of the Lord's day and other festivals by individuals is not sinful, provided no scandal is caused thereby."

Mr Baden Powell says of the Augsburg Confession:—

"Notwithstanding the plainness with which all idea of Sabbatism is here repudiated, it yet cannot but be noticed how much of the prevailing confusion of thought remains in the *reasons* and *grounds* assigned; that the Mosaic ceremonies 'may be omitted' when the question is, What should enforce them? or how the Gentiles could have any thing to do with them? or could have any ground for imagining that Christian worship ought to resemble the Levitical? The real fundamental 'false persuasion' which might have been referred to, is that of not seeing the distinction between Jewish and Gentile Christianity. All that is here said might well apply to Jewish converts." (*Christianity without Judaism*, p. 229.)

The original form in which the Confession was published in 1531, and which, as Mr Powell observes, was adhered to by the Lutherans, differs a little from the edition of 1540, which is the one I have used, and which is said to have been altered to suit the views of certain other parties. Originally, the sentence beginning, "The Scripture allows that we are not now bound to keep the Sabbath," stood thus: "The Scripture has abrogated the Sabbath; which teaches that all the Mosaic ceremonies, after the revelation of the Gospel, may be omitted." (*Sylloge Confessionum*, p. 156.)

Page 131.—VIRET.

This writer is one of those who think that the Fourth Commandment enjoins six days' labour, as well as one day's rest (p. 418). As, however, the key-note of the commandment is, "Remember the Rest-day to set it apart," this interpretation is a forced one, and Calvin in his commentary on Exod. xx. 8 pronounces it "foolish." (See *The Whole Doctrine, &c.*, p. 8.) Some

translators give "six days *mayest* thou labour," instead of "*shalt*." The Trent Confession draws a *lesson* of industry from the words, and gives them no further force as an *injunction* than to the effect of preventing Sabbath work by doing all that is necessary on other days. (See above, p. 379; also below, ii. pp. 75, 84.)

Page 139.—*The Formularies of the Church of England.*

Respecting the Catechism of this Church, see below, ii. 173. 349. Mr Baden Powell observes, that the only other passages in the existing formularies of the Church, which ever are or can be appealed to as in any way supposed declaratory of its opinion on the point of Sabbatical observance are—"*first*, the Thirteenth Canon, which puts Sundays and all other holy-days on precisely the same level, refers to public religious duties and acts of charity, &c., but makes no reference whatever to any notion of consecration or desecration of the day, or to abstinence from any secular pursuits or amusements whatever; and *secondly*, a passage in the Homily 'Of the time and place of prayer,' where, though some ideas of a Sabbatical tendency are inculcated, all express reference to the precise ground of such observance, and still more any assertion of the Divine obligation, are expressly avoided. The Homilies generally notoriously exhibit a strong leaning to the puritanical side of the Reformation, and were, beyond question, designed to conciliate that section both of the clergy and laity. They were, no doubt, in this sense eminently '*necessary for the times*' in which they were composed: which is all that is asserted of them in the declaration of conformity." (*Christianity without Judaism*, p. 240.) See also, as to this Homily, Heylin, Part II. chap. viii.; Cawdrey and Palmer, vol. i. pp. 625, 677; James, p. 235; Hessey, pp. 200–214; above, pp. 190, 199, 263, 270; and below, ii. 104. As to the use and meaning of the Fourth Commandment in the Liturgy, see above, pp. 146, 169, 178, 185, 215; and below, ii. 102, 124, 193, 243, 346–7, 349, 384: also Cawdrey and Palmer, i. 622; James, p. 233; and the notice of Bellarmine's *Catechism* in this Supplement.

Both Mr James and Mr Gilfillan, in treating of the doctrine of the Church of England respecting the Sabbath, follow the remarkable course of quoting largely from the *Homily*, which is not an authoritative document (though Mr James, p. 237, calls it such), and wholly ignoring the *Catechism*, which, besides being unquestionably authoritative, must, as many have reasonably urged, be regarded as defining the sense in which the Fourth Commandment is employed by the Church. Whether the Decalogue should still be retained in the Liturgy is a question considered by Dr Reichel (below, ii. 384), and which will doubtless soon demand a practical solution. The mistake of appointing to be used by *worshippers* a precept not intended to be understood in its plain and obvious sense, but needing explanation *ab extra*, may perhaps be palliated, but has never been successfully defended. It was inherited by our Reformers from the Church of Rome.

The general mode of Sunday-observance in England is thus described in the *Westminster Review* for April 1856, pp. 442–447 :—

"The Established Church retained too much of the spirit of Christian antiquity to permit the full Judaical development of Puritanism. We are too apt, in these days, when complaining of the little positive good the Church has done, to forget the immense negative good it has effected by its toleration, wisdom, and moderation. In the teaching of the English Church there is not a trace of Sabbatarianism. The Fourth Commandment was inserted, together with the rest of the Decalogue, in the Communion Service, at a time when the Reformers had no reason to suppose that its insertion would be misinterpreted. The Catechism is silent on the subject of the Lord's day altogether; and in explaining the duty towards God taught by the Ten Commandments, it omits to include the obligation to keep the first day of the week holy.' This silence has had undoubtedly a considerable effect on English society. Individual ministers may inculcate Sabbatarianism; but they cannot altogether ignore the silent contradiction of the Liturgy [Catechism ?]. English Sunday-keeping is not what Calvin calls a gross and carnal superstition. The upper classes, whatever their theory may be, practically keep Sunday much as they would keep a Christian holiday. In the country they read the paper, and dress leisurely, go to church, lunch, stroll about their grounds, look at their horses and dogs, dine quietly with their family, have a little sacred music which sends them to sleep, read a sermon to their servants, and go to bed; having passed a day which satisfies their consciences, and enables them to go comfortably through the arduous duties of the week. In London, the day is passed much in the same way, except that the claims of society are a little more attended to. The poor, also, are not themselves under the Sabbatarian yoke, although the Judaical tenets of their superiors press in an indirect way very hardly on them. The misfortune of the English poor in large towns is, not that they have substituted the Old Testament for the New, but that they know no more of either Testament than they do of the Koran. To get shaved, to have hot meat for dinner, to go to afternoon church in a clean smock, and to smoke a pipe with his children playing about him, is the Sunday ambition of the agricultural labourer. The London poor man buys his provisions on Sunday morning, reads his Sunday paper, and then goes in a river steamboat or a cheap excursion train. It is the middle class, and especially the lower portion of the middle class, that is the stronghold of English Puritanism. Its members are principally Dissenters. They have warm religious feelings, and they and their ministers are, generally speaking, exceedingly ignorant. Their theological learning is about on a par with that of Cromwell's Ironsides. They keep Sunday not exactly as the Puritans of the Commonwealth kept it, because their practice is modified by that of the other classes of the society in which they live; but they keep it with a real desire to obey

the Jewish law. . . . Practically, in the present state of public feeling, and with the present constitution of the electoral body, it is not to be expected, perhaps scarcely to be desired, that we should shake off at once the yoke of Sabbatarianism. It is necessary that the great majority of the nation should first regard Sunday in its true light, as a Christian festival. How the festival should be kept is a subordinate question; it is more important that we should get rid of the notions of modern Judaism than that we should lay down precise rules for Sunday observance. There is, however, one day in the year which is kept exactly in the spirit in which every Sunday should be kept;—Christmas-day furnishes the model of a festival, observed as a festival should be. Religious worship, kindness to the poor, the cementing of family ties, cheerful recreation, rest from labour, all find their appropriate place in the duties and occupations of the day. We wish that there was a Christmas-day in every week; but even the one that we have in the year furnishes the standard at which we may aim in our efforts to cast off the Puritan burden. And let it not be said that it is a slight thing to effect so much. This little change involves the whole. Who ever heard of Christmas-day-breaking? The obviousness of the answer suggests how completely Jewish the sin of Sabbath-breaking is. We must get rid of this from our list of sins. One of the favourite common-places of the day is that crime begins in Sabbath-breaking. The dying criminal confesses to his chaplain that his errors began in playing on Sunday instead of going to church: the terror of the gallows is held up before the minds of boys in Sunday schools: and really it is quite true that men are corrupted and ultimately hung because they have indulged in recreation on Sunday. They are told they commit a deadly sin if they amuse themselves on the Sabbath: they do amuse themselves: the burthen of the sin is on their souls, and they perish. But at whose door does the sin lie? It lies not at their door, for they were too ignorant to be responsible, but at the door of those who invented the sin, who preached it to them, who misled them. This portion of our subject has been handled with much wisdom and force in the sermons of the late Mr Robertson, of Brighton. [Here the reviewer quotes a passage that will be found below, ii. 377–8.] We hope also, though it is a smaller matter, that if it were understood and admitted that Sunday was a Christian festival, more mercy would be shown towards children in parish schools. On a day of rest, of recreation, of thankfulness, these poor little things are most frequently treated as follows. They have to attend school from nine to half-past ten, parade to church, sit through service with a man at hand ready to rap their knuckles if they do not attend; then to school again at two and service till five; in all seven hours. Who can wonder that on first leaving school they break the Sabbath, and go birds'-nesting or rabbit-hunting? We remember to have heard of a school examined by the Government Inspector, who asked, among other questions on the division of

time, which was the longest day. At first he got no answer; in a minute or two, a little boy looked suddenly intelligent, and said, 'I knows, sir; it's Sunday!' When our Puritan friends talk of the blessings of the Sabbath, we may ask them to remember some of its curses, the poor children groaning under the 'longest day,' and the emancipated boy beginning his career of crime by Sabbath-breaking. We may be sure that no one who believed Sunday to be a purely Christian festival would have invented either the torture for the child or the sin for the boy. And it is for this reason, because the effect of the institution depends so much more on the spirit in which it is observed, and on the notions associated with it, than on the precise regulations laid down for its observance."

Pages 140 and 145.—*The earlier Puritan Writers on the Sabbath.*

Besides the works of Greenham and Bound, noticed in their places, there appeared on the Sabbatarian side a considerable volume by GEORGE WIDLEY, entitled "The Doctrine of the Sabbath, handled in four several books or treatises, the first of which intreateth of the Day of Rest; the second, of the Duties of the Day; the third, of the Persons whom these duties concern; and the fourth, the Reasons used to persuade all persons to the Practice of these Duties upon that Day. Written by G. W., Master of Arts, and Minister of the Word of God in Portsmouth. London, 1604." (4to, pp. 223.) From this treatise the following passages are taken, the first being an exposition of the chief peculiarity of the Puritan view of the Sabbath:—

Rest on the Sabbath a Christian duty.—"That we are bound unto rest on the Sabbath is more evident than can be denied; the words enforcing so much. For what is Sabbath but rest? And what is the Sabbath-day but the day of rest? And as this is in express words commanded in the precept, so it standeth in very reason meet. For if there be no master but will reserve some time for his service, no landlord but will have some rent, no prince but will have some tribute, is it not meet that God so great a Master, a Lord, and Prince, should have his service, his rent, and tribute? Nay, if we do this to our bodily masters, how much more ought we unto him that hath the life of our souls in his hands! Therefore in his law, as in a pair of indentures, he requireth by covenant this rest, as it were his rent and tribute, at our hands. . . . Neither yet is this rest an ordinary rest as it were a breathing time, such as upon the week days is allowed; for Christ himself being weary, sat down to rest himself, John iv. 6; but a solemn and settled rest; wherefore it is called 'a Sabbath of rest,' Lev. xxiii. 32; as if he should have said 'a rest of rest,' the doubling of the word importing a singular rest, as 'a song of songs' is an excellent song, and 'vanity of vanities' is a notable vanity: So 'a rest of rests' is an exquisite rest, a rest even for the whole day. The reasons of which rest are not so

much in respect of the body, whose weakness and weariness might happily be refreshed and repaired by some rest or recreation in the week days, but much more for religion's sake; for being that man is enjoined to serve God with all the powers of the body and soul, how can he do it unless they be all bent that way, the understanding to know the best things, the will to approve them, the heart to affect them, the memory to keep them, the hand to work them, the tongue to speak them, the eye to see them, the ear to hear them, and the foot to walk in them. And how can they be that way bent, unless they have rest from their worldly employments, which unto the greatest part of men are such and so great (as they entangle themselves with the affairs of this life), that had they other bodies and other souls they were scarce able to dispatch them. In regard whereof the Lord requireth a precise rest to be kept by us and ours; for 'in it,' saith he, 'thou shalt do no manner of work.'" (Pp. 72–74.)

What works are forbidden.—"But that we may more orderly proceed, let us see what works they be that are here forbidden us. For it is certain all kinds of works are not forbidden upon the Sabbath: being the works of holiness are here commanded, and therefore we may not keep it *idly*, but we must keep it *holy*. The works, therefore, that are here properly and by name forbidden us in this commandment, are *the works of our ordinary vocation*. Which appeareth more plainly afterwards, in the explication of the precept, where the word תּעבד, which is there used, is derived of עבד, which signifieth to work as a servant for hire; which point, Lev. xxii. 3, is yet more plainly expressed. For 'in it,' that is, upon the Sabbath (saith Moses) 'thou shalt do no servile work.' Secondly, this also appeareth by the opposition that is made in the explication of the precept; for those works which on the six days thou art commanded to do, which are the works of thy vocation, upon the Sabbath thou mayst not do. Thirdly, the works of thy vocation are called 'thy works;' for on the six days thou shalt do 'all thy works.' Now these upon the Sabbath, Isa. lviii. 13, thou art forbidden to do, 'not doing thine own works upon my Sabbath,' saith God.* And therefore thy works upon the Sabbath they must not be done, for then thou art not thine own man but art in his service, and consequently must do the works which he commandeth thee." (Pp. 72–75.)

Work for the preservation of health lawful.—"And as it is lawful to break the Sabbath for the preservation of life, so it is for the preservation of health. . . . And as these things may be done

* This interpretation of Isa. lviii. 13, though now unusual, agrees with the Septuagint: see above, p. 398; also pp. 171, 206. Justin Martyr, in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, § 25, treats the injunction of the prophet as a mere repetition of the Mosaic law of the Sabbath; and I observe that in § 19 he interprets as I have done (above, p. 401) the words in Ezek. xii. 12, "that they might know that I am the Lord that sanctify them." As the meaning of this he gives, "that they might preserve the knowledge of God amongst them."

(by physicians and chirurgeons) for the recovery of health, so may a man do that which is convenient for the preservation and continuance of his health: for God would not [only] allow that a man should live, but also that he might live cheerfully; and therefore 'the ox was to be led to the water,' Luke xiii. 15, though he might have lived one day without water. Now if this may be allowed for the good of the beast, then how much more for the good of man! In this case, therefore, it is lawful upon the Sabbath for a man to do works of comeliness, as to clothe himself. Secondly, to do things for our present use, as to dress his meat, which is also warranted by the disciples pulling and rubbing the ears of corn. Wherein also respect may be had of his place and degree, as 'Nehemiah had daily an ox, and six sheep, besides birds provided for him,' Neh. v. 18. Now if every day, then on the Sabbath: yet here we must take heed that we make not the Sabbath a day of feasting, as in many places in the country they do. . . . Thirdly, this also giveth liberty for the dressing of our cattle, milking of our kine, and such like; without which things life itself is not so comfortable unto them. Last of all, as all these things may be done for the preservation of health, so also may we labour upon the Sabbath for the preservation of our goods, being in danger of losing them. 'Which of you is it,' saith Christ, 'that having an ox or an ass fallen into the ditch, doth not pull him out?'" (Pp. 93–94.)

Recreation sometimes lawful on the Sabbath.—"But then here it will be demanded of me, whether I do utterly disallow all recreations upon the Sabbath. Not so neither; for it may sometimes come to pass that recreation may be more necessary for a man than his meat (as also it may so fall in the week days), yea, and sometimes the setting of a man's mind free (such is partly the corruption and partly the weakness of our nature), may be a furtherance unto us in the performance of the duties of godliness, as well as in other duties of our own. And therefore so far forth as it is either of necessity for the present preservation of our health, or of necessity for the present furtherance and fitting of us unto the service of God, we may use it. But by this allowance, will some say, evil men will take liberty unto themselves under these pretences to profane the Sabbath by their sports. *Ans.* It may well be so, that they which stumble at Christ to their ruin, and they that wrest his word to their own condemnation, will also wrest this liberty to bring themselves into the bondage of sin; yet must not this let [hinder] us to give that allowance unto God's children which he hath left them in his word. But as for such as abuse their liberty, I admonish them in the fear of God, that they make not God's commandments like cheverell laces, to stretch them every way to their own bents and purposes. For if they do, I appeal unto the highest Judge of all the earth, that they have no such liberty given them. And therefore if they take it, their blood be upon their own heads, if they bring themselves by their liberty to be the sons of bondage." (Pp. 101–2.) . . . "And

last of all, weigh well the circumstances of time, place, and persons, with whom thou usest these recreations; for there is not the least of these but may make thy recreations sinful. As for example, other things considered, it may be lawful for a man to shout or bawl; but is this lawful to do it when the preacher is in the pulpit? or is it lawful to play in the time of prayer?" (P. 205.)

So far Widley. From BOUND'S book the following additional extract is taken:—

Cooking and preparation of meat.—"Though (as we have seen) the buying and selling of victuals and carrying of them to and fro was forbidden, seeing that the other six days are given unto men for these purposes; yet the preparing of them, and making them serviceable for the use of man, according to the necessity of every one, is that which cannot be done at other times, and yet men cannot want it, if they will fruitfully hold out in sanctifying the Sabbath unto the end; and therefore this maketh it lawful unto all men, when they do it in that manner and measure that may most of all further them in God's worship, which is the chiefest thing upon that day to be considered, and unto the which all other things ought to be referred. Thus our Lord Jesus doth maintain the fact of his disciples gathering the corn in the fields against the cavils of the Pharisees (Matt. xii. 3); for they were weary, and hungry, and had no meat, neither place nor time to provide any in; therefore they took that which was offered unto them in the way, gather it and dress it (as it were) for themselves. . . . And herein our Saviour Christ doth not enlarge the bounds of this law, neither giveth to men under the Gospel any privilege above that which they had under the Law: but doth truly interpret the meaning of it, and sheweth what was permitted by it even from the beginning. For I am not of that mind that the Jews were more restrained in this point under the Law, than we; for then, yet at the least the Disciples should have submitted themselves unto it until his death, as Christ himself did in all things." (Pp. 202–4.)

He holds Exod. xvi. 23 to have reference only to the time of the manna; and as to the prohibition to kindle fires (Exod. xxxv. 3), "sees not why it may not be restrained to that very thing in hand concerning the making of the Tabernacle, and yet no violence offered to the text." (Pp. 204, 205.)

He prefixes to his Second Book the Fourth Commandment as given in Deut. v. 12–15, but makes no attempt to reconcile it with the copy in Exod. xx. 8–11.

A few Sabbatarian writers of the present century suppose that all heathen festivals—even those of the new and full moon, and of the new year—are mere corruptions of the primeval Sabbath, and could never have been instituted but for the pre-existence of that model; belief in which is therefore thought to be confirmed by them.* So far is Dr Bound from regarding the matter

* This shallow hypothesis is elaborately maintained in "A Discourse of

in this light, that, on the contrary, from the fact of the universality of religious festivals among the heathen he concludes that the observance of such festivals is a dictate of nature itself. "For proof," says he, "that the Fourth Commandment is natural, moral,* and perpetual, *that* may be added which was practised among the Gentiles and all the heathen concerning the keeping holy of certain days, though altogether ignorant of the law of Moses; for though it was so that they knew not the institution of the seventh day, much less did they keep it, yet some days by a common consent they severed from their worldly affairs and dedicated them to the service of their gods: nay, though they did altogether so hate the only true holy day, that neither would they observe it themselves, and also mocked the Jews for observing it; as the prophet complaineth, speaking of the desolation of Jerusalem: 'The adversaries saw her, and did mock at her Sabbaths' (Lam. i. 7); yet of themselves they erected other days, which they appointed to a holy and religious use." (P. 22.)† The fact here stated can, however, prove nothing more definite than the proposition of the Westminster Assembly and others, that "it is of the law of nature that, in general, *a due proportion of time* be set apart for the worship of God." (Above, p. 231; see also pp. 165–6, 203, and ii. 83.)

Respecting the supposed religious duty of Christians to rest from labour on the Sabbath Day in obedience to the Fourth Commandment, Dr Bound is quite as emphatic as Widley (above, p. 415). The very name *Sabbath*, he urges, means rest; and "when the Lord giveth names unto things, who fully knoweth what is the nature of every thing, and maketh it to be that which he calleth it, it is always true that the name is not frustrate and idle, making a show of more than the thing can afford; and therefore . . . when he called the seventh day a *Sabbath day*, he willed and commanded that men should *rest* upon it, and that men can no more take away *rest* from it than they may alter and change the name of it. And that there ought to be *a most notable and singular rest* upon this day, and that it should be nothing else but *a day of rest:* and though men may rest upon the other six days for their benefit and good, yet that the *rest upon this day* must be a most *careful, exact, and precise rest*, after another manner than men for

the Weekly Division of Time," published in *The Edinburgh Theological Magazine* for Sept. 1829 and Jan. 1830 (vols. iv. and v.), by the late Rev. Alex. Nisbet, then a student of divinity, and afterwards the minister of a Secession church in Edinburgh. This industrious writer shows a surprising blindness to the natural inducements to the observance of stated festivals by mankind. So far as I remember, Bishop Wilson and Mr Gilfillan are his only followers. See above, p. 286.

* In regard to this ambiguous epithet, so frequently in our mouths, see p. 242 of this volume; and below, ii. 82.

† See the rest of this passage above, p. 148. Hooker, Stillingfleet, and Barrow also ascribe the institution of heathen festivals to natural causes (above, p. 142; and below, ii. 9, 65).

the most part do perform, it appeareth very plainly in the Scripture; where, besides the manifold commandments of keeping the *Sabbath*, which is a *day of rest*, this very thing is so particularly, and so often, and in such express words urged and repeated, that men should *then rest*." He quotes Exod. xvi. 23; xxxi. 15; xxxv. 2; Lev. xvi. 31; xxiii. 28–32; xxv. 4; and after some further observations proceeds as follows:—"[Thus] even to rest from labour, though it be a mere worldly thing in its own nature, yet is a singular part of our obedience to God upon that day; when it is so many times required, so often urged, and as it were pressed upon us, with words doubled and tripled; yea, and that by God himself, who is not flowing with words in a barren cause, but showeth unto us the weightiness of his commandment by the force of his words, and the severity of his laws by his most significant and pathetical speeches." (Pp. 123–128.)

This literal instead of figurative mode of interpreting the Fourth Commandment is, as I have said, the chief distinction of the Puritans from the Reformers—who constantly proclaim that resting from daily labours is no religious rite to us, "is not in itself pleasing to God," and is to be practised by Christians on the Lord's Day merely for its utility in refreshing the body, and in affording regular opportunities of attending religious assemblies, and performing other duties of piety and charity. Although the Westminster Assembly, in declaring that "the Sabbath is to be sanctified by a *holy resting* all that day" from work and recreation (above, p. 233), accept the doctrine of Bound and Widley that rest is worship—a doctrine still generally received and acted upon in Scotland,—there are many Sabbatarian writers who consider the cessation from labour to be required of Christians as but "a necessary means to further us to" what they call "holy duties." (See above, pp. 205, 209, 261; and below, ii. 26, 85.) Similar to this is the opinion of the Dominical party with respect to resting on the Lord's Day (above, pp. 166, 171, 270; and ii. 2, 11, 30). Bishop Lake's peculiar view is quoted in this volume, p. 217; and I have noticed in ii. 2 the fancy of Dr Fairbairn that even to the Jews the Fourth Commandment prohibited "not work in the abstract, but work only in so far as it interfered with the sanctified use of the day," in the modern acceptation of this phrase. That Archbishop Leighton also thus viewed the prohibition to the Jews is probable from what is quoted below, ii. 75.

In the Epistle Dedicatory to his Second Book, Dr Bound congratulates his generation on the increase of light with which it was favoured, and modestly submits his own contribution to the judgment of his contemporaries. "As it hath always," says he, "been true that *veritas est temporis filia*, that is, time bringeth the truth to light; so most of all in these days, and in these flourishing kingdoms of Great Britain, which God hath abundantly blessed with such variety of excellent wits in all kinds and for every purpose, that (as experience, the best proof, hath sufficiently confirmed) the knowledge of arts liberal and mecha-

nical, of the tongues, most of all of Divinity, hath been greatly enlarged; new things found out; obscure and dark things made easy and plain; and so still it shall be more and more, through the blessing of God, as long as this peace and the Gospel (two great furtherances of learning) shall continue. Which if it may fall out in this one point also of *the doctrine of the Sabbath*, as it hath done heretofore in many other to the great glory of God and profit of his Church, myself and others shall have cause to praise God for them that follow; and it shall not be grievous unto them that by these first and second labours of them that went before, as it were by the sound of a trumpet, their industry hath been awaked and raised up. Wherein though I have set down what is my judgment of many points of the Sabbath, and the reasons that have led me thereunto, yet I am not, neither will be so obstinately addicted unto them, but that I shall be ready to be changed by any that can bring better proof: and herein I will ingeniously and from my heart say with the ancient and learned Doctor of the Church, Augustine, *Errare possum, hæreticus esse nolo.*"

Page 141.—Richard Hooker.

The following is in continuation of the passage quoted in page 144 of this volume, from B. v. § 71 of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*:—

—" howsoever the rigour of the law of Moses may be thought to import the contrary; if we regard with what severity the violation of sabbaths hath been sometime punished, a thing perhaps the more requisite at that instant, both because the Jews, by reason of their long abode in a place of continual servile toil, could not suddenly be weaned and drawn unto contrary offices, without some strong impression of terror; and also for that there is nothing more needful than to punish with extremity the first transgressions of those laws that require a more exact observation for many ages to come; therefore, as the Jews, superstitiously addicted to their sabbaths' rest for a long time, not without danger to themselves and obloquy to their very law, did afterward perceive and amend wisely their former error, not doubting that bodily labours are made by necessity venial (1 Mac. ii. 40), though otherwise especially on that day rest be more convenient; so at all times the voluntary scandalous contempt of that rest from labour, wherewith publicly God is served, we cannot too severely correct and bridle (Neh. xiii. 15). The emperor Constantine having with over-great facility licensed Sunday's labour in country villages (Cod. lib. iii. tit. 12, l. 3), under that pretence, whereof there may justly no doubt sometime consideration be had, namely, lest any thing which God by his providence hath bestowed should miscarry not being taken in due time; Leo, which afterwards saw that this ground would not bear so general and large indulgence as had been granted, doth by a contrary edict both reverse and severely censure his predecessor's remissness, saying (Leo. Con-

stit. liv.), 'We ordain, according to the true meaning of the Holy Ghost and of the apostles thereby directed, that on the sacred day, wherein our own integrity was restored, all do rest and surcease labour; that neither husbandman, nor other, on that day put their hands to forbidden works. For if the Jews did so much reverence their sabbath, which was but a shadow of ours, are not we which inhabit the light and truth of grace, bound to honour that day which the Lord himself hath honoured, and hath therein delivered us both from dishonour and from death? Are we not bound to keep it singular and inviolable, well contenting ourselves with so liberal a grant of the rest, and not encroaching upon that one day which God hath chosen to his own honour? Were it not wretchless neglect of religion to make that very day common, and to think we may do with it as with the rest?' * Imperial laws which had such care of hallowing especially our Lord's-day, did not omit to provide that other festival times might be kept with vacation from labour, whether they were days appointed on the sudden, as extraordinary occasions fell out, or days which were celebrated yearly for politic and civil considerations; or finally, such days as Christian religion hath ordained in God's church."

Dr Hessey, in his *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 133, 144, 280, criticises what I have quoted from Hooker, and also a passage in B. iii. § 11, where a distinction is made between the Decalogue and the rest of the Mosaic law. On the assertion (see above, bottom of p. 142) that "even Nature hath taught the heathens that festival solemnities are a part of the public exercise of religion," &c., Dr Hessey remarks—"Nature did not teach even these things in the earliest spring of mankind, but they are founded on the natural or moral instincts to which we have already adverted, and therefore are natural or moral in a sense in which the direction of these instincts to the seventh day, or even to one day in seven, can never be. That *this* is not natural, is evident from a consideration strongly put by Archbishop Bramhall, that the old-world fathers from Adam to Moses are not represented as keeping the Sabbath-day, which we may suppose they would have done had the obligation been discoverable from within. 'We find,' (says he) 'oblations, and priests, and sacrifices, and groves or oratories, and prayers, and thanksgivings, and vows, and whatsoever natural religion doth dictate about the service of God; but we find not one instance of the execution of this supposed law of the seventh-day Sabbath.' I may add, that had the law of its observance been natural or moral, the heathen of Canaan, who are reproached, and with singular minuteness, for many transgressions of the law of nature, and were therefore cast out before the children of Israel, would surely have been reproached for transgression of this. Now they are nowhere so reproached." (P. 134.)

* The emperor whose edict is here quoted is Leo VI., surnamed the Philosopher, who reigned from A.D. 886 to 911.

Farther on he says: "Hooker makes a distinction, as you are aware, in iii. 7. 5, 6, between the Ten Commandments delivered by the Almighty, which he calls moral and perpetual, and the 'laws and ordinances' delivered by Moses, which he says were positive, and for the most part limited to the land of Canaan. Two or three things, however, seem to have escaped the notice even of this great master of moral theology. *First*, That he himself distinguishes in another place (v. 70. 5) between what nature teaches and what God appointed to the Israelites. *Secondly*, That he himself allows that days, *i.e.*, particular days, of solemnity are part of the appointed or positive law. *Thirdly*, That though the Sabbath be called moral by him, he himself allows a positive element in the command to keep it, which he says may be altered, and has been altered by change of the day and manner of keeping. And *fourthly*, that if, according to his own admission, some portion of the 'laws and ordinances' is not positive but moral, it is possible that some portion of the Ten Commandments may be not moral but positive, and so mutable (i. 15. 1). Hooker seems, therefore, to have neutralised his own distinction. A sounder view seems to be (not to press at this moment the opinion of Calvin, that the Decalogue was intended to be a synopsis of the whole law, moral, ceremonial, political), that the moral element contained in the Fourth Commandment, viz., the obligation to serve God at some time, is quite enough to warrant its admission into a moral document. The Sabbath itself might be positive, and *à fortiori* the manner of observing it positive, or adapted to the Jewish Dispensation, and so, when that Dispensation has ended, capable of being swept away. Selden, in his Table Talk, puts in reference to the Fifth Commandment, and very clearly and forcibly, a question which may in principle be applied to the Fourth, and which he intends to be so applied. [Here it is quoted as given above, p. 226.]" (Pp. 144, 145.)

On the general subject of Hooker's view of the relation between the Lord's-day and the Sabbath, Dr Hessey says: "One cannot but feel somewhat surprised, that Hooker, generally so clear, is to a certain extent inexact in his statements on such a subject, and at such a time. I ventured in my Fourth Lecture to make some remarks upon this fact. I will only add here that the first Four Books of his Polity came out in A.D. 1592, before Dr Bownd's performance appeared; that the Fifth Book came out in A.D. 1597, before it was fully known, at least in its dangerous aspect; that he was more concerned in defending the theory of other holy days, and of the Church system generally, which were speculatively assailed, than the Lord's Day, which, though practically disregarded, was in some way or other speculatively acknowledged; and that, had he gone out of the way to discuss the obligation of the Lord's Day separately, he might have appeared to symbolize with those who urged that other holy days were unlawful. This is somewhat confirmed by his language in B. v. 70. 9. 'The rest (remainder) of the festivals, they (the Puritans)

say we ought to abolish, because the continuance of them doth nourish wicked superstition in the minds of men; besides, they are all abused by Papists, the enemies of God; yea, certain of them, as Easter and Pentecost, even by the Jews.' It is perilous to differ from such a man, but I still presume to suggest the following considerations. That his supposition [above, p. 143] that St Paul, when writing to the Galatians, meant Sabbaths in the Jewish aspect exclusively, is unsupported by antiquity. That he has not shown how the obligation to observe one day in seven is moral in the primary sense of that word, or, if the morality of that obligation is proved by the appearance of the seventh day in the commandment, how the Sabbath may be changed in the day and manner of observance. And finally, that he has no support from antiquity for his assertion, that the Church had a right to change, or did change the day and manner of observance. Thus much, however, is satisfactory in what he says. He gives no such minute instructions for keeping the Lord's Day as can interfere with Christian liberty." (Pp. 280, 281.)

Mr Baden Powell briefly criticises Hooker in his *Christianity without Judaism*, p. 242.

The following extract from the *Eccl. Polity*, B. iv. § 11, has a more general bearing than those already given. "The Church of Christ hath had in no one thing so many and so contrary occasions of dealing as about Judaism: some having thought the whole Jewish law wicked and damnable in itself; some, not condemning it as the former sort absolutely, have notwithstanding judged it either sooner necessary to be abrogated, or further unlawful to be observed, than truth can bear; some of scrupulous simplicity urging perpetual and universal observation of the law of Moses necessary, as the Christian Jews at the first in the apostles' times; some as heretics, holding the same no less even after the contrary determination set down by consent of the Church at Jerusalem; finally, some being herein resolute through mere infidelity and with open professed enmity against Christ, as unbelieving Jews. To control slanderers of the law and prophets, such as Marcionites and Manichees were, the Church in her liturgies hath intermingled with readings out of the New Testament lessons taken out of the law and prophets."

Page 152.—Bellarmine's *Catechism*.

The transformation of the Fourth Commandment in Bellarmine's Catechism is remarked upon by Dr Hessey, p. 253, who notices also a garbled and altered French edition of that precept: "*Les Dimanches* tu garderas, en servant Dieu dévotement" (*Catéchisme du Diocèse de Paris*, 1857, quoted by him in pp. 248, 452–4). Even the Church of England is obnoxious to the charge of garbling the Decalogue in the Communion Service, by omitting from it, after "I am the Lord thy God," the words, "which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of

bondage;"—thus obliterating the proof that the Ten Commandments were addressed exclusively to the Jews. It may even be questioned whether the use of the Fourth Commandment *verbatim*, in a sense different from that which it has in the Bible, is more defensible than would have been the altering of its *words* to suit the *intention* of referring, not to the Sabbath, but (as some say) to the Lord's-day, or (as the Catechism says) to the keeping of a spiritual Sabbath all the days of our life. This tacit diversion of the precept from its scriptural meaning is practised by Episcopalians and Presbyterians alike; who, moreover, when they quote the incitements to sabbath-keepers from Isa. lviii. 13, sometimes omit the promise that Jehovah "will feed them with *the heritage of Jacob their father.*"

Page 152.—David Pareus.

Pareus treats of the Sabbath also in his *Corpus Doctrinæ Christianæ*, Q. 103, pp. 567–580; Francof. 1621. An extract from his commentary on Gen. ii. 3 will be found in Fairbairn's *Typology*, ii. 478, 3d ed.

Page 152.—King James's *Declaration of Sports*.

It is recorded in Barwick's *Life of Bishop Morton*, successively of Chester, of Coventry and Lichfield, and of Durham, that this prelate had some share in the preparation of the *Declaration of Sports*. The following particulars are given by the biographer as having been often mentioned to him by the bishop, who had also "fully approved of the wording and form" of the written narrative itself.

In Lancashire, where "the Popish recusants" abounded more than in any other English county, it was the policy of their leaders "to keep the people from church by dancing and other recreations, even in the time of Divine service, especially on holy days and the Lord's Day in the afternoon." This practice the bishop endeavoured to repress in his primary visitation. But what was done for this end "was represented to King James as a very great grievance, at his return out of Scotland through Lancashire *anno* 1617, by some in Court who were too favourable to that party. And his readiness to hear any complaint against a thing that carried but the name of a public grievance, encouraged some to so much boldness the next Lord's Day after, as even to disturb the public worship and service of God by their piping and dancing within the hearing of all those that were at church; whereof the King being fully informed by this bishop, utterly disavowed any thoughts or intention of encouraging such profaneness, and therefore left them that were guilty of it to the bishop's censure, which he inflicted only upon one that was the head and causer of it, by way of public acknowledgment of the fault, and penance for it; having formerly caused the piper to be laid up by the heels. There wanted not

some still to complain to the King of the bishop's proceedings herein as rigorous and tyrannical, considering that the chief thing they desired was only some innocent recreation for servants and other inferior people on the Lord's Day and holy days, whose laborious callings deprived them of it at all other times, and thereupon to solicit his Majesty for some favour therein, and the rather because it was the general desire of most of that country. Which the King finding to be true upon inquiry, and willing to give them satisfaction therein, consulted with this reverend person, being the bishop of that diocese, how he might satisfy their desires without endangering this liberty to be turned into licentiousness. The bishop hereupon retiring from the court at Houghton Tower to his own lodging at Preston, considered of six limitations or restrictions, by way of conditions, to be imposed upon every man that should enjoy the benefit of that liberty; which he presented to the King in writing the next day, and which the King did very well approve of, and added a seventh; saying only, he would alter them from the words of a bishop to the words of a King." (*Life of Morton*, appended to his *Funeral Sermon*, p. 80; Lond. 1660.) The six limitations are contained in the paragraph beginning, "And likewise we bar," &c.* The further prohibition of unlawful games, Dr Barwick believes to have been inserted by the King himself. "And," he adds, "he that shall duly consider these restrictions, and compare them with the temper of the people in those parts at that time, as they were then wrought upon by some emissaries of the Romish party, will easily see and grant that this was in all probability the likest course to bring them to church to serve God and to be instructed out of his Word; and consequently to stop the current both of Popery and profaneness, by allowing them a small latitude for innocent recreations thus limited and bounded." (P. 82.)

As remarked above, p. 152, the *Declaration of Sports* is frequently represented as a *command* to indulge in Sunday recreations. This is affirmed by the Rev. John Jordan in a Report, included by the Evangelical Alliance in their volume on *The Religious Condition of Christendom*, Lond. 1852, p. 129; while the Rev. Dr W. Adams of New York, in a book on *The Christian Sabbath*, published there in 1862, p. 124, gravely says that the *Declaration* "commanded the people to visit bear-gardens on the Sabbath day,"—the fact being that bear-baiting is one of the sports expressly prohibited. According to another writer, "it enjoined every one to go to his parish church, and afterwards to amuse himself with sports and pastimes, for which they published an authoritative directory." (John Walker's *Essays and Correspondence*, ii. 507; Lond. 1846.) Mr Gilfillan seems reluctant to concede the absence of positive injunction; but, even as a permissive measure, he regards the *Declaration* as "an atrocity against the Sabbatic in-

* See the *Declaration* in a subsequent part of this volume, which the reader will do well to peruse before proceeding further.

stitution unparalleled in previous history. Bidding defiance to the practice of good men in every age—to all that had been done by fathers, councils, and princes, for securing the weekly rest from the pollution of worldly pleasure, as for the most part also from the intrusion of secular work—to the doctrine of the Homilies and other formularies of the English Church—above all, to the Law and Declaration of the King of kings, which respectively said, 'Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy;' 'If thou shalt honour me by the abnegation of thine own ways, pleasure, and words, I will make thee to ride on the high places of the earth;' and disregarding the claims of his people to a stated time for rest, for reading, for reflection, for domestic worship and instruction, and for expressing sympathy in the sorrows of fellow-creatures around, the King of England proclaims it to be right, patriotic, and beneficial for his subjects to abandon themselves to thought-dispelling, exhausting, and dissipating sports in the afternoon of the Lord's Day, and wrong for any man to do his duty to his God, his conscience, his church, and his country, by attempting to hinder this wholesale desecration of sacred time." (P. 94)

This invective would be well bestowed were it certain that the Divine Law is what it appears to Mr Gilfillan, that all good men in every age have practised accordingly, and that the king advised his subjects to *abandon themselves to exhausting and dissipating sports*. But this is not the case, and we may perhaps learn a lesson of charity by comparing the confident manner in which he puts into the mouth of the Almighty his own interpretation of phrases variously understood and applied by theologians, with the moderation of Dr Owen in handling the question of Sunday sports in a passage quoted below, ii. 26. It will there be seen that this earnest, able, erudite, and most ingenuous advocate of a weekly day of sacred rest for Christians, adduces *absolutely nothing* from Scripture or reason against the lawfulness of such sports if in themselves unexceptionable, and contents himself with referring to certain Imperial laws of no authority whatever, and quoting a Syrian monk of the fourth century, who, writing when the Church had become deeply infected with asceticism, advises that the Dominical festivals should be celebrated with inward or spiritual joy, rather than with that outward pomp and festivity (sometimes degenerating into gluttony and drunkenness) with which the holidays of the heathen were kept. Now, not to dwell upon the fact that Dr Owen omits those fanciful arguments from Scripture which his predecessors among the Puritans had urged against recreation on Sunday,* it cannot but be viewed as a much more significant circumstance that he does not adduce even the phrases

* See examples of these in pp. 240 and 261 of this volume, and Fenner's *Treatise on the Sabbath*, 1657, p. 85, quoted in *What is Sabbath-breaking?* p. 92. The same pamphlet contains also the arguments of Mr Battely and an eminent Professor of Surgery, the latter of whom (see above, p. 199), by dexterously applying his anatomical skill to the law of the

"keep it holy," and "not finding thine own pleasure," &c. This is a course which he certainly would not have followed if he had regarded these oft-repeated phrases as implying a prohibition of recreation on the Sabbath. He doubtless knew very well that the Hebrew word translated "keep holy" means simply "to set apart" for any appointed purpose: while, in speaking of Isa. lviii. 13, he "much questions whether the words have not, in the interpretation of some, been extended beyond their original intention;" and says he "no way thinks that here is a restraint laid on us from such words, ways, and works, as neither hinder the performance of any religious duties belonging to the due celebration of the worship of God on the day, nor are apt in themselves to unframe our spirits, or divert our affections from them." (*Exercitation* vi. § 9.)*

So far as Dr Owen regarded the Sunday sports licensed by King James, as tending in the circumstances of the case to hinder the performance of religious duties by the people indulged, he would of course disapprove of the *Declaration* permitting them; though probably without ascribing bad intentions to the king, or altogether sympathising with the more ascetical of those who condemned the measure in the following reign.

Equally temperate with Dr Owen's remarks on Sunday recreation are those of Bullinger, Sanderson, Taylor, Gibson, Horsley Dr George Cook, and Dr Arnold, as quoted in *What is Sabbath-breaking?* pp. 108–112. Most of the passages there given, with others of a like tendency, will be found above, pp. 133, 165, 171, 186, 191; and below, ii. 13, 124, 131, 197, 217, 246, 306, 308, 371, 397–409. Bishop Horsley, who about the end of the 18th century distinguished himself as an advocate of the Christian Sabbath, expresses himself with an excess of bitterness against the Puritans as unjustifiable as that of the Puritans against King James. Speaking of the *Declaration of Sports* and the opposition which it met with, he says:—"The present humour of the common people leads perhaps more to a profanation of the festival than to a superstitious rigour in the observance of it; but in the attempt to reform, we shall do wisely to remember that the thanks for this are chiefly due to the base spirit of puritanical hypocrisy which, in the last century, opposed and defeated the wise attempts of government to regulate the recreations of the day by authority, and prevent the excesses which have actually taken place, by a rational indulgence." (*Sermon* xxiii.)

Mr Hallam writes as follows in his *Constitutional History of England*:—

"The founders of the English Reformation, after abolishing most of the festivals kept before that time, had made little or no change as to the mode of observance of those they retained. Sun-

Jewish annual day of atonement, has contrived to exhibit it as a commandment to the Christian Gentiles to "afflict their souls" on the Lord's Day.

* See above, pp. 396–398.

days and holidays stood much on the same footing as days on which no work except for good cause was to be performed, the service of the church was to be attended, and any lawful amusement might be indulged in.* A just distinction however soon grew up; an industrious people could spare time for very few holidays; and the more scrupulous party, while they slighted the church-festivals, as of human appointment, prescribed a stricter observance of the Lord's day. But it was not till about 1595 that they began to place it very nearly on the footing of the Jewish Sabbath, interdicting not only the slightest action of worldly business, but even every sort of pastime and recreation; a system which, once promulgated, soon gained ground as suiting their atrabilious humour, and affording a new theme of censure on the vices of the great. Those who opposed them on the High-Church side, not only derided the extravagance of the Sabbatarians, as the others were called, but pretended that the commandment having been confined to the Hebrews, the modern observance of the first day of the week as a season of rest and devotion was an ecclesiastical institution, and in no degree more venerable than that of the other festivals, or the season of Lent, which the Puritans stubbornly despised. Such a controversy might well have been left to the usual weapons. But James I., or some of the bishops to whom he listened, bethought themselves that this might serve as a test of Puritan ministers. He published accordingly a declaration to be read in churches, permitting all lawful recreations on Sunday, after divine service, such as dancing, archery, May-games and morrice-dances, and other usual sports; but with a prohibition of bear-baiting and other unlawful games. No recusant, or any one who had not attended the church-service, was entitled to this privilege; which might consequently be regarded as a bounty on devotion. The severe Puritan saw it in no such point of view. To his cynical temper, May-games and morrice-dances were hardly tolerable on six days of the week; they were now recommended for the seventh. And this impious license was to be promulgated in the church itself. It is indeed difficult to explain so unnecessary an insult on the precise clergy, but by supposing an intention to harass those who should refuse compliance.† But this intention, from whatever cause, perhaps through the influence of

* "See the Queen's injunctions of 1559, Somers' Tracts, i. 65, and compare preamble of 5 and 6 of Edw. VI. c. 3."

† Hallam here refers to Wilson's *Life and Reign of James I.*, p. 709, a writer for distrusting whom I have given reasons in *Sabbath Laws, &c.*, p. 147. Even if we did not know from Dr Barwick's authentic narrative, published after Wilson's death, that the *Declaration* was a guarded edition of a less formal license which had been given by King James when passing through Lancashire the year before, I should have hesitated to believe on the bare assertion of a spiteful partisan like Wilson that the king intended the *Declaration* to be a trap for the Puritan ministers—however probable it may be that his dislike of them and their adherents inclined him the more to interfere. Neale ascribes to

Archbishop Abbot, was not carried into effect, nor was the Declaration itself enforced till the following reign.

"The House of Commons displayed their attachment to the Puritan maxims, or their dislike of the prelatical clergy, by bringing in bills to enforce a greater strictness in this respect. A circumstance that occurred in the session of 1621 will serve to prove their fanatical violence. A bill having been brought in 'for the better observance of the Sabbath, usually called Sunday,' one Mr Shepherd, sneering at the Puritans, remarked, that as Saturday was Dies Sabbati, this might be entitled a bill for the observance of Saturday, commonly called Sunday. This witticism brought on his head the wrath of that dangerous assembly. He was reprimanded on his knees, expelled the house, and when he saw what befell poor Floyd, might deem himself cheaply saved from their fangs with no worse chastisement.* Yet when the upper house sent down their bill with 'the Lord's Day' substituted for 'the Sabbath,' observing, 'that people do now much incline to words of Judaism,' the Commons took no exception.† The use of the word Sabbath instead of Sunday became in that age a distinctive

Wilson the statement that it was to be read in all the churches of England: the assertion is only that of Wilson's annotator Wellwood, who gives for it no authority whatever. In regard to Lancashire, although it is evident from the conclusion of the *Declaration* (below, p. 446) that James intended that the clergy *there* should be ordered by the Bishop of the diocese to publish it in their churches, the statement of Hallam that this design was never executed is correct, and agrees with that of Collier. (*Eccl. Hist. of Britain*, ii. 712; Lond. 1714.) Fuller gives the same account in his *Church History*, under date May 29, 1618, and thinks it "no wonder if many people were fetcht off unto the Romanists in Lancashire, starting aside as a broken bow, chiefly because overbent for lack of lawful recreation." Southey and Coleridge write in a similar strain (below, ii. 131); and so does Isaac D'Israeli in his *Inquiry into the Character of James I.* It ought not to be forgotten that in this king's reign Sunday recreations had not yet acquired a general reputation of sinfulness.

* "Debates in Parliament, 1621, vol. i. pp. 45, 52. The King requested them not to pass this bill, being so directly against his proclamation. *Id.* 60. Shepherd's expulsion is mentioned in Mede's Letters, Harl. MSS. 389."

†. "Vol. ii. 97. Two acts were passed, 1 Car. I. c. 1, and 3 Car. I. c. 2, for the better observance of Sunday; the former of which gave great annoyance, it seems, to the orthodox party. 'Had any such bill,' says Heylin, 'been offered in King James's time it would have found a sorry welcome; but this king being under a necessity of compliance with them, resolved to grant them their desires in that particular, to the end that they might grant his also in the aid required, when that obstruction was removed. The Sabbatarians took the benefit of this opportunity for the obtaining of this grant, the first that ever they obtained by all their strugglings, which of what consequence it was we shall see hereafter.'—*Life of Laud*, p. 129. Yet this statute permits the people lawful sports and pastimes on Sundays within their own parishes."

mark of the Puritan party." (Vol. i. pp. 396–400; 6th ed., Lond. 1850.)

The *Declaration of Sports*, as issued by Charles I., was reprinted *verbatim et literatim* in 1862 by Mr Quaritch, of 15 Piccadilly, London. It will be inserted farther on. See likewise respecting it, above, pp. 163, 171, 173, 227, 248, 265; and below, ii. 18, 30, 106, 123, 131, 141, 246, 307, 332–3, 343; Hessey, pp. 282, 287; and the *Westminster Review*, April 1861, p. 573.

Page 152.—JOHN TRASKE.

In the sixth edition of Ephraim Pagitt's *Heresiography* (Lond. 1661), the editor has inserted (p. 163) the following papers, "which are worthy to be published to the world, and were not seen, or not mentioned, by the reverend author of this book:"—

1. A Letter to Mistress Traske, who lay prisoner in the Gatehouse many years for keeping the Jewish Sabbath, and for working on our Lord's Day. (It is signed T. S., and dated 26th Dec. 1634.)
2. A Relation of the Life and Proceedings of Master Traske, written in the year 1635, and now published for an admonition to Quakers and Sabbatarians.
3. A Letter of Mary Chester, imprisoned for the same opinions, written to Master Christopher Sands, renouncing her former errors; with a relation of her relapsing afterwards into the same opinions again.
4. A brief Relation of Mistress Traske her Life and Death.

To these is added the Speech delivered by Bishop Andrews in the Star-Chamber, as noticed above, pp. 154, 298, against the Judaical opinions of Traske.

Page 153.—BISHOP ANDREWS.

The passage in which Sir W. Domville inquires into the truth of Bishop Andrews' statement that the early Christian martyrs were always asked whether they kept the Lord's day, will be found above, p. 297.

Page 154.—HOSPINIAN.

The first edition of Hospinian's work "De Origine, Progressu, Ceremoniis, et Ritibus Festorum Dierum Judæorum, Græcorum, Romanorum, et Turcarum," was published at Zurich in 1592. Chapter III. relates to the Sabbath, which is treated in the manner of the first Reformers. His reply to the Seventh-day Sabbatarians is the earliest discussion of their opinions that I have met with.

His treatise on the Christian Festivals was published at Zurich in 1593. Respecting the Lord's day its teaching resembles that of Luther and Calvin. "Dominicæ diei libera fuit observatio. Constantinus Magnus Dominicum diem primò lege præcepit."

Page 154.—JOSEPH MEDE.

Mr Hallett, in his *Notes on Several Texts of Scripture, &c.*, iii. 99–108, opposes the opinion of Mede that that fifteenth day of the second month on which the Israelites marched a long way, as related in Exod. xvi., was the seventh day of the week.*

With respect to the two editions of the Fourth Commandment, considered in p. 156, see, further, p. 309 of this volume, and vol. ii. pp. 8, 103, 145, 157, 194, 213, 345, 373, 393, 415. The question, Which edition is preferable? has seldom been discussed by writers on the Sabbath. Many of them, however, while ignoring the discrepance, do not scruple to found on the reasons assigned in both; and some who acknowledge its existence suggest, in defiance of the plain language of Scripture itself, that the reason annexed to the commandment in Deuteronomy was but a verbal comment of Moses to his Jewish hearers, and that he omitted on this occasion to repeat the inscribed reason recorded in Exodus, either for brevity's sake, or because that reason applied to the whole human race, and not to Israel alone. By one writer it seems to be asserted that *both* reasons were inscribed on the table of stone (see below, ii. 157); while, among the opponents of the Puritan notions of the Sabbath, one thinks it probable that *neither* of the reasons was inscribed (ii. 373), and another holds that if one of them be assumed to have been divinely written on stone, the reason recorded in Deuteronomy must be accepted in preference to that which contradicts the facts of science (ii. 345). This question is considered by Dr Samuel Davidson in his *Introduction to the Old Testament*, i. 227 (Lond. 1862), where he expresses the opinion that the record of the Decalogue in Exodus is probably the more exact, as it is the older of the two, though not perhaps the precise original. In the pamphlet entitled *What is Sabbath-breaking?* it is remarked as a proof how unimportant the Hebrew narrative of the creation is to Christians, that "neither in the Gospels, nor in any Epistle known to be apostolic, is it ever mentioned at all; for the Epistle to the Hebrews, where alone it is quoted (in chap. iv. ver. 4), is anonymous, and the learned are divided about its authorship. In John's Gospel there is one passage where perhaps the Hebrew cosmogony is alluded to; but if so, its tendency—to say the least—is not to confirm the historical truth of the narrative: 'My father worketh hitherto, and I work' (John v. 17)." (P. 67.) Equally silent, it is true, is the New Testament in regard to a connection between the Sabbath and the deliverance of Israel from Egypt; but as the Book of Deuteronomy is that portion of the Pentateuch which our Lord preferred to the rest as a text-book, a strong presumption hence arises, that had any saying of his about the

* The remainder of this article, though for convenience inserted here, is supplementary to the concluding part of vol. ii. of this work, and its perusal had better be deferred till the reader has become acquainted with the latest phase of the controversy.

reason for the institution of the Sabbath been recorded, it would have been found to agree with that assigned in Deuteronomy, and not with the cosmogonical reason in Exodus, which by this time had probably ceased to be literally interpreted by the educated Jews. "Although," says the late Dr Donaldson, "our Lord, as we have seen, was probably acquainted with the whole Pentateuch as we have it, and did not directly contravene the common opinion or phraseology that this was the work of Moses, no careful reader of the Gospels can fail to observe that his chief authority, or, at any rate, the text which was most distinctly impressed on his memory, was the Book of Deuteronomy. This is evident from the three cases in which the authoritative quotation from Jewish Scripture is placed in the strongest light. (*a.*) In the narrative of the temptation, which recounts the struggle in our Saviour's mind at the commencement of his ministration, we find that He silenced the promptings of his lower nature by three appeals to the book of Deuteronomy. As the Israelites are especially enjoined to commit to memory these precepts of the book of Deuteronomy (vi. 6–9), it is reasonable to conclude that our Saviour had stored them up in the treasure-house of his human reason, and they would therefore recur to his recollection amid the distraction of contending thoughts. That these quotations, and these alone, supplied him with weapons in such a mental contest, seems to show that he attached some peculiar and exclusive importance to the book from which they were derived. (*b.*) When our Lord summed up the pith and marrow of the commandments on which 'hang all the law and the prophets,' the first and great commandment, or that of the love of God, is derived literally from the book of Deuteronomy (Matt. xxii. 37; Deut. vi. 5). And though the second commandment, or that of the love of our neighbour, which St James calls 'the royal law' (*νόμον βασιλικόν*, ii. 8), is given incidentally in Leviticus (xix. 18), there are critical reasons for believing that this Jehovistic portion did not originally belong to the Elohistic book of Leviticus, and that the particular command at all events must have occurred along with the other great commandment in the chapter of Deuteronomy so explicitly quoted by our Lord; and even if it were not found there in so many words, the general tendency of the book, which enjoins the love of the stranger (x. 18, 19), and regards it as a mortal sin 'if any man hates his neighbour' (xix. 11), would induce us to suppose that our Lord, like the prophet Micah (vi. 8), found in Deuteronomy the requirement of righteousness and mercy, no less than that of walking humbly with God. (*c.*) Above all, it was to the book of Deuteronomy alone that our Lord appealed for the predicted criterion of his own divine mission. He said to the Jews, when they wished to slay him: 'Ye search the Scriptures; for in them ye think that ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me; and ye will not come unto me that ye might have life' (John v. 39, 40); and, 'Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writ-

ings, how shall ye believe my words?' (*id. ibid.* 46, 47). Now, it is not denied by any commentator that these words refer to the test of the true prophet, who was to come, in the remarkable passage of Deuteronomy (xviii. 15–22), and there is no other passage in the Pentateuch which can be cited as distinctly foretelling the coming of such a prophet as our Lord. Moreover, the prophets whom our Lord most preferred to cite, Isaiah (li. 5, 7, 16; lix. 21), Jeremiah (xiv. 14, 15), and Zechariah (xiii. 3), directly refer to this criterion of Messiahship; and their authority was coupled with that of Moses in the expectations entertained by pious Israelites (John i. 45). It cannot, therefore, be doubted that Deuteronomy was also in this most important reference our Lord's only standard of appeal." (*Christian Orthodoxy reconciled with the Conclusions of Modern Biblical Learning*, by John William Donaldson, D.D., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, pp. 196-198; Lond. 1857.) Dr Donaldson elsewhere remarks, that "the spirit of the revelation of which Moses was the minister undoubtedly finds its most original and accurate manifestations in the last book—that of Deuteronomy—which alone professes to have been written by him; at any rate, it is obvious that the decalogue is more satisfactorily set forth in that book than in the book of Exodus." (P. 162.)*

* In another place Dr Donaldson protests against the puritanical austerity which some extreme persons desire to maintain as the characteristic of our Sunday observance. "We still find," says he, "in this country, and even in our own Church, many who mistake a stupid disregard of all that is beautiful, cheerful, and attractive for a purely spiritual frame of mind, and who confuse between the wayward fretfulness of their own melancholic disposition and the solemn influences of an ever-present fear of God. Let those who have seen how such persons spend the Sunday tell us whether wisdom is justified of her children. Truly one might say, that with many of them religion was another name for bad temper; and it would not be a new case in the history of self-deception, if those who were unable to contend successfully with a physical infirmity were to gratify their conceit by promoting it to the rank of a spiritual influence. While it is quite certain that this assumption of Puritanical and Pharisaical austerity produces a malignant effect on the religious tendencies of all who are brought within its reach, the true children of wisdom are still more impressed with a sense of the injury which it inflicts on the moral character of the young. Experience tells us that many of the worst profligates, and many of those who have grown up with an unalterable distaste for religion, have belonged to families in which Christianity has appeared only under the form of a morose melancholy. The young are naturally cheerful, and their very instincts tell them that mirth cannot be always sinful; and if, as too often happens, they discern the slightest hypocrisy or even inconsistency behind the gloomy veil of Pharisaical sanctity, their faith is weakened, perhaps expelled for ever. A religion, the first Author of which mingled freely in the social festivities of his age and country, is not falsified by those who indulge in innocent amusements suited to their position and circumstances. The entertainments of fashionable life may involve much that is objectionable on its own account. Late hours, and all that approaches to reckless dissipation, would be censured even by a heathen

The more enlarged spirit by which Deuteronomy is generally distinguished from the other books of the Pentateuch, is noticed also by Dr Davidson, who sees in it a proof of greater culture, civilisation, mildness, and humanity, with purer ideas of religion than what the preceding books exhibit. (*Introd. to O. T.*, iii. 361.)*

The latest occasion on which the difficulty caused by the two editions of the Decalogue has turned up, is the following published correspondence between a clergyman of the Church of England and the Archbishop of Canterbury:—

"*Healaugh Parsonage, Tadcaster,*
"*Nov.* 15, 1864.

"My Lord Archbishop,—On the 42d page of your Grace's Primary Charge, there is one short passage upon which I beg very respectfully to ask one question.

moralist; and the Polemos of Athens had to dread the rebukes of Xenocrates. But even the excitements of a London ball-room are more wholesome and less prejudicial than those of Exeter Hall, and a good novel is more instructive than an absurd treatise on prophecy. 'Religion suffers from every form of needless austerity and enthusiastic extravagance. And if, in private life, the faith of a child is shaken by the interferences to which we have referred, a still greater risk is incurred when the Puritanical party undertake to treat the whole population of a great city like a set of naughty children, who must not indulge in any recreation on the first day of the week. The Jews themselves allowed a Sabbath-day's journey; and there is no evidence to show that they denied themselves any of the innocent enjoyments of life on their weekly festival. And if the operatives of Manchester and the shopkeepers of London are not to be permitted to escape from smoking factories and narrow courts, and to listen to public performances of even sacred music on their day of rest, the folly of the party which would impose the arbitrary restriction will soon be proved by a reaction against religion itself. . . . It is to be hoped that rational godliness will in the end prevail over Pharisaical bigotry, and that we shall at all events escape the infliction of such Sunday-keeping as we have in Edinburgh and Glasgow, where the prohibition of all innocent amusements leads to a frightful increase of sottishness and debauchery." (Pp. 25-27.) He adds in a note: "The author of the 'Essay on Church Parties,' (reprinted from the *Edinburgh Review* for October 1853), has made some good remarks on the mischief of this Sabbatarian strictness. 'Thousands,' he says (p. 24), 'are alienated from piety, by associating it from the earliest childhood with a day of gloom and restriction, imposed upon them by arbitrary force.'" (P. 26.)

* In the same volume, pp. 228-230, Dr Davidson opposes the doctrine of a primeval Sabbath; maintains that the Sabbath-law is not moral; and thinks it "almost superfluous to say that the *Lord's day*, or first day of the week, observed by Christians in commemoration of Christ's resurrection, has nothing to do with the Jewish Sabbath. The one was not changed for the other, nor has it come in place of the other. Each rests on its own basis. The seventh day was expressly commanded to be kept as a day of sacred rest by the Jews, with whose economy it has passed away. The first day of the week rests on no Divine precept in the New Testament. Its observance depends on the authority of *the Church*, or the general consent of Christians. Expediency alone is all that it has to commend it."

"The passage referred to I now quote, taking the liberty of emphasizing those words to which I would draw especial attention:

"'— All we would maintain under the title of plenary inspiration is the universal authority of every portion of it, as written under the Divine supervision, securing the writers from error and falsehood, *the exact words being in some cases dictated, as was the case with the delivery of the Decalogue.*'

"I most respectfully ask your Grace which of the two versions of the Decalogue is here referred to as having been written in the 'exact words' 'dictated' by God? Nearly every one is aware that the version given in Deut. v. differs materially from the version given in Exodus xx., viz., in the wording of the Fourth Commandment. And what renders the discrepancy the more remarkable and irreconcilable is, that the words, 'For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day and hallowed it,' given in Exodus xx. 11, are altogether omitted from the version given in Deut. v., where we find not only an entirely different reason assigned for God's command, but also a very solemn note at the end of the Decalogue, which virtually impugns the authority of the version given in Exodus: 'These words the Lord spake in all your assembly . . . with a great voice; *and he added no more.* And he wrote them in two tables of stone and delivered them unto me.'

"If the Lord 'added no more' than what is given as the Decalogue in Deut. v., and spoken of as 'these words,' then we may presume that he did *not* add the words given in Exodus, 'For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth,' &c. &c.

"I am not pretending to call your Grace's attention to these discrepancies for the first time, knowing how many profound scholars have studied and tried to reconcile them. I quote the Bible words, simply to justify my sincere anxiety to be informed, on so grave a subject, by one whose exalted position in the Church of itself guarantees to a respectful and honest inquirer the best answer that can be given.

"I may have misunderstood your Grace's meaning, in thinking that the passage I have quoted from the Charge implies that there is a Decalogue extant, of which the 'exact words' were 'dictated' by God himself. If I am *not* mistaken, allow me once more to ask which of the two versions of the Decalogue does your Grace refer to?

"MY LORD ARCHBISHOP, I have the honour to be your Grace's most obedient, humble servant, "CHARLES VOYSEY,

"Incumbent of Healaugh."

To which the Archbishop replied:—

"*Sandon, Nov.* 21, 1864.

"REVEREND SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th November. I am, REV. SIR, your faithful and obedient servant, C. T. CANTUAR."

Those who wish to study the question whether the Hebrew cosmogony is reconcilable with science, are referred to the older books on that subject mentioned in Darling's *Cyclopædia Bibliographica* (the volume on "Subjects: Holy Scriptures"), pp. 150–155, and to the more recent works named in the following paragraph.

Among the treatises in which Geology is held to disprove the narrative in Gen. i., considered as *history*, are—*The Connexion of Natural and Divine Truth*, by the Rev. Baden Powell (Lond. 1838); *Tradition Unveiled*, by the same. p. 64; *Supplement to "Tradition Unveiled,"* by the same, p. 28; *Essays on the Spirit of the Inductive Philosophy, &c.*, by the same, pp. 303, 457; article CREATION, in the *first* edition of Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, by the same (Edin. 1845); *Christianity without Judaism*, by the same. pp. 11, 55, 254; *Address of the Rev. W. Vernon Harcourt, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, in 1839, in Report of its Ninth Meeting, pp. 18, 20; *An Essay on Primeval History*, by John Kenrick, M.A. (Lond. 1846); *The Hebrew Cosmogony and Modern Interpretations* (Lond. 1850); article on Religion and Geology in *The Prospective Review* for Nov. 1851; *Sabbath Laws, &c.*, by R. Cox, pp. 72–106 (Edin. 1853); Essay on *The Mosaic Cosmogony*, by C. W. Goodwin, M.A., in *Essays and Reviews* (Lond. 1860); *Introduction to the Old Testament*, by Samuel Davidson, D.D., i. 151 (Lond. 1862); *The Pentateuch Critically Examined*, by John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal, Part IV. pp. 80, 91 (Lond. 1863); and *The Westminster Review* for Jan. 1865, p. 263.—On the other hand, the reconciliation of Geology more or less closely with Scripture is attempted in the following among many other works published during the last twenty years:—*The Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some parts of Geological Science*, by John Pye Smith, D.D., 4th edition (Lond. 1848); *Footprints of the Creator*, by Hugh Miller, p. 307 (Edin. 1849); *The Course of Creation*, by John Anderson, D.D., minister of Newburgh, Fifeshire, ch. 6 (Lond. 1850); *Creation, or the Bible and Geology consistent; together with the Moral Design of the Mosaic History*, by James Murphy, D.D. (New York, 1850); *The Religion of Geology and its connected Sciences*, by Edward Hitchcock, D.D., President of Amherst College (Lond. 1851); *The Epoch of the Creation; the Scripture Doctrine contrasted with the Geological Theory*. by Eleazar Lord, with Introduction by R. W. Dickinson, D.D. (New York, 1851); Kitto's and Burgess's *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Jan. 1849, p. 159; Jan. 1850, p. 186; Oct. 1850, p. 261; Oct. 1851, p. 73; July 1852, p. 286; Jan. 1855, p. 433; July 1855, pp. 329, 417; Oct. 1855, pp. 66, 196; Oct. 1856, p. 122; and Jan. 1857, p. 466; *The Bible and the Working Classes*, by Alex. Wallace, Lecture VII. (Edin. 1853); *La Cosmogonie de la Bible devant les Sciences Perfectionnées; ou, la Révélation Primitive demontrée par l'accord suivi des faits cosmogoniques avec les principes de la Science Générale*, par M. l'Abbé A. Sorignet (Paris, 1854); *The Mosaic Record in Harmony with the Geological* (Edin. 1854); *The Six Days of Creation, or the Scriptural Cosmology*,

by Tayler Lewis, Professor of Greek in Union College (Schenectady, N. Y., 1855); *Creation and the Fall; a Defence and Exposition of the First Three Chapters of Genesis*, by the Rev. Donald Macdonald, M.A., Minister of the Free Church, Edinkillie, Elginshire (Edin. 1856); *Macphail's Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Journal* for May 1856, p. 193; *Scripture and Science not at variance; or, the Historical Character and Plenary Inspiration of the Earlier Chapters of Genesis unaffected by the Discoveries of Science*, by John H. Pratt, M.A., Archdeacon of Calcutta (Lond. 1856)*; *The Bible and Astronomy; an Exposition of the Biblical Cosmology, and its Relations to Natural Science*, by John Henry Kurtz, D.D., translated from the third and improved German edition by T. D. Simonson (Philad. 1857); *The Testimony of the Rocks*, by Hugh Miller (Edin. 1857); *Geology and Genesis; a Reconciliation of the two Records*, by Geo. Wight (Lond. 1857); *The History of the Old Covenant*, by J. H. Kurtz, D.D., translated from the German (Edin. 1859); *Sermons in Stones; or, Scripture confirmed by Geology*, by Dominick M'Causland, 6th edit. (Lond. 1859); *The Primeval World; a Treatise on the Relations of Geology to Theology*, by Rev. Paton J. Gloag (Edin. 1859); *Lessons for the Young on the Six Days of Creation*, by L. Gaussen, D.D., Geneva (Edin. 1860); *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i., article GENESIS, by J. J. S. Perowne, B.D., Hebrew Lecturer in King's College, London (Lond. 1860); *Archaia; or, Studies of the Cosmogony and Natural History of the Hebrew Scriptures*, by J. W. Dawson, LL.D., Principal of M'Gill College (Montreal, 1860); *Pre-Adamite Man; or, the Story of our Old Planet and its Inhabitants, told by Scripture and Science* (Lond. 1860); *The Sacred Record of Creation Vindicated and Explained, in Answer to the Essay on the Mosaic Cosmogony in the volume of "Essays and Reviews,"* by Edgar Huxtable, M.A., Vicar of Weston Zoyland, Somerset (Lond. 1861); *The Mosaic Record of Creation*, by A. M'Caul, D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, King's College, London—being Essay V. in "Aids to Faith," edited by William Thomson, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Lond. 1861); *Some Notes on the First Chapter of Genesis, with reference to "Essays and Reviews,"* by Dr A. M'Caul (Lond. 1861); *Criticism of Mr Goodwin's Essay on the Mosaic Cosmogony*, in "The Christian Remembrancer" for April 1861; *Scripture and Geology—Present State of the Question between them*, being Art. VIII. in "The Brit. and For. Evang. Rev." for July 1861; *Creation in Plan and in Progress; an Essay on the First Chapter of Genesis, with reference to "Essays and Reviews,"* by the Rev. James Challis, M.A., F.R.S., Plumian Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy in the University of Cambridge (Camb. 1861); *Biblical Natural Science; being the Explanation of all References in Holy Scripture to Geology, Botany, Zoology, and Physical Geography*, by the Rev. John Duns, F.R.S.E. (Glasg.

* The fourth edition contains additional illustrations from Bunsen's Egypt, Horner's Nile Deposits, Darwin on Species, and Goodwin on the Mosaic Cosmogony in "Essays and Reviews;" with Replies to "Types of Mankind."

1861); *The Edinburgh Review* for Oct. 1861 (quoted above, p. 290); *The Divine Week; or, Outlines of a Harmony of the Geologic Periods with the Mosaic "Days" of Creation*, by the Rev. John Hartland Worgan, M.A., of Pembroke College, Oxford (Lond. 1863).

Some of these writers, such as Miller and Huxtable, concede a great deal; and few are now to be found who maintain, with Bishop Horsley in a former generation (below, ii. 327), Dr Croly in the last (*Divine Providence*, p. 94; Lond. 1834), and Mr Gilfillan in the present (*The Sabbath viewed in the Light of Reason, &c.*, p. 518; Edin. 1862), that the first chapter of Genesis is a literal and true history of the events of six natural days, the last being the date of the creation of man. In perusing those treatises in which a middle course is taken, it will usually be found, 1*st*, that the writers proceed on the principle that we are at liberty to impose on the Hebrew narrative a meaning different from what it philologically and obviously expresses, and was till the time of Copernicus generally understood to express; and, 2*dly*, that in interpreting the first chapter of Genesis, they omit to inquire whether their interpretation agrees with the Fourth Commandment as recorded in the 20th chapter of Exodus. The late Dr Croly, as uncompromising a rejecter of exegetical shifts as Bishop Horsley was, recognised distinctly in the commandment an insuperable objection to the theory which was fashionable in his time, that the words "In the beginning" (Gen. i. 1) refer to the commencement, not of the six days, but of a long preceding period. "The limit," he urges, "is not only defined by the declaration that on the sixth day 'the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them, and God rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made' (a seventh portion of time, of *equal* length with six preceding, during which He had wrought, being thus set apart, to signify the completion of His work), but we have the limit also fixed by a document with which the pen of Moses could have had no interference. The Ten Commandments are the direct language, not of Moses, but of God. Yet they declare that 'in *six days* the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is;' thus, with plain precision, circumscribing the *whole* time of creation. In every view of the case, compromise is at an end." (*Divine Providence*, by the Rev. George Croly, LL.D., p. 96.)

Page 156.—Thomas Broad (Lat. Brodæus).

Broad is an advocate of the Dominical view. His English treatise, which I have found in the library of Glasgow University, is dated 1627, not 1621; and its full title is as follows:—"Three Questions answered—I. Question: What should our meaning be, when, after the reading of the Fourth Commandment, we pray, Lord incline our hearts to keep this law? II. Question: How shall the Fourth Commandment, being delivered in such form of words, bind us to sanctify any day but only the seventh, the day wherein

God rested, and which the Jews sanctified? III. Question: How shall it appear to be a law of nature to sanctify one day in every week? Oxford, 1627." 4to, pp. 38. He replies to the Seventh-day Baptists. Against their notion that the *weekly* Sabbaths are not referred to in Col. ii. 16, 17, he argues, 1. That Paul speaks *also* of festival days; and 2. "Unless by Sabbaths here are meant the weekly Sabbaths, what warrant have we in the Scriptures to work upon the Jews' Sabbath? Will they say, that the apostles command to sanctify the Lord's Day in memory of Christ's resurrection? Be this granted, which cannot be proved, and is something discrepant from the doctrine of our Church: doth it therefore follow that we need not keep the seventh day in memory of the world's creation? Constantine commanded that the sixth day should be kept in memory of Christ's death on the cross;* yet was the day of Christ's resurrection kept also. Sozomenus saith that 'at Constantinople, and almost in all other places, Sabbato et postridie Sabbati conveniunt' (lib. vii. cap. 19); and in the Scripture we read of meetings on both days." (Pp. 2, 3.)

The meaning of the response to the Fourth Commandment in the Liturgy he states to be: "Lord, incline our hearts to keep this law so far forth as it is the law of nature; or, Lord, incline our hearts to keep so much of this law as appertaineth to the law of nature:" for the Homilies say only that whatsoever is found in the Fourth Commandment appertaining to the law of nature ought to be observed of all good Christians (p. 7). In regard to the epithet *moral* he says: "In as much as the law of nature bindeth us to perform moral duties, let it be termed moral: it is a moral law of nature to pray, or to give alms, to relieve the oppressed, &c. But in as much as the law of nature bindeth us to observe circumstances, as time and place, about the performance of moral virtues, it should, in my understanding, be termed *circumstantial*. Time, as place, is a circumstance; and therefore I cannot like that a commandment whereby the observation of any time is required, should be termed moral; it properly belongth unto those commandments whereby moral virtues are enjoined." (P. 22.)

The chief diversities of opinion, in his time, about the Lord's Day are thus stated: "There are in these times three opinions, something differing the one from the other. 1*st Opinion:* It is the will and command of God that Christians should sanctify one day of every week; and as he bound the Israelites heretofore to sanctify the Sabbath or seventh day, so in this time of the Gospel he bindeth us Christians to sanctify the Lord's day, or first day of the week. 2*d Opinion:* It is the will and command of God that Christians should sanctify one day of every week; but whereas he bound the Israelites heretofore to sanctify the seventh day alone, he left it to the Christian Church to choose their day, and it hath chosen the Lord's Day. 3*d Opinion:* It is the will and command of God to sanctify *some time*, aliquam temporis partem,

* See, however, Dr Hessey on this point, above, p. 357.

as Zanchius speaketh: when this time shall be, God left to the Christian Church to appoint, and it hath appointed the Lord's Day.

"Of the former opinion, I scarce know any divines of note, unless of late years; between the two latter opinions there is, in respect of us, little or no difference at all, for by both the Lord's Day is the command of God mediately; God mediately and by the magistrates bindeth us Christians to sanctify the Lord's Day.

"*Objection.* Then the governors of the Church may alter the day; yea, they may appoint the first of one week, the third of the next, the fifth of the next, &c.

"*Answer.* It doth not follow: for the best order is the will of God, and law of nature. The governors, then, cannot set down what order they will, neither touching the time and place of God's worship, neither touching other things belonging thereunto; but what, in their understanding, is the best order they are bound to set down.

"*Object.* If God mediately and by the magistrate bindeth us Christians to sanctify the Lord's Day, certainly this bond is so weak that many will easily break it.

"*Ans.* This bond is strong enough to hold him that is not very unruly," &c. (Pp. 35, 36.)

Broad was specially answered by George Abbot (above, p. 193). Many of his arguments are controverted also by Cawdrey and Palmer, and other Puritan writers.

Page 157.—Walæus.

The Dutch controversy about the Sabbath, in which Walæus took a prominent part, is mentioned above, p. 218, and more fully by Mr Gilfillan, p. 108. He argues for a primeval Sabbath, but in other important particulars dissents from the Puritans; thus, he maintains the lawfulness of recreation on the Sunday (see below, ii. 806). In England his book was much studied and criticised—as by Dr Twisse (above, p. 209), and Cawdrey and Palmer (p. 240). The titles of its chapters, as reprinted in his *Loci Communes Sancti Theologiæ* (Lugd. Bat. 1640), are as follows:—

"1. In quo Sabbathi variæ significationes explicantur, et ipsa quarti præcepti verba breviter exponuntur.

"2. Ubi excutitur quæstio de primâ Sabbathi origine; et an ante legem per Mosen latam in usu fuerit inter Patriarchas, nec ne.

"3. In quo demonstratur præceptum quartum partim esse morale, partim vero ceremoniale.

"4. In quo examinantur argumenta eorum qui nihil ceremoniale in hoc præcepto quarto agnoscunt.

"5. In quo distinctius explicatur, quid in quarto præcepto ceremoniale sit, a quo fideles Novi Testam. sunt immunes, et quid in eodem morale sit ac perpetuum: Et primo quidem, ad cujus temporis Deo consecrandi observationem fideles in Novo Testam. ex vi atque analogiâ hujus præcepti obligentur.

"6. In quo diligentius expenditur, quænam sit illa requies diei septimi, quæ ceremonialis fuit atque abrogata; quæ vero sit illa, quæ moralis est et semper observanda.

"7. In quo de ipsa actuali sanctificatione diei septimi agitur, et quænam opera hoc quarto præcepto mandata ac concessa sint, diligentius inquiritur.

"8. De Diei Dominicæ origine atque institutione."

In his preface, Walæus gives the Articles of the Synod of Dort in the original Latin, thus:—

"1. In quarto legis divinæ præcepto, aliquid est ceremoniale, aliquid morale.

"2. Ceremoniale fuit, quies diei septimi à creatione, et rigida ejusdem diei observatio, Judaico populo peculiariter præscripta.

"3. Morale vero, quod certus et status dies cultui Dei sit destinatus, et tanta quies quanta ad cultum Dei sanctamque ejus meditationem est necessaria.

"4. Abrogato Sabbatho Judæorum, dies Dominicus Christianis solenniter est sanctificandus.

"5. Hic dies inde ab Apostolis, in prisca Catholica Ecclesia semper fuit observatus.

"6. Idem dies sic cultui divino est consecrandus, ut in eo cessetur ab omnibus servilibus operibus, exceptis eis quæ sunt charitatis aut præsentis necessitatis; et ab ejusmodi recreationibus quæ Dei cultum impediunt."

For a translation of these articles see above, p. 218, corrected in vol. ii., p. 3.

Page 159.—Franciscus Gomarus.

Gomarus was the most distinguished opponent of Walæus in the controversy mentioned above, pp. 218. (See also pp. 162, 163; Hessey, pp. 235; and Gilfillan, pp. 104, 111, 113.) He was opposed by Ley (above, p. 194), Cawdrey and Palmer (p. 240), Homes (ii. 40), and the Puritans in general. Usher thought he had been refuted by Rivetus (above, p. 258), while Milton, on the contrary, agreed with him (ii. 54). Though Gomarus holds that the Fourth Commandment is no *law* to Christians, and that proof is wanting that the Lord's Day was appointed by the apostles for the worship of God, he thinks that the Sunday ought to be observed by us in deference to the significance or spirit of that commandment, and because it cannot be disregarded without serious damage to religion. (*Op. Theol.*, p. 274; Amst. 1664.)

Page 159.—Edward Brerewood.

Mr Gilfillan, p. 130, comments on the dispute between Brerewood and Richard Byfield. Many strictures on it and Brerewood's subsequent work (above, p. 161) occur in the writings of the Puritan disputants, such as Burton, Ley, and Cawdrey and Palmer.

Page 162.—THEOPHILUS BRABOURNE.

The full title of Brabourne's book is, "A Defence of that most ancient and sacred Ordinance of God's, the Sabbath Day. Consequently, and together with it, 2. A Defence of the iiijth Commandment; 3. A Defence of the Integrity and Perfection of the Decalogue, Moral Law, or X Commandments; 4. A Defence, also, of the whole and entire worship of God in all the parts thereof, as it is prescribed in the first table of the Decalogue; 5. A Discovery of the Superstition, Impurity, and Corruption of God's Worship, yea, and Idolatry, committed by multitudes, in sanctifying the Lord's Day for a Sabbath Day, by the iiijth Commandment. Undertaken against" (&c. as in p. 162).

The sincerity of his recantation has reasonably enough been doubted; but I am not aware of any conclusive evidence that he either was or was not sincere. The imputation of inconsistency brought against him by his virulent opponent Dr Collings (above, p. 247), is manifestly unsupported by the terms of the recantation itself. Dr Hessey (p. 468) says that "a composition of his against Cawdrey, which came out in 1654, gives no evidence of sincerity;" but I presume that if it had given evidence against it, the fact would have been stated. I suspect that Collings, and not Cawdrey, is meant by Dr Hessey; though possibly the "composition" referred to is Brabourne's tract concerning the changing of Church Discipline, which, though answered by Collings (above, p. 246), may have been written against Cawdrey. I have not seen the tract, nor examined carefully Collings's other pamphlets against Brabourne, two of which, bearing the following characteristic titles, were published at London in 1654:—

1. "A New Lesson for the Indoctus Doctor: containing a Vindication of a Book called Indoctus Doctor Edoctus from the impertinent babblings of a late libellous pamphlet against it, published under the name of Theophilus Brabourne, formerly Boltpoake, Weaver, Hostler, and Maltster, now a nonsensical scribbler in the City of Norwich. By J. Collinges, B.D., and Preacher of the Gospel in Norwich." (4to, pp. 39.)

2. "Responsoria Bipartita, &c.: The Second Part in Answer to Theophilus Brabourne, who hath talked something in a little pamphlet against the Lord Jesus Christ as Lord of his Church, and Lord of the Sabbath; against whom it is proved he hath said nothing to any purpose but to discover his own weakness. By John Collings, B.D., &c." (4to, pp. 59.)

The seventh chapter of the former pamphlet is entitled, "Some Notes upon the Indoctus Doctor's Recantation, and some Theses about the Lord's-day Sabbath, fit for him to meditate on;" but the latter contains nothing worth notice. In the same year, Brabourne published "The Second Vindication of my first Book of the Change of Discipline; being a Reply to Mr Collings his second Answer to it. Also, a Dispute between Mr Collings and

T. Brabourne touching the Sabbath Day." (4to, pp. 65.) Here he undertakes to prove "that the Saturday and the seventh-day Sabbath was religiously kept by the primitive churches after Christ for 300 or 400 years" (p. 63); but it by no means follows that, in his opinion, what the Jewish converts and their successors and imitators did in early times, the Gentile Christians are bound to do.

Besides the books mentioned, Collings wrote "A New Lesson for the Indoctus Doctor; or rather a fescue and pair of spectacles to help him to read the former better; London, 1654;" and "A Modest Plea for the Lord's Day; or rather, the sum of the Plea made by Divines for the Lord's Day as the Christian Sabbath; against those who contend for the old Sabbath of the seventh day in order from the Creation; London, 1669."

As to Brabourne and replies to him, see also above, pp. 194, 195, 197, 200, 215, 240, 248; Hessey, p. 287; and Gilfillan, p. 133.

Page 163.—*The Declaration of Sports, as re-issued by* CHARLES I.

This I shall here insert at large, without change of spelling or punctuation:—

"¶ By the King.

"Ovr Deare Father of blessed Memory, in his returne from Scotland, comming through Lancashire, found that his Subiects were debarred from Lawful Recreations vpon Sundayes after Euening Prayers ended, and vpon Holy dayes: And Hee prudently considered, that if these times were taken from them, the meaner sort who labour hard all the weeke, should haue no Recreations at all to refresh their spirits. And after His returne, Hee farther saw that His loyall Subiects in all other parts of His Kingdome did suffer in the same kinde, though perhaps not in the same degree: And did therefore in His Princely wisedome, publish a Declaration to all his louing Subiects concerning lawfull Sports to be vsed at such times, which was printed and published by His royall Commandement in the yeere 1618. In the Tenor which hereafter followeth.

"¶ By the King.

"Whereas vpon Our returne the last yere out of Scotland, We did publish Our Pleasure touching the recreations of Our people in those parts vnder Our hand: For some causes Vs thereunto mooving, Wee haue thought good to command these Our Directions then giuen in Lancashire with a few words thereunto added, and most appliable to these parts of Our Realmes, to bee published to all Our Subiects.

"Whereas Wee did iustly in our Progresse through Lancashire, rebuke some Puritanes and precise people, and tooke order that the like vnlawfull carriage should not bee vsed by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and vnlawfull punishing of Our good people for vsing their lawfull Recreations, and honest exercises

vpon Sundayes and other Holy dayes, after the afternoone Sermon or Seruice: Wee now finde that two sorts of people wherewith that Countrey is much infected, (Wee meane Papists and Puritanes) haue maliciously traduced and calumniated those Our iust and honourable proceedings. And therefore lest Our reputation might vpon the one side (though innocently) haue some aspersion layd vpon it, and that vpon the other part Our good people in that Countrey be misled by the mistaking and misinterpretation of Our meaning: We haue therefore thought good hereby to cleare and make Our pleasure to be manifested to all Our good People in those parts.

"It is true that at Our first entry to this Crowne, and Kingdome, Wee were informed, and that too truely, that Our County of Lancashire abounded more in Popish Recusants then any County of England, and thus hath still continued since to Our great regreet, with little amendmẽt, saue that now of late, in Our last riding through Our said County, Wee find both by the report of the Iudges, and of the Bishop of that diocesse, that there is some amendment now daily beginning, which is no small contentment to Vs.

"The report of this growing amendment amongst them, made Vs the more sorry, when with Our owne Eares We heard the generall complaint of Our people, that they were barred from all lawfull Recreation, & exercise vpon the Sundayes afternoone, after the ending of all Diuine Seruice, which cannot but produce two euils: The one, the hindering of the conuersion of many, whom their Priests will take occasion hereby to vexe, perswading them that no honest mirth or recreation is lawfull or tolerable in Our Religion, which cannot but breed a great discontentment in Our peoples hearts, especially of such as are peraduenture vpon the point of turning; The other inconuenience is, that this prohibition barreth the common and meaner sort of people from vsing such exercises as may make their bodies more able for Warre, when Wee or Our Successours shall haue occasion to vse them. And in place thereof sets vp filthy tiplings and drunkennesse, & breeds a number of idle and discontented speeches in their Alehouses. For when shall the common people haue leaue to exercise, if not vpon the Sundayes & holydaies, seeing they must apply their labour, & win their liuing in all working daies?

"Our expresse pleasure therefore is, that the Lawes of Our Kingdome, & Canons of Our Church be aswell obserued in that Countie, as in all other places of this Our Kingdome. And on the other part, that no lawfull Recreation shall bee barred to Our good People, which shall not tend to the breach of Our aforesayd Lawes, and Canons of Our Church: which to expresse more particularly, Our pleasure is, That the Bishop, and all other inferiour Churchmen, and Churchwardens, shall for their parts be carefull and diligent, both to instruct the ignorant, and conuince and reforme them that are mis-led in Religion, presenting them that will not conforme themselues, but obstinately stand out to Our

Iudges and Iustices: Whom We likewise command to put the Law in due execution against them.

"Our pleasure likewise is, That the Bishop of that Diocesse take the like straight order with all the Puritanes and Precisians within the same, either constraining them to conforme themselues, or to leaue the County according to the Lawes of Our Kingdome, and Canons of Our Church, and so to strike equally on both hands, against the contemners of Our Authority, and aduersaries of Our Church. And as for Our good peoples lawfull Recreation, Our pleasure likewise is, That after the end of Diuine Seruice, Our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation, Such as dauncing, either men or women, Archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmlesse Recreation, nor from hauing of May-Games, Whitson Ales, and Morris-dances, and the setting vp of May-poles & other sports therewith vsed, so as the same be had in due & conuenient time, without impediment or neglect of Diuine Seruice: And that women shall haue leaue to carry rushes to the Church for the decoring of it, according to their old custome. But withall We doe here account still as prohibited all vnlawfull games to bee vsed vpon Sundayes onely, as Beare and Bullbaitings, Interludes, and at all times in the meaner sort of people by Law prohibited, Bowling.

"And likewise We barre from this benefite and liberty, all such knowne recusants, either men or women, as will abstaine from comming to Church or diuine Seruice, being therefore vnworthy of any lawfull recreation after the said Seruice, that will not first come to the Church, and serue God: Prohibiting in like sort the said Recreations to any that, though conforme in Religion, are not present in the Church at the Seruice of God, before their going to the said Recreations. Our pleasure likewise is, That they to whom it belongeth in Office, shall present and sharpely punish all such as in abuse of this Our liberty, will vse these exercises before the ends of all Diuine Seruices for that day. And We likewise straightly command, that euery person shall resort to his owne Parish Church to heare Diuine Seruice, and each Parish by it selfe to vse the said Recreation after Diuine Seruice. Prohibiting likewise any Offensiue weapons to be carried or vsed in the said times of Recreations. And Our pleasure is, That this Our Declaration shall bee published by order from the Bishop of the Diocesse, through all the Parish Churches, and that both Our Iudges of Our Circuit, and Our Iustices of Our Peace be informed thereof.

"Giuen at Our Mannour of Greenwich the foure and twentieth day of May, in the sixteenth yeere of Our raigne of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotland the one and fiftieth.*

"Now out of a like pious Care for the seruice of God, and for suppressing of any humors that oppose trueth, and for the Ease, Comfort, & Recreation of Our well deseruing People, Weo doe

* See above, pp. 425-430.

ratifie and publish this Our blessed Fathers Declaration: The rather because of late in some Counties of Our Kingdome, Wee finde that vnder pretence of taking away abuses, there hath been a generall forbidding, not onely of ordinary meetings, but of the Feasts of the Dedication of the Churches, commonly called Wakes. Now our expresse will and pleasure is, that these Feasts with others shall be obserued, and that Our Iustices of the peace in their seuerall Diuisions shall looke to it, both that all disorders there, may be preuented or punished, and that all neighbourhood and freedome, with manlike and lawfull Exercises be vsed. And Wee farther Command Our Justices of Assize in their seuerall Circuits, to see that no man doe trouble or molest any of Our loyall and duetifull people, in or for their lawfull Recreations, having first done their duetie to God, and continuing in obedience to Vs and Our Lawes. And of this Wee command all our Iudges, Iustices of the Peace, as well within Liberties as without, Maiors, Bayliffes, Constables, and other Officers, to take notice of, and to see obserued, as they tender Our displeasure. And Wee farther will, that publication of this Our Command bee made by order from the Bishops through all the Parish Churches of their seuerall Diocesse respectiuely.

"Giuen at Our Palace of Westminster the eighteenth day of October, in the ninth yeere of Our Reigne.

"God saue the King."

Respecting the conduct of Archbishop Laud in connection with this *Declaration*, Mr Hallam thus expresses himself:—

"Besides reviving the prosecutions for nonconformity in their utmost strictness, wherein many of the other bishops vied with their primate, he most injudiciously, not to say wickedly, endeavoured, by innovations of his own, and by exciting alarms in the susceptible consciences of pious men, to raise up new victims whom he might oppress. Those who made any difficulty about his novel ceremonies, or even who preached on the Calvinistic side, were harassed by the High Commission Court as if they had been actual schismatics. The most obnoxious, if not the most indefensible of these prosecutions, were for refusing to read what was called the Book of Sports, namely, a proclamation, or rather a renewal of that issued in the late reign, that certain feasts or wakes might be kept, and a great variety of pastimes used on Sundays after evening service.* This was reckoned, as I have

* "This originated in an order made at the Somerset Assizes, by Chief-Justice Richardson, at the request of the justices of peace, for suppressing these feasts, which had led to much disorder and profaneness. Laud made the privy council reprove the judge, and direct him to revoke the order. Kennet, p. 71; Rushw. Abr. ii. 166. Heylin says the gentlemen of the county were against Richardson's order, which is one of his habitual falsehoods. See Rushw. Abr. ii. 167. I must add, however, that the proclamation was perfectly legal, and according to the spirit of

already observed, one of the tests of puritanism. But whatever superstition there might be in that party's Judaical observance of the day they called the Sabbath, it was in itself preposterous, and tyrannical in its intention, to enforce the reading in churches of this license, or rather recommendation, of festivity. The precise clergy refused, in general, to comply with the requisition, and were suspended or deprived in consequence. Thirty of them were excommunicated in the single diocese of Norwich; but as that part of England was rather conspicuously puritanical, and the bishop, one Wren, was the worst on the bench, it is highly probable that the general average fell short of this.*

"Besides the advantage of detecting a latent bias in the clergy, it is probable that the High-Church prelates had a politic end in the Book of Sports. The morose, gloomy spirit of puritanism was naturally odious to the young, and to men of joyous tempers. The comedies of that age are full of sneers at its formality. It was natural to think that, by enlisting the common propensities of mankind to amusement on the side of the Established Church, they might raise a diversion against that fanatical spirit which can hardly long continue to be the prevailing temperament of a nation. The Church of Rome, from which no ecclesiastical statesman would disdain to take a lesson, had for many ages perceived and acted upon the principle, that it is the policy of governments to encourage a love of pastime and recreation in the people, both because it keeps them from speculating on religious and political matters, and because it renders them more cheerful, and less sensible of the evils of their condition; and it may be remarked by the way, that the opposite system, so long pursued in this country, whether from a puritanical spirit, or from the wantonness of petty authority, has no such grounds of policy to recommend it. Thus much at least is certain, that when the Puritan party employed their authority in proscribing all diversions, in enforcing all the Jewish rigour about the Sabbath, and gave that repulsive air of austerity to the face of England, of which so many singular illustrations are recorded, they rendered their own yoke intolerable to the youthful and gay; nor did any other cause, perhaps, so materially contribute to bring about the Restoration. But mankind love sport as little as prayer by compulsion; and the immediate effect of the King's declaration was to produce a far more scrupulous abstinence from diversions on Sundays than had been practised before." (*Constitutional History of England*, vol. i. pp. 474–6, 6th ed.)

the late act, 1 Car. I., c. 1, for the observance of the Lord's Day. It has been rather misrepresented by those who have not attended to its limitations, as Neal and Mr Brodie. Dr Lingard, ix. 422, has stated the matter rightly."

* "Neal, 569; Rushworth, Abr. ii. 166; Collier, 758; Heylin's Life of Laud, 241, 290. The last writer extenuates the persecution by Wren; but it is evident, by his own account, that no suspension or censure was taken off till the party conformed and read the Declaration."

Two tracts published in the High-Church days of Queen Anne, one in defence and the other in palliation of the *Declaration of Sports*, are mentioned below, ii. 141. The writer of the *Brief Defence* (which is a sermon preached on the anniversary of the execution of Charles I.) is still more violent than Bishop Horsley against the Puritans, whom he styles "those hypocritical wretches justly called Precisians and Puritans, who, laying on burthens upon the people which they were unable to bear, and pretending they must attend nothing but the service of God on the Sundays, made religion a mere burthen to the people, and frightened them with the notions of austerity and strictness of life, as if the Protestant religion would rob them of all their pleasures, and would make their lives more uneasy, and give them less latitude than that which they were used to in the Romish profession." (P. 15.)

"These wicked and restless Puritans," he continues, "began at this time not only to preach up new-fangled doctrines, but at the same time to pretend that no sports or mirth, though never so honest, was to be used on Sunday, as if the Fourth Commandment, when it forbid them labour in these words, 'in it thou shalt do no manner of work,' could be construed to mean 'in it thou shalt use no manner of sport.'

"Again, we are to consider here that their Majesties, in both these publications, gave no allowance to the least immoralities, confining the liberty they gave the people in matters of mirth and recreation only to such as was *honest*, 'honest mirth and recreations.' I suppose I may be allowed to presume to interpret this word 'honest' by the word 'lawful.'*

"I might here enter into an examination of what recreations or mirth are, *first*, lawful in themselves; and, *secondly*, what are lawful on Sundays: and no question but if I did so, the justice and Christian purposes of this *Declaration* would be yet better understood by us.

"But as this *Declaration* is in every article a full exposition as well as confirmation of itself, so I need go no farther than the words of the *Declaration* itself, wherein his Majesty King James, in his princely wisdom, took especial care to prevent the false and malicious constructions which that wicked party of Puritans and Precisians, then growing in the nation, would perversely put upon the words 'honest mirth and recreations,' as if all the wicked and unlawful games, such as bowling in particular, which was then prohibited to the common people, p. 8, should be allowed them; to prevent which, the *Declaration* has expressly signified what are to be esteemed honest or lawful recreations, and fit for a Sunday's exercise, and what not, and this is expressly signified, p. 6 of the said *Declaration*, as follows. . . .

"But as to the wicked, unlawful game of bowling, it was expressly forbidden them, that their manners might not be debauched.

* Reputable, or seemly, is the old meaning of the word.

"Thus the royal care of the people's health and manners, as well as the discouraging needless strictness and severity of life, which was then no doubt promoted for ill ends, having been manifested in this *Declaration*, and the true ends of the said *Declaration* having been expressly set down, what could the scruples of these Puritanical rebels amount to but just to poison the people with notions of profaneness and looseness being set up by public authority, and of establishing iniquity by a law, and thus on purpose to make a dissension among the peaceable subjects of his Majesty, and calumniate the most pious intentions of their princes, in order to sow the seeds of that bloody rebellion which followed. . . .

"It might add to the just praises of the King, and very well take up our time for the endearing his Majesty to posterity, to enlarge upon the great advantages of this *Declaration*, and how it was immediately felt over the whole nation by the influence it had upon the morals and manners of the people.

"For now the people were at once delivered both from the civil magistrate, who before was ever following them with prosecutions and corporal punishments every time they ventured but to take a little honest diversion on the Sabbath day; and, *which was still more to their satisfaction*, they were delivered from the perpetual clamour of their ministers, who affrighted them continually with apprehensions of sinning against God, and of God's judgment upon the nation for profaning the Lord's day, pretending that the harmless exercises exprest in the said *Declaration* ought not to be practised by them on the Sunday, notwithstanding the command of their prince or the injunction of the bishops, at once distilling into their heads principles of disobedience to their sovereign and contempt of their ecclesiastical governors." (Pp. 17–21.)

The second pamphlet referred to is more moderate in its tone, being apparently written by one who, though loyal in his feelings, agreed in theological opinion with the Puritans. After quoting the *Declaration*, he remarks very justly, "Now I do not perceive here, by the way, any positive command in the case, nor any force put upon the people, that they should and must practise such recreations on Sundays, whatever their conscience dictated to the contrary; but only that they were left wholly to their own liberty still, either to use them or let 'em alone, as they pleased: if they used 'em, they should not be punished for 't, and if they did not use 'em, there was no harm done. In a word, if they had a mind to recreate or divert themselves on those days of rest, they should not be debarred such and such useful, innocent, lawful pastimes." (P. 10.) Charles I., he adds, did not however encourage this liberty by his own practice or example.

In palliation of the conduct of His Majesty in ratifying the *Declaration*, he submits that though the act "looks as odd and disgraceful at first sight, in the lump, as the practice of all intemperate frolics are still reckoned both unlawful and intolerable upon so blessed a day in a Christian country," still we ought to

consider who advised the thing, for he was misled by evil ministers or designing men. "But besides, I appeal to the learned whether God Almighty did not permit some loose things to be established by a law for the hardness of the people's hearts through many troublesome importunities, which things yet he neither did nor could ever approve of, as being highly injurious to heaven, and derogatory to his infinite wisdom and goodness." (Pp. 12-14.)

Hallam's remark in correction of Mr Brodie (*Hist. of Britain*, ii. 379, 380) is well founded—that the king's proclamation was perfectly legal, and according to the spirit of the act 1 Car. I. c. 1. For, as Dr Lingard observes in the place referred to by Hallam, "the act distinguished two kinds of sports: unlawful sports, such as bear-baiting, bull-baiting, interludes, and common plays, all which were forbidden, without exception; and lawful sports and pastimes, which were allowed to all persons within their own parishes, but forbidden to them in other parishes, because the meetings of the inhabitants of different parishes frequently occasioned quarrels and bloodshed." (Lingard's *Hist. of England*, ix. 422, 3d ed.) Neal finds it "hard to account for the distinction between lawful and unlawful sports on the Lord's day: if any sports are lawful, why not all?" (*Hist. of the Puritans*, ii. 106; ed. 1822.) The answer plainly is, that sports forbidden by the law of England were unlawful, and those not so forbidden were lawful. Even by the law of God, which Neal is evidently thinking of, it is conceivable that innocent and refreshing sports are allowed on Sunday, while immoral and injurious are prohibited. This distinction is recognised by many theologians—as Prideaux, White, Horsley (above, pp. 165, 171, 428), and others referred to in the page last mentioned. Nay, it was admitted by the Somerset justices at whose instigation the wakes were suppressed by Judge Richardson: for in a petition to the king they declared themselves to be "all most ready to maintain [on the Sundays in question] civil feasting between neighbour and neighbour in their houses, and the orderly and seasonable use of manly exercises and activities." There can be no doubt that disorders had occurred in some places at the wakes, and that the prevention of those disorders was the main design which both the justices and Richardson had in view. But in several respects his proceedings were fitted, if not intended, to offend the king. In the first place, instead of preventing the outrages and disorders complained of (which his Majesty thought it the duty and in the power of the justices to do), the feasts themselves, notwithstanding their lawful character, had been arbitrarily suppressed. Secondly, Richardson had caused his order to be published in some or most of the churches in his circuit by the ministers, without the consent or privity of the bishop of the diocese; thereby, as Laud complained, "encroaching upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in imposing upon men in holy orders the publishing of warrants and

commands from the secular judges." Thirdly, he had *renewed* his order after being informed by Laud of the king's desire that he should revoke it, and,—when subsequently commanded by his Majesty in person so to do, complied in a manner that seemed purposely disrespectful. And further, in the words of Laud to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, "his Majesty hath been lately informed by men of good place in that county that the Humourists increase much in those parts, and unites themselves by banding against the feasts; which course, as his Majesty no way likes, so he hath been informed also for this last year, since warning was given, there have not been any noted disorders at any of those feasts kept in those parts." (Rushworth, ii. 191, 192; Prynne's *Canterbury's Doom*, pp. 128, 131–151, 505; Heylin's *Life of Laud*, pp. 255–7.) Is it surprising that, irritated by these various provocations, the king, with such a counsellor as Laud at his elbow, should have issued in haste and anger a *Declaration* so unseasonable, impolitic, and, in the circumstances, so pernicious; or that the mode of Richardson's encroachment on the ecclesiastical jurisdiction should have induced the Archbishop to order its publication by all ministers in their churches, and to punish severely those who failed to comply?

Whether the gentlemen of the county generally approved of Richardson's order it is difficult to determine. Hallam says they did, and accuses Heylin of falsely affirming that they were all against it; but in Rushworth, whom he refers to for proof of the charge, I find nothing beyond the fact that those justices by whom Richardson had been importuned to suppress the feasts, and whose signatures to the petition above mentioned are all given by Prynne, were on Richardson's side. This is not conclusive, as their number was but twenty-five. They are spoken of by Fuller as "the gentry of that county" (*Church Hist.* ii. 147, fol. ed.), and their party may have been numerous enough to authorise the expression. Still, for aught that appears, many other gentlemen of position and influence in the county may have differed from them, and have regarded the suppression of the wakes as a needless and illegal mode of suppressing occasional disorders. That *some* of them were of this opinion is the utmost that Heylin affirms. What he says is, that Richardson's order was complained of "by Sir Robert Philips and other chief gentlemen of that county;" and though shortly afterwards in the same page he refers to this as "the complaint and information of the gentry," the word "gentry" cannot in fairness be understood otherwise than of *those* "chief gentlemen of the county" whom he had just been mentioning, nor will any attentive reader understand it of the gentry at large. It must further be observed that Laud, in defending himself at his trial, stated that "there were great complaints made by men of quality" for Judge Richardson's order (Prynne, p. 505); and was able to adduce the fact that seventy-two of the clergy who at his desire had been questioned by the bishop of the diocese, had reported that not

only the people, but also the ministers in most places, very much desired the continuance of the feasts. This testimony, however, as well as the character of those who gave it, is of course very differently estimated by the writers of the opposite factions. According to Laud and Heylin, these reporters were "divers of the gravest clergy in the county," "the better sort of clergy," "seventy-two of the most orthodox and ablest clergymen amongst them;" while by Prynne they are stigmatised as "the deboysest and worst in the country," and to this day they continue to be execrated by the successors of the Puritans.

Although that party complained so loudly of the enforcement of the order to read the *Declaration* in churches, they themselves no sooner came into power, than the Parliament passed an ordinance against Sunday recreations and other forms of profanation of the Lord's day, and appointed this to be read in all parish churches, whether the ministers wholly approved of it or not. The ordinance is dated 6th April 1644, and is entitled "Restraint of several Evils on the Lord's day." The chief portions of it are the following:—

"Forasmuch as the Lord's day, notwithstanding several good laws heretofore made, hath been not only greatly profaned, but divers ungodly books have been published by the prelatical faction against the morality of that day, and to countenance the profanation of the same, to the manifest endangering of souls, prejudice of the true religion, great dishonour of Almighty God, and provocation of his just wrath and indignation against this land; the Lords and Commons, for remedy thereof, do order and ordain, and be it ordered and ordained, that all the laws enacted and in force concerning the observation of the Lord's day be carefully put in execution, and that all and sundry person or persons whatsoever shall, on every Lord's day, apply themselves to the sanctification of the same, by exercising themselves thereon in the duties of piety and true religion publicly and privately, and that no person or persons whatsoever shall publicly cry, show forth, or expose to sale, any wares, merchandises, &c., upon the Lord's day, or any part thereof, upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit the same goods so cried, showed forth, or put to sale; and that no person or persons whatsoever shall, without reasonable cause for the same, travel, carry burthens, or do any worldly labours or work whatsoever upon that day, or any part thereof, upon pain that every one travelling contrary to the meaning of this ordinance shall forfeit for every offence ten shillings of lawful money; and that every person carrying any burthen, or doing any worldly labour or work contrary to the meaning hereof, shall forfeit five shillings of like money for every such offence.

"And be it further ordained, that no person or persons shall hereafter, upon the Lord's day, use, exercise, keep, maintain, or be present at, any wrestling, shooting, bowling, ringing of bells for pleasure or pastime, masque, wake, otherwise called feasts,

church-ale, dancing, games, sport, or pastime whatsoever, upon pain that every person so offending, being above the age of fourteen years, shall lose and forfeit five shillings for every such offence.

"And be it further ordained, that all and singular person or persons that have the care, government, tuition, or education of any child or children under or within the age of fourteen years, shall forfeit and lose twelve pence for every of the said offences that shall be committed by any such child or children.

"And because the profanation of the Lord's day hath been heretofore greatly occasioned by Maypoles (a heathenish vanity, generally abused to superstition and wickedness), the Lords and Commons do further order and ordain, that all and singular Maypoles that are or shall be erected shall be taken down and removed by the constables, &c., of the parishes and places where the same be; and that no Maypole shall hereafter be set up, erected, or suffered to be within this kingdom of England or dominion of Wales.

"And it is further ordained by the said Lords and Commons, that the King's declaration concerning observing of wakes, and use of exercise and recreation upon the Lord's day, the book intituled 'The King's Majesty's Declaration to his subjects concerning Lawful Sports to be used,' and all other books and pamphlets that have been or shall be written, printed, or published, against the morality of the Fourth Commandment or of the Lord's day, or to countenance the profanation thereof, be called in, seized, suppressed, and publicly burned by the justices of peace, or some or one of them, or by the chief officer or officers aforesaid in their several limits, or by their warrant or command.

"Provided, and be it declared, that nothing in this ordinance shall extend to the prohibiting of dressing of meat in private families, or the dressing and sale of victuals in a moderate way in inns or victualling-houses, for the use of such as cannot otherwise be provided for; or to the crying or selling milk before nine of the clock in the morning, or after four of the clock in the afternoon, from the 10th of September till the 10th of March, or before eight of the clock in the morning, or after five of the clock in the afternoon, from the 10th of March till the 10th of September.

"And be it further ordained, that this ordinance be printed and published, and read in all parish churches and chapels before the sermon in the morning, on some Lord's day before the 1st of May next, on the south side of Trent, and before the 1st of June next, on the north side of Trent." (Scobell's *Collection of Acts and Ordinances of the Long Parliament*, pp. 68, 69.)

Page 164.—Bishop Prideaux.

"The name of Prideaux," says Heylin, in speaking of his translation, "was so sacred that the book was greedily bought up

by those of the Puritan faction, presuming they should find in it some invincible arguments to confirm both the party and the cause. But when they found how much they had deceived themselves in that expectation, and that nothing could be writ more smartly against them and their Lord's-day-Sabbath; as it did very much cool their courage and abate their clamours, so did it no less tend to the diminution of that high esteem and veneration which before they had harboured of the man." (*Life of Laud*, p. 261.) Extracts from the book will be found in Hessey, pp. 310, 359. Prideaux belonged to Dr Hessey's sixth class of thinkers about the Sabbath, specified below, ii. 388.

In the same class was Dr JOHN COSIN, Bishop of Durham (born 1594, died 1672), whose works have recently been collected and republished in *The Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*; Oxford, 1843–1855. See his *Sermons on the Fourth Commandment*, in vol. i. pp. 153–189; *Letter to Dr Collins*, vol. iv. p. 451; and *Determination of the Immutable Obligation of the Lord's Day*, 1640, vol. v. p. 529. An extract from the last of these, which is of the nature of a reply to Heylin, is given by Hessey, p. 432. In the Letter to Dr Collins (dated 24th January 1635), he concludes that "the Divine law and the apostles having settled and established this (the Lord's) Day in all churches, we have no more power to alter it than the Jews had to alter their Sabbath. So now I trust, my conclusion may stand, being confirmed by so many reasons and such a cloud of witnesses: *Dies Dominicus non est mutabilis*. Neither will all this make any thing for the Puritan; for all this that I have said and hold makes not the Lord's day a Jewish Sabbath. This I say against them: 1. The observance of the *Sunday* in every week is not commanded us by the Fourth Commandment, as they say it is. 2. Nor is our Sunday to be observed according to the rule of the Fourth Commandment, as they say it is. 3. Nor hath it the qualities and conditions of the *Sabbath* annexed to it, as they say it hath. We believe, and my Lord of Ely [Bishop White] in his late books saith as much, that the holy apostles ordained the *Sunday* to be a *weekly* holy-day: for else it could not possibly have been so suddenly, so universally, dispersed and observed as it was [but see below, ii. 385], nor continued without interruption so long. But then we believe withal that they abrogated the Sabbath, and the ceremonies thereunto belonging, and proper to the Jews *as Jews*." (Vol. iv. p. 460.) In the next page he says: "You seem to rank *Dies Dominicus* among other ceremonies; and so let it be: but let it be a ceremony instituted by Christ and his apostles withal, and then there is not any power in the Church to take it away."

In one of his sermons on the Fourth Commandment, Cosin thus defends such modifications of the words of that precept as adapt it to the *meaning* of those who utter it—a subject touched on above, p. 424: "He that translated these words, *Memento diem Sabbathi sanctifices*, 'Remember thou keep holy the feast days,' that is, every Sabbath or every feast day when it comes, was not so far out of

the way, nor so wide from the true moral meaning of this commandment (take it in the very letter), as some men, *prima facie*, took him to have been.* . . . 'Remember that you keep the festivals appointed,' is a good paraphrase upon this text, neither can I give you a better; for the Jews' Sabbaths are all gone, gone like shadows; and in sign that they are gone indeed, the very name of a Sabbath in regard of our festivals is gone away with them too; for ye shall not read in all the ancient writers for 1500 years together that ever any Christians would use that name (though in a few late writers, I know not why, it be again taken up); but in place of their Sabbaths, the apostles and their successors have instituted Christian festivals, of which the Lord's day is the chief, succeeding in the room of that which was also more eminently styled the Jewish Sabbath." (Vol. i. pp. 157, 159.)

He quotes (i. 147) from St Augustine the longest list that I have met with, of reasons assigned by the Fathers for regarding the first day of the week as more honourable, and therefore more worthy of being observed as a holy-day, than the seventh. To the reasons enumerated by his predecessors (see above, p. 353), and mostly adopted by him, Augustine makes the following *very* questionable additions: 1. That on the first day of the week Israel was delivered from the bondage of Pharaoh. 2. In it was Christ born, was circumcised, was worshipped by the Gentiles, was baptized in Jordan. 3. In it he did his first miracle, and manifested his glory. 4. In it he went in triumph towards his passion. 5. In it he sent his holy spirit upon his disciples. "Upon which day also," adds Augustine, or whoever wrote the passage ascribed to him, "we look for his appearance again when he shall come to judgment." (Aug. *Opp.* tom. x. fol. 238 b., edit. 1531.) Is it not remarkable that even in this longest and most fanciful of the catalogues, we find not a vestige of the reasons *now* so generally alleged—namely, that Christ or his apostles appointed the first day of the week to be observed as the Sabbath, or as a weekly holy-day in its stead, and that the apostles set the example of so observing it? From this silence can we conclude otherwise than that these fashionable reasons were unthought of by the primitive Church?

Another writer belonging to the same class was HERBERT THORNDIKE, Prebendary of Westminster (born about 1598, died 1672), whose *Theological Works* have also been collected in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology* (5 vols. 8vo; Oxford, 1844, &c.) He says: "The determining of times and places and persons, by which and at which, of the circumstances and ceremonies, of the form and order, according to which, the service of God is to be celebrated, is the office, and therefore is within the power, of the Church. The substance of Christianity, wherein salvation con-

* The allusion is probably to St Bernard, who, as quoted by Heylin, Part II. ch. 5, § 11, says in his third sermon, *Super salve Regina*—"There is a spiritual service due to God, in the observation of the holy solemnities; from whence the third [our fourth] commandment was given, 'Observe the Sabbath day,' *i.e.* exercise thyself in the holy festivals."

sisteth, was determined by our Lord in person to his apostles. That which he trusted them with, was the regulating of his Church, supposing the same Christianity; that God might be served by the assemblies of such as might appear to profess it. That which he trusted the apostles with, the Church remains of necessity trusted with by the apostles; saving the personal gift of the Holy Ghost in the apostles, rendering their acts blameless in that estate for which they were made, though not sufficient for all estates of the Church. . . . This discovereth the superstition of that imposture which is pretended, by deriving the obligation of the Lord's day from the Jewish Sabbath. For what reason can endure, that the Church should be bound to keep the first day of the week by that precept which tied the Synagogue to keep the last day of the week? Seeing then the obligation of it is to be derived from the act of the apostles (that is, from the power of the Church; for being once received by the whole Church it is for ever received to the same effect, if the premisses be true); it is the same obligation, that ties all to observe the times appointed for the service of God by the Church, whether fasting days or festivals." (Vol. v. pp. 193–4.)

Again: "All the time of the gospel is that 'Sabbath' which the Jewish Sabbath signified; and the fulfilment of the Fourth Commandment is the rest of a Christian from all his own works all the days of his life. Not that I doubt, that under the law the day was to be set apart for the offices of God's service; but because there are other precepts of the law, Num. xxviii., Levit. xxiii., by which that is provided for. By virtue of which precepts, according to the correspondence between the law and gospel, not only the first day of the week is set aside by the apostles for the service of God instead of the seventh day, which the Jews observe; but also other days of assemblies, being appointed by the Church, are to be observed by God's people for the same reason as the seventh. For even the seventh day itself was observed, and was to be observed, by Christians for the same reason, so long as the custom of the Church required them to observe it for that purpose. Besides, the letter of the law having forbidden any work upon the seventh day, common reason would serve without any precept of the law to infer, that they ought to meet for the service of God; which his people had always professed, when they had nothing else to do. Otherwise it is true, which Origen so often chargeth, that they could not assemble without some breach upon the strict sense of that command, 'not to stir out of their place' on that day.* And this sitting still is as properly 'sanctifying' the day, as 'the blood of bulls and goats, and the ashes of a heifer sprink-

* The permanent applicability to the Jews of this injunction is disputed on reasonable grounds by many—as Richard Bernard (above, p. 205), and Dr Fairbairn, who in his *Typology* holds that "the injunction of Moses on one occasion to the Jews, not to go out of their place or tents on the Sabbath-day, manifestly had respect to the gathering of

ling the polluted, sanctifieth to the purity of the flesh,' according to the Epistle to the Hebrews ix. 13. So the keeping of this commandment, under the gospel, is the 'serving of God all the days of a man's life;' as our Catechism expoundeth it." (Vol. v. p. 260.)

Once more: "To think that the holiness of the Saturday under the law falls upon the Lord's Day under the gospel is quite contrary to the reason of the Fourth Commandment; unless it be possible, that the day on which God rested from his works should be the day on which he began his works. The rest of Christ's body in the grave all Saturday, sanctified all days to the rest from sin of all Christians. From thenceforth it is for Jews to imagine that God is served by doing nothing. The times of his service are consecrated to the offices of his service. And the more time his people consecrate to his service, the necessities of the world being provided for, the more are they Christians." (Vol. v. p. 579.)

He maintains with Heylin that those who accept the Fourth Commandment as a Christian law, are logically bound to keep the Saturday Sabbath. (Vol. ii. p. 416.) The passage is quoted by Hessey, p. 347 of his 2d edition; and, in pp. 439, 442, the same writer gives extracts on other points from vol. iv. p. 499, and vol. v. p. 245.

Page 173.—Dr Peter Heylin.

Dr Hessey gives in his *Bampton Lectures*, p. 10, a summary of Heylin's views, and criticises them at pp. 186 and 288. He thinks that much of the learning displayed by Heylin was borrowed from Bishop Prideaux; but this seems questionable, as the Bishop's oration goes over but a small part of Heylin's ground. In a note at p. 407, Dr Hessey corrects the phrase *Dies Sabbati*, inaccurately applied to the Lord's day in a Latin version of an Anglo-Saxon law of Edgar the Peaceable (A.D. 958), quoted by Heylin in Part II., ch. vii., § 3, and by Selden in his *Analecton Anglo-Britannicon*, p. 99. With the aid of the Rev. John Earle, late Anglo-Saxon Professor at Oxford, he shows that the word in the original law is "Sunnan-dæges," correctly rendered "dies Solis" in Wilkins' *Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ*. Mr Earle quotes a Latin version of it which is at least as old as the thirteenth century, where "dies Dominica" is the expression used. "So 'Dies sabbati,'" says he, "must be Selden's own rendering, or that of some editor whom he

manna, and was simply a prohibition against their going out, as on other days, to obtain food." (Vol. ii. p. 136.) Yet on the strength of this passage in Exodus do Scottish Sabbatarians maintain that not the Jews only, but the Christian Gentiles, are prohibited by the law of God to walk on Sunday, except to church, or in order that necessary or charitable work may be done. See *What is Sabbath-breaking?* p. 56; Edin. 1863,

has followed with a carelessness very unusual in him, for 'sunnandæges.'" Heylin rightly supposes that the original is mistranslated; though he fails in an attempt to give the meaning of an Anglo-Saxon phrase which Mr Earle translates correctly, and with the same result that Heylin tries to establish. The bearing of this matter is of course upon the question so much discussed in Heylin's day—whether before the time of the Puritans the Sunday was called the Sabbath. What Heylin seems to maintain is, that although in certain regal and imperial edicts, and canons of councils, some show or colour might be borrowed from the Fourth Commandment, to incline the people to abstain from labour on Sunday so that the churches might be the more frequented, the Lord's-day institution was never sabbatically styled or regarded, except as *analogically* the Sabbath, or generically *a* sabbath or holiday; nor was the day itself at any time called "dies sabbati," "the Sabbath day." (Part II. ch. iv. § 8, and ch. v. §§ 5, 13.) According to him, the Lord's day and other festivals "stood on the authority of the Church for *the particular institution;* on the authority of God's law for *the general warrant.* It was commanded by the Lord, and written in the heart of man by the pen of Nature, that certain times should be appointed for God's public worship: the choicing of the times was left to the Church's power, and she designed the saints' days as she did the Lord's; both his, and both allotted to his service only." (Ch. v § 11.) This, he adds, "made St Bernard ground them all on the Fourth Commandment," in the passage already quoted above, p. 456.

"The first," says he, "who ever used the word *Sabbath* to denote the Lord's day (the first that I have met with in all this search), is one Petrus Alfonsus (he lived about the beginning of the twelfth century); who calls the Lord's day by the name of the Christian Sabbath; 'Dies Dominica, dies viz. resurrectionis quæ suæ salvationis causa extitit, Christianorum Sabbatum est.' But this no otherwise to be construed than by analogy and resemblance; no otherwise than the feast of Easter is called the Christian passover, and Whitsuntide the Christian Pentecost." (*Id.* § 13.) According to Scaliger (*Emend. Temp.* lib. vii.), the Ethiopian Christians, who observe both Saturday and Sunday, call both by the name of Sabbaths—the one the first, the other the latter Sabbath; or, in their own language, the one *Sanbath Judi*, that is, the Jews' Sabbath; the other, *Sanbath Sacristos*, or Christ's Sabbath. But "having looked over all the residue of the Christian world," continues Heylin, "and found no Sabbath in the same except only nominal, it is now time we turned our course and set sail for England, where we shall find as little of it as in other places, until that forty years ago, no more, some men began to introduce a Sabbath thereunto, in hope thereby to countenance and advance their other projects." (Part II. ch. vi. § 11.) It thus appears that he admitted that the word *Sabbath* had been applied as a *common* name, and even (but then figuratively) as a *proper* name, to the Lord's day, before the time of the Puritans. All

that the most learned men of that party contended for was, that Sunday is *a* Sabbath. (See above, pp. 193–7; and compare Sanderson, above, p. 184, and Sharp, below, ii. 146.)* Apart from the *name* "Sabbath," however, there seems to have been a considerable infusion of the *substance* of Sabbatarianism in the Church from the sixth to the fifteenth centuries; it being pretty evident that abstinence from labour on Sundays, and other holy-days, was often represented as sinful in itself, and not merely as an impediment to the performance of the duties of public and private worship. To the beginnings and progress of this Judaical spirit we have already had occasion to advert. (See above, pp. 358, 361, 365; and below, ii. 383, 389–90: also Heylin, Part II. ch. v. § 8, and Hessey, pp. 112–128.)

In Anthony Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iii. p. 557, ed. 1817, the character of Heylin is described as follows:—"He was a person endowed with singular gifts, of a sharp and pregnant wit, solid and clear judgment. In his younger years he was accounted an excellent poet, but very conceited and pragmatical; in his elder a better historian, a noted preacher, and a ready or extemporanean speaker. He had a tenacious memory to a miracle, whereunto he added an incredible patience in study, in which he persisted when his eyesight failed him. He was a bold and undaunted man among his friends and foes (though of very mean port and presence), and therefore by some of them he was accounted too high and proud for the function he professed. . . . In some things he was too much a party to be an historian, and equally an enemy to Popery and Puritanism." So far as his *History of the Sabbath* is concerned, I am still of opinion that his inaccuracy and unfairness have been exaggerated by the Puritan writers, who certainly reciprocated most cordially the dislike with which they were regarded by him. Considering the extreme violence of party feeling at the time when he wrote—the wide field of research assigned to him—and the haste with which his book was required to be produced, its general fairness and accuracy are to me more surprising than its errors; and of these, few if any seem to me to be due to wilful misrepresentation. I must therefore dissent from the judgment of a reviewer of Dr Hessey's book, that Heylin's is "one of the most scandalously unfair historical works in the English language" (*North British Review*,

* In the *Petition and Articles against Dr Pocklington* (Lond. 1641), which led to his deprivation, as noticed above, p. 187, his averment that "Sunday is no Sabbath" was met by the assertion that "the Lord's day is called *a* Sabbath by sundry fathers, councils, and ancient writers, both Protestant and Popish, by the Homilies of our Church, acts of Parliament, proclamations of the king, and by the very Canons themselves. *Sabbatum* signifies *a* day of sacred rest consecrated to God; whence all such days are in Scripture called Sabbaths as well as the seventh day. Therefore the Lord's day may be so termed [*i.e.* termed *a* Sabbath] without any danger of Judaism, as well as Easter is still called Pascha, and Whit-sunday Pentecost, though Jewish words and institutions." (Pp. 20, 21.) The italics here are mine.

Feb. 1861, p. 229); nor can I agree with him in regarding as a proof of this, the circumstance that Heylin represents Beza as teaching with Calvin that the Lord's day is another institution than the Sabbath. According to the reviewer, "Beza was in reality what Dr Hessey would call a strict Sabbatarian;" in proof of which statement he quotes a passage that is utterly insufficient for the purpose. Any one who will read attentively Beza's comment on Rev. i. 10 (which is partly quoted above, p. 134, and may be seen more fully in Fairbairn's *Typology*, ii. 482, or in *The Whole Doctrine of Calvin, &c.*, Appendix, p. 88), and his eighth sermon on the Song of Solomon (quoted by Mr James, p. 216), may judge whether this is the case. In calling Beza a strict Sabbatarian, the reviewer perhaps assumes, with Dr Fairbairn (below, ii. 2), that the rest of the Sabbath was not a part of the Jewish worship; and may also overlook the limited sense in which the Reformers accept the Fourth Commandment as a moral law, and the fact that the use which they make of that precept and the narrative of the creation is chiefly as *lessons* (see above, pp. 384–389). The Sabbatarian is he who believes that the command, "Thou shalt not do any work," is a law to Christians (see below, ii. 2, and above, pp. 415, 419); and certainly nothing can be clearer than the terms in which that opinion is repudiated by Beza, in common with Calvin and the other Reformers. Hence the frequent lamentations of the Puritans over the supposed partial blindness of the Reformers to the truth: for instances of which, see the remarks of Shepard and Coleman above, pp. 249, 151, and the apologetic strain in which even Baxter (as quoted by Hessey, p. 222) refers to the imperfect views of "Calvin, Beza, and most of the great divines of the foreign churches," who, carried away, as he thinks, by their hostility to Popish corruptions, "did not all of them, so clearly as they ought, discern the difference between the Lord's day and those (human) holy-days, or church festivals, and so did too promiscuously conjoin them in their reproofs of the burdens imposed on the Church." (*Works*, xiii. 451.)

Those who study Heylin's *History of the Sabbath* should use the second edition, and not the copy included in the posthumous collection of his *Tracts*; which, as I have stated (above, p. 346, note), is a reprint of the first edition, and wants the corrections and additions of the second. Among the many Puritan writers who criticised the book, are Ley and Usher (above, p. 193, 259), L'Estrange (p. 200), Prynne (p. 227), Cawdrey and Palmer (p. 240), and Wilkinson (p. 265). See also the replies of Hill (ii. 172), and James (ii. 335; also above, pp. 337, 345). With reference to Mr Tyrrel's charge against Heylin of quoting unfairly in his *Respondet Petrus* the Homily of the Place and Time of Prayer (above, p. 263), it is to be observed that as this Homily, like the Thirty-nine Articles, contradicts itself in attempting to conciliate two differing parties, there is nothing unnatural or unusual in each of the factions quoting what is sufficient to prove its own case—instead

of impartially balancing opposite clauses, and trying to deduce from them some middle doctrine more or less in harmony with both extremes. When so fair a disputant as Ley expressed to Archbishop Usher the opinion that a certain view, "rather than the contrary," is to be held the doctrine of the Church of England, "and may well be gathered out of her public Liturgy and the Homily," he was told in reply that this was but a "waterish" style of interpreting the formularies, and that he "should have said that this is to be held *undoubtedly* the doctrine of the Church of England." (See above, p. 199.) In justice to Heylin be it added, that in his *History of the Sabbath*, Part II. ch. viii., § 5, he quotes the Homily at sufficient length, and with perfect fairness to the Puritans: if any have ground for dissatisfaction, it is the Seventh-day Baptists—who may complain of the omission of the statement that "upon the Sabbath-day, as is plain in the Acts of the Apostles, the people accustomably resorted together, and heard diligently the law and the prophets read among them." As the unknown writers of the Homily seem to have worded it with deliberation, it should be read critically, and with reference both to the doctrine of the Reformers and to the time when it was written (A.D. 1562). The careful student will remark that the word *Sabbath* is sometimes used in it generically for *any* day of rest (so indeed it is expressly *defined*), and at other times for *the* weekly day of rest appointed to be kept by the Jews. Mr Gi'llan (p. 49) presents as the *substance* of the doctrine of the Homily, its principal portions *re-arranged*, and somewhat altered in expression; thus making his statement far less fit than Heylin's extracts to enable his readers to judge for themselves. My own opinion is, that the leading writer of the Homily was one who agreed with the Reformers about the Sabbath and the Lord's day, but took pains so to express his views as to make them as acceptable as possible to the Puritans. Some phrases which, by going too far in that direction, become inconsistent with the drift of the Homily, were perhaps added by a Puritan pen. In short, I agree with Mr Baden Powell as quoted above, p. 412.

One of Heylin's arguments against the "morality" of the obligation on the Jews to observe the seventh day in succession from the creation-week is, that owing to the revolution of the earth on its axis, and the different times at which the sun consequently rises and sets at different meridians, it is impossible to keep the Sabbath during the same twenty-four hours in every part of the world. (Part I. ch. iii. §§ 2, 3.) As the ancients conceived the earth to be a plain, no such difficulty arose till the 16th century; but the discoveries of modern astronomers and travellers, so long as they were freshly in mind, occasioned no small discussion among writers on the Sabbath. To the perplexity thus arising we owe the publication of Chafie's treatise in 1652, followed by the similar productions of Homes and Smith.* Chafie's

* See the reprint of Chafie's book mentioned below, ii. 86. The first edition is entitled *The Seventh Day Sabbath; or, A Brief Tract on the*

notions are, that by the seventh day in the Fourth Commandment is not meant the day following God's six days of work, but the day following men's six days of labour; that Sunday was of old the seventh day of the week with the Gentiles, and most probably also with the patriarchs before the Flood; that to prevent the Jews from worshipping the sun, as the heathen are supposed to have done upon the day which bore its name, the Jewish week was appointed to end on Saturday in place of Sunday, with the effect of transferring the Sabbath from the latter day to the former; and that the original Sabbath-day having been restored at the resurrection of Christ, it is now, and will continue to the end of the world to be, the Sabbath of Christians.

In noticing what Dr Kennicott similarly urges on the ground of diversity of longitude (ii. 243), I have submitted that the Fourth Commandment was fulfilled by observing the seventh day of the week from its beginning to its end as occurring at the residences of those who kept it.

Page 183.—David Primerose.

I have found this book in the Glasgow College Library; and a copy has lately been added to that of the University of Edinburgh. Its full title is—"A Treatise of the Sabbath and the Lord's-day: Wherein is declared both the Nature, Original, and Observation, as well of the one under the Old, as of the other under the New Testament. Written in French by David Primerose, B.D. in the University of Oxford, and Minister of the Gospel in the Protestant Church of Roüen. Englished out of his French manuscript by his father G. P., D.D. London, 1636." 8vo, pp. 338.

The state of the question is thus set down in the Preface:—

"1. All men are bound to serve God every day privately, in some measure, according to his word. 2. They are also bound to serve him publicly, and to have a day stinted for his public service. 3. There is among godly and learned Christians a great controversy about the original, nature, and observation of that day. 4. Some hold the sanctification and observation of one of the seven days of the week to be moral, and therefore of perpetual necessity, since the beginning unto the end of the world. 5. Others maintain that the stinting of a day for God's public service is a point of order and of ecclesiastical government, depend-

Fourth Commandment, &c. Both are in the Bodleian Library, and the second is in the Library of Edinburgh University. The works of Homes and Smith are noticed below, vol. ii., pp. 39, 100. About thirty years ago Chafie's theory was revived by the late Dr Samuel Lee, Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, whose pamphlet is mentioned in p. 339 of the same volume, and quoted by Hessey, p. 350. A somewhat earlier advocate of the same opinion was Dr Samuel Saebury, Bishop of Connecticut, in a sermon on the History of the Sabbath, *Discourses on Several Subjects*, i. 168, 172; New York, 1793.

ing wholly on institution. 6. This treatise made for the defence of this last opinion is divided into four parts.

"In Part I. it is proved that the ordinance and observation of a seventh day of Sabbath is not moral, hath not its beginning since the beginning of the world, and obligeth not under the New Testament. In Part II. the reasons brought to justify the morality and perpetuity of a seventh day of Sabbath are confuted. Part III. is of the original and institution of the first day of the week for the day of God's public service in the Christian Church. Part IV. concerns the observation of the Sabbath day under the Ancient Testament, and of Sunday under the New Testament. To which is added A Confirmation of the Things contained in the preceding Treatise, by human authorities."

The book is ably written. It is controverted by Cawdrey and Palmer in many parts of their *Sabbatum Redivivum*, of which see in particular vol. i. pp. 21, 29, 37, 51, 52, 68–70, 75, 90, 92, 105, 153, 157, 165–173, 239, 241, 243, 532, and vol. ii. pp. 2, 61, 67.

Page 184.—Bishop Sanderson.

His *Sovereign Antidote* is briefly noticed by Hessey, p. 12. Mr Gilfillan says that "from a comparison of this tract with previous and subsequent works of Dr Sanderson, it should seem that his views of the subject fluctuated." (P. 142.) As Mr Gilfillan sometimes builds decided opinions on evidence that to me seems inadequate, I wish that he had quoted or referred to the passages from which his impression of the instability of so exact a thinker as Bishop Sanderson was derived.* I have searched in

* Two of the instances in which I have been unable to find evidence of Sabbatarianism where Mr Gilfillan sees it are those of Tertullian and Knox (above, pp. 337, 389). My own interpretation of Tertullian is confirmed by Bishop Kaye in the following passage: "From incidental notices scattered over Tertullian's works we collect, that Sunday, or the Lord's Day, was regarded by the primitive Christians as a day of rejoicing; and that to fast upon it was deemed unlawful. *The word 'Sabbaum' is always used to designate, not the first, but the seventh day of the week;* which appears in Tertullian's time to have been also kept as a day of rejoicing. Even the Montanists—anxious as they were to introduce a more rigorous discipline in the observance of fasts—when they kept their two weeks of Xerophagiæ, did not fast on the Saturday and Sunday. The Saturday before Easter Day was, however, an exception; that *was* observed as a fast. The custom of observing every Saturday as a fast, which became general throughout the western Church, does not appear to have existed in Tertullian's time. That men who, like our author, on all occasions contended that the ritual and ceremonial law of Moses had ceased, should observe the seventh day of the week as a festival, is perhaps to be ascribed to a desire of conciliating the Jewish converts." (*The Eccles. Hist. of the Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian*, by John (Kaye), Bishop of Bristol, p. 408; Camb. 1826).

main the Bishop's works for anything like a warrant for the suspicion of variableness of opinion in regard to the Sabbath.

Page 187.—Henry Burton.

The tract entitled *The Lord's Day the Sabbath Day* (No. 92) was written by this noted Puritan (born 1579, died 1648), who was rector of St Matthew's, Friday Street, London, and an earnest and active opponent of Popery and the Anglicanism of Laud. In that title he defines exactly the characteristic opinion of the Sabbatarians.

The book No. 94, *A Divine Tragedy Lately Acted* (above, p. 187), was also from Burton's pen; his name being on the title-page of a later edition, published in 1641.

A notice of him will be found in Gilfillan, p. 133.

Page 188.—Dr William Guild.

Dr Guild's little volume of sixty pages is curious as being the earliest book about the Lord's-day known to have been published in Scotland. The only copy I have discovered is in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh. The book is not to be found even in the library of that Aberdeen college of which he became the Principal. Its full title is "*A Short Treatise against the Profanation of the Lord's Day, especially by Salmon-fishing thereon, in time of Divine Service*, by William Guild, D.D., minister in Aberdeen, and chaplain to his Majesty." He belongs to the school of Prideaux. Disclaiming the Sabbatarian principle that rest is a religious rite for Christians, he argues "that the Lord's public worship is moral, obliging all men, and that a certain day hath been observed holy for the same in all ages. . . . Only thus far," says he, "we affirm (according to the general equity of God's commandment, Apostolical observation, practice of the Church in all ages, and the unanimous consent of all judicious divines,) that all servile labour, intended merely for gain, whereby God's people are hindered, and withdrawn from His public worship, and such religious exercises, which ought to be performed by them upon the Lord's day for the spiritual edification and salvation of their souls, is altogether unlawful and damnable." (Pp. 5, 6.) Public worship being an admitted duty, it follows that a certain day, or set time, should be ordinarily observed for the purpose; and therefore "the very law of nature requireth the sanctification of times no less than of persons and places." (P. 7.) As for the right proportion of time, doubtless the fittest is "that which the Lord made choice of for His own people—to wit, the seventh day. And nature, informed by God, cannot but acknowledge His goodness and wisdom in this His choice and appointment, that He hath so tempered it that neither the long space between should suffer us

to forget our duty to Him, nor the too quick return thereof shou hinder us from providing the necessities of nature for ourselves. Therefore saith learned Hooker, 'that we are bound to account the sanctification of one day in the seven a duty which God's immutable law doth exact for ever.' (*Eccles. Pol.* p. 370.) And this we see to have been practised before the Law, under the Law, and under the Gospel. . . . Neither can any but most clearly see a no less necessary duty, incumbent upon Christians, to observe a seventh day holy to the Lord than was on the Jews of old." (Pp. 9, 11.) In Chapter III. he shows "the many reasons why all true Christians have ever, and still should, honour the Lord's day;" and in Chapters IX. and X. sets forth "how the Lord's day is to be observed, and what works are permissible, or not permissible, thereon; and specially that the salmon-fishing thereon is no ways permissible or lawful:" also, "what are the many and great evils which the profaning of the Lord's day by salmon-fishing produceth." It robbeth the Lord of His due worship. The servants of the fishers are wofully defrauded of their souls' food and spiritual edification, as well as of the needful rest of their bodies; and through long desuetude of resort to God's service, become altogether neglectful of the Lord's Day at all other times of the year when salmon-fishing is not; besides that many others are led into the same neglect, going thither to be spectators of those fishings, "and who, in respect of their multitude, cannot be gotten curbed." Moreover, "what scandal and grievous offence is given to all good Christians here, and what grief of heart they give to us their pastors! . . . Howsoever, with open impiety they join not only impenitency, but impudency, in sinning. A great stumblingblock likewise they are to the weak, who by their example think it no transgression to violate and profane the Lord's Day many ways, in the country especially." The angels cannot but be contristated and zealously incensed by the sight of such profanation; but most and worst of all, "it doth kindle the fire of the Lord's indignation, procureth His judgment and his hand to be stretched out still." (Pp. 53–55.)

I have already referred (above, pp. 127, 389) to the statement of D'Israeli, which has been ignorantly repeated by other English writers, that Knox was the father of the Sabbatarian doctrine in England. The fact, on the contrary, is, that Scotland drew its strict Sabbatarianism from the Puritans of England. Knox's agreement with Calvin is plain from the first Scottish *Confession of Faith*, of which he was the principal author. (See extract appended to *The Whole Doctrine of Calvin, &c.*, p. 90; and above, p. 389.) The *Geneva Catechism*, in which Calvin lays down his views (see the same pamphlet, p. 76), was used in Scotland till superseded by that of the Westminster Assembly in 1648; and we learn from the authentic records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that it was not till the generation on which the Westminster Catechism was first inculcated grew up, and the persecution of the

Covenanters had at the same time imprinted on the majority of the Scottish people an austerity unknown before, that the now prevailing notions of the sinfulness of Sunday recreation, and the duty of spending the whole day, so far as practicable, in worship, took possession of the national mind. Public banquets were previously given without scruple on the Lord's day; a notable instance of which, occurring so late as 1633, is recorded by Spalding.* Earlier examples of Sunday festivities are mentioned by that learned and accurate antiquary, Dr Joseph Robertson, in his preface to the *Catalogues of the Jewels, &c., of Mary Queen of Scots*, printed for the Bannatyne Club in 1863, pp. 37 77–79. In the time of Knox himself, and so early as 1562, "the nuptials of Lord James Stewart, afterwards Earl of Murray, were celebrated at Edinburgh [on a Sunday] with a splendour such as had seldom been seen in Scotland. . . . The marriage was in St Giles' Church, and Knox preached the sermon. A long train of nobles witnessed the rites, and escorted the bridegroom and bride to Holyrood, where the Queen gave a grand banquet and masque. Then came dancing, and fire-works, and running at the ring, and the making of twelve knights, and so the first day, Sunday, closed. . . . We need not question," adds Dr Robertson, "what Knox says of the offence which these festivities gave to many of the more austere Reformers; but when he adds that the masques which continued to disquiet him during Mary's reign, had their beginning in Murray's marriage,† he does obvious injustice to one who happened at the time to have incurred his displeasure, by withstanding an act of intolerance which the majority of the Scottish Reformers condemned, and not even Calvin ventured to approve.‡ Many godly men, we are told, grieved at the excess of the Good Regent's nuptial banquet, and the vanity of the sports which followed; but that the banquet was made and the sports played upon a Sunday, does not appear to have given any offence. Sunday, indeed, in that age, was the day generally chosen for mirth and revel. It was on a Sunday that the Reformed Commendators of Holyrood and Coldingham, both of them Lords of the Congregation, rode at the ring in women's clothes.§ It was on a Sunday that the

* "Anno 1633. Sonday the 23d of Junii, . . . efter sermon, the Toun of Edinbrugh gave the King the Banket, quhilk in ane dyning roume thay had prepairit in sumptuouss and costlie maner, quhairby no sermon wes threw all the Toun churches. Efter dynner, he went be coache weill convoyit bak to the Abbay." (*Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland, &c.*, i. 39; Spalding Club, 1850.)

† "'The greatness of the banquet, and the vanity used thereat, offended many godly. There began the masking, which from year to year hath continued since.' (Knox's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 314.) Buchanan blames the excess of the banquet, but is silent as to the masques. (*Rerum Scot. Hist.*, lib. xvii. cap. 26.)"

‡ Dr Robertson has notes on this subject, but they need not be quoted here.

§ "'We fell in talk of the pastimes that were the Sunday before, where

Reformed municipality of Edinburgh gave its grand banquet to the Queen's French kinsfolks.* Knox travelled on a Sunday,† wrote letters on a Sunday,‡ and had the Duke of Chatelherault and the English ambassador to sup with him on a Sunday.§ The Gaelic translator of Knox's 'Forms of Prayers,' the Reformed Superintendent of Argyle and Bishop of the Isles, feasted the Queen and the ambassador of Savoy on a Sunday.‖ For more than twenty years after Knox was in his grave, Robin Hood plays were acted on Sundays, and the King of May held his gambols on Sundays, in Scotland;¶ as in England masques and interludes continued to be performed before the court on Sundays, throughout the reigns of Elizabeth and James."**

From the date of the Reformation downwards, the Records of the Town Council of Edinburgh afford many proofs of the difficulty with which the people were drilled into abstinence from work and recreation on the first day of the week. For many years the civic ordinances are directed against such occupations in time of public worship only; but ultimately, even walking in the public parks and on the Castle Hill at *any* hour on Sunday was strictly prohibited, though, it appears, with very incomplete

the Lord Robert, the Lord John, and others, ran at the ring, six against six, disguised and apparelled, the one half like women, the other half like strangers, in strange masking garments. . . This [Sunday] is another day of mirth and pastime [running at the ring] upon the sands of Leith, where the Queen will be herself.' (Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 7th Dec. 1561, in Bishop Keith's *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 119, 120, 123, 125.)

" 'Quod reliquum fuit ejus anni [1561], dimissis honorifice Gallis, qui Reginam officii gratia comitati fuerant, ludis et conviviis transactum.' (G. Buchanani *Rer. Scot. Hist.*, lib. xvii. cap. 11.)"

* " *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 66, 67. On the 26th of August 1561, the Town Council of Edinburgh ordered 'that thair be ane honorabile banquet maid to the Princes hir Graces cousingis [uncles] vnoun Sonday nixt.' Only two days afterwards the Council imprisoned Mr Alexander Skene, advocate, 'for taking and ressauing of the diabolicall idoll callit the preistis sacrament at Pasche last in the contempt of the religioun and the glorie of God now establischet.' (*Register of the Town Council of Edinburgh*, vol. iv. foll. 10, 14, MS. in the City Archives.)"

† " *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 94."

‡ " *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 115, 116."

§ " Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 30 Nov. 1562, in *Selections illustrating the Reign of Queen Mary*, p. 106. (Maitland Club: 1837.)"

‖ " Cecil's or Murray's Diary, in Mr Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 87, 88."

¶ " *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, Aug 1574, Oct. 1576, April 1578, July 1591, March 1596; part i. pp. 312, 375; part ii. pp. 407, 410, 784; part iii. p. 874 (Bannatyne Club: 1839-1845). *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, Nov. 1579, vol. iii. p. 138."

** " Mr J. P. Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, vol. i. pp. 208, 237, 242, 243, 248, 252, 253, 257, 377, 442. 'The day,' says Bishop Percy, 'originally set apart for theatrical exhibition appears to have been Sunday; probably because the first dramatic pieces were of a religious cast.' (*Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, vol i. pp. 236, 267, edit. 1823.)"

success.* On 30th October 1560 (iii. 55) it was ordained "that in all time coming the holy day called the Sabbath day or day of rest, commonly called the Sunday, be in all time coming kept holy by all manner of persons indwellers in this burgh or resorting within the same, so that none, of what estate thatever they be of, make market or merchandise, open booth-doors, or exert any kind of worldly operation thereon; but that upon the said day all persons be astricted to be present at the ordinary sermons as well after noon as before noon, and that from the last jow of the bell to the saids sermons to the final end: therefore there be neither meat nor drink sold in open taverns or hostelries, but that induring the said time they be closed; and sicklike that the flesh market used to be open upon the Sunday be now in all time coming upon the Saturday, and that the market of bestial at the House of the Muir which has been in times past on the Sunday, be in all time coming on the Thursday, that sufficient provision of flesh may be had against the said Saturday affixed and assigned to the said market of flesh."—On 4th August 1581 (vi. 149), the Council, "for suppressing of the great insolence and profanation of the Sabbath day, ordains proclamation to be made through this burgh discharging all kind of games and plays now commonly used the said day, such as bowling in yards, dancing, playing, running through the high street of hussies, bairns, and boys with all manner of dissolution of behaviour; with command to all masters of houses to give diligent attendance on their servants, bairns, and families, that they keep the preaching, be exerced in all godly conversation, and refrain from the wantonness before rehearsed, under the pain of eight days imprisonment of the persons doing contrary this proclamation, and payment of 20s., besides the punishment of the said masters of household be at the will of the magistrates: and for the better execution hereof wills the bailies to oversee the streets and houses their week about, and John Sym, bailie, to begin the next Sunday, and so forth as well Sunday as time of service."—On 17th April 1583 (vi. 232) it is ordained "that no neighbours of this burgh haunt or repair to any Sunday markets at Tranent, Musselburgh, Dalkeith, or others, under the pains contained in the Act of Parliament and payment of an unlaw (fine) of £10."—On 12th March 1584 (vii. 166), "Having sufficiently provided for ministers in the two kirks, and foreseeing the misbehaviour and indiscretion of certain men and women within this burgh, who cannot be content to hear the ministers appointed for their instruction, but either upon malice

* *Records of the Town Council* (MS.), iii. 55; iv. 73, 229, 262, 263; vi. 149, 232; vii. 166, 226; viii. 20, 79, 81, 88, 111, 154, 178; ix. 90, 112, 146, 162, 171, 195; xi. 37; xii. 18, 71, 134; xvii. 82, 260; xix. 242, 330; xx. 11; xxii. 90. The ordinances referred to, and others which might have been noted, extend from the year 1560 to 1664; but it is plain that even in the end of the seventeenth century, and the first quarter of the eighteenth, similar enactments were still found necessary, as in vol. xxxiii. foll. 52, 183; xxxiv. 225; xxxvi. 291; xlviii. 421.

or in contempt of said order absents themselves in their houses, going to their pastime, or else passes to other kirks about and adjacent this burgh, whereupon can nothing ensue but confusion and contempt, unless speedy remeid be provided in time to come; wherefore it is statute and ordained that all freemen and freemen's wives in times coming be found in their own parish kirk every Sunday, as also at the time of the communions, under the pain of payment of an unlaw for every person being found absent (fines specified), no excuse to be admitted hereupon except only to be tryet sick and deforced, or else six mile off the town."

11th Feb. 1585 (vii. 226): No workmen to work during any part of the Sabbath day. No marketing to be done from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. No keepers of taverns or eating houses to sell meats in time of preaching and prayers; "and none to be found in the catchpulles or at the alley bowls or exercising any plays or pastime the said time, sicklike on the week days Wednesday and Friday, from the great bell ring till the preaching and prayers be ended." —On 10th June 1586 (viii. 20), the Council "finds it expedient that a bailie ilk Sunday his week about visie the street, taverns, and others common places in time of sermon, and pones all offenders according to the Town's statutes."—On 24th March 1586 (viii. 79), "Proclamation to be made that none be absent from the preachings on the Sunday, or yet vaging on the High gate in the time thereof, and that all taverns, catchpulls, yards, and fields be discharged the said time."—On 12th April 1587 (viii. 81) it is ordained that no children, servants, apprentices or scholars shall be found vaging in the streets on the Sundays in time of sermon both before and after noon. No bickering (throwing stones) on the streets to be allowed.—12th May 1587 (viii. 88): All persons to resort to the preachings, and none to pass to the fêtes or plays the time of the sermons afore or after noon on the Sundays.— 29th May 1588 (viii. 154): Dickson the Town Trumpeter "to be warded and put in the irons for passing on the Sundays at his own hand to the May-plays in Kirkliston."

On 1st Nov. 1591 (ix. 112) the Council still find it needful to pass the following ordinance, which I shall give with the original spelling:—"Item, becaus the Sabboth day is prophanit and maliciouslie contemnit be halding mercattis thairon of sundry sortis of geir, as alswa be tavernaris, tapstarris, and browstaris, and sic as repairis vnto thame, havand mair respect to thair filthie lucre and bellies than to Goddis service and the weill of thair awin sawllis: Thairfoir it is statute and ordanit that thair be na kynd of merkett haldin or keepit on the hie gait on the Sabboth day at ony tyme of day, vnder the payne of escheiting of thair geir and imprisonment of thair personis at the will of the magistratis; as alswa that na tavernis or aill housses be fund oppin in tyme of preiching or prayeris the said day, and that nane be fund eiting and drinking within the samyn at ony tyme or hour the said day frae the sone rysing to his going down thairof, vnder the payne of wairding of baith the maisteris occupyaris of the saidis tavernis

and aill houses and thair servands that hes the cure thairof, as also of thame that beis fund within the samyn the said tyme, ay and quhill (until) thay be puneist in their bodyis or guides at the sicht of the counsall according to thair demeritis, besyde the censvris of the Kirk to be led aganis thame; and that na tavernis be vsit nor opponnit at ten houris at nicht efter the bell be rung, nor vtheris sauld, under the payne of fourtie schillingis and punischements of the taverneris at the will of the magistratis."

19th April 1592 (ix. 146): Proclamation to be made, that "seeing the Sabbath day being the Lord's day, it becomes every Christian to dedicate himself, his household and family, to the service and worship of God, for hearing the word, meditating thereupon, and reading the same, instructing their families and otherwise in the exercise of prayer," none frequent any pastimes or games upon the Sabbath day, such as golf, archery, "row bowls, penny stane, kaitchpullis,* or sic other pastimes;" nor do any kind of handy labour or work; "and also that their daughters and women servants be not found playing at the ball nor singing of profane songs upon the same day, under such pains as the magistrates shall lay to their charge."

3d Nov. 1592 (ix. 171): Whereas landward people are in the habit of travelling on the Sabbath day with wares to be sold at the Monday's market, it is enacted that such Sabbath-breakers shall not bring their wares into the burgh on the Sunday, nor yet present the same to the Monday market, under the pain of escheat and punishment of their persons.—30th Aug. 1611 (xii. 71): The Council, "understanding that the Sabbath day is profaned by the shearers convening on the Sabbath day to be hired, therefore ordains them to be caused to hold their convention outwith the west port in time coming."—22d Nov. 1648 (xvii. 82): Proclamation to be made prohibiting excessive banquets at the baptising of children on the Lord's day, the opening of the ports (city gates) on the Sabbath day, &c.

19th June 1650 (xvii. 260): "Forasmuch as the provost, bailies, and council of this burgh taking to their consideration the manifold acts of council and kirk sessions and proclamations for keeping of the Sabbath day and restraining of people from abusing thereof, nevertheless whereof there has been little obedience given thereto; therefore to the effect people may be restrained from vaging (strolling) abroad upon the Sabbath, the council ordains the ports to be closed ilk Saturday at night at ten o'clock, and stand closed till Monday at 4 o'clock morning, and that none be suffered to come in or out at any of the ports of this burgh from the Saturday at night till the Monday at morning, nor be found vaging in the streets or repairing to the Castlehill

* "*Pennystane*, a flat stone used as a quoit." "*Cache-pole* or *Catchpule*, the game of tennis." (Jamieson's *Scottish Dict.*)

Some think that the prohibition of these wholesome and innocent sports helped to drive the people of Scotland into those habits of drunkenness and incontinence, which are a disgrace to the nation.

of this burgh under the pain of imprisonment and farther punishment of their persons at the will of the magistrate; excepting always the Society, nether wynd port an hour in the morning and another at night for watering of horses."

14th Jan. 1659 (xx. 11): Whereas "many both young and old persons walk or sit and play in the Castlehill and upon the streets and other places the Sabbath day after sermons, so that it is manifest that family worship is neglected by such; . . . the Council appoints that there be several pairs of stocks provided to stand in several public places of the city, that whosoever is needlessly walking or sitting idly on the streets shall either pay eighteen pence sterling penalty, or be put in the stocks, except they have a sufficient excuse; and as for children playing on the streets, it is appointed that the children be laid hold on, and their parents taken notice of, who are to pay 6d. penalty toties quoties for every one of them, and if any be found in the Castlehill after supper, to pay 18d. penalty or to be put in the stocks."

1st May 1689 (xxxiii. 5): The public wells to be closed on Sunday from 8 o'clock A.M. till noon, and then to be open till 1, and afterwards from 5 P.M. None to bring any greater vessels to the wells for carrying of water than a pint stoup or a pint bottle upon the Lord's day. No milk to be sold on the Lord's day after 7 A.M. in summer and 8 in winter.—13th Nov. 1689 (xxxiii. 52): Coffee-houses not to be opened on the Lord's day.—9th August 1693 (xxxiv. 225): Prevailing vices lamented. Prohibition "to brew or work any other handy work on the Lord's day, or to be found on the streets standing or walking idle, or to go in company or vage to the Castlehill, public yards, or fields on that day at any time thereof," &c.

These ordinances were usually enacted at the instance of the clergy, as Principal Lee has remarked in his evidence before Sir Andrew Agnew's Committee of the House of Commons on Sabbath-observance.

Further illustrations may be seen in *Sabbath Laws, &c.*, pp. 149, 298, 306, 334, 440, and in Dr George Cook's *History of the Church of Scotland*, ii. 43. Others I shall quote from Dr John Gairdner's *Sketch of the Early History of the Medical Profession in Edinburgh*, read at a conversazione in the Hall of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh on 22d January 1864, and published in the *Edinburgh Medical Journal* for February in that year, and separately as a pamphlet. "Perhaps," says he, "some of you who have not looked curiously into the history of the time, may be surprised to be told that these early Protestant and Presbyterian predecessors of ours [the surgeons] were far from being so exact as we ourselves are in observing the first day of the week. But it is the indubitable fact that they not unfrequently held meetings of various kinds on that day,—meetings for the admission of new members, for the election of office-bearers, for the collection of money, for calling to account disobedient and refractory members, for making laws,—in short, for business of the

most secular description imaginable.* For nearly a century after the Reformation, such meetings occurred every now and then, the last of them, so far as I know, being on 6th March 1653.† But you must not suppose that we were in this respect better or worse than our neighbours in those times. Sunday markets were held in the end of the sixteenth century, and were abolished only in 1592 [1579]; and though public worship was regularly observed, no constraint was then put on individuals or on public bodies in regard to their modes of observing the day. [See, however, above, p. 469.] It is difficult for us to imagine the state of opinion on this subject which then existed. The Sunday of the early Reformers, selected as it was by the leading men among them for private entertainments;‡ for marriage feasts, with dancing, fireworks, and various kinds of merry-making;§ and for public entertainments, such as the festival in honour of the friends of Queen Mary, on 31st August 1561, after her arrival from France,‖ and the festival in honour of the Danish friends of King James and his queen on 24th May 1590, after their arrival from Denmark,¶ —the entertainers, in both cases, being the magistrates of this city,—was indeed a very different thing from the Sunday of a century later, which, rigidly enforced by serious penalties, left nothing to the consciences of individuals. And those opposite phases of the day were almost alike dissimilar to the day of rest with which we are ourselves familiar, in which statutory enforcements, being no longer in favour, have been nearly superseded, and seem likely to be superseded altogether, by that sense of its

* [It is plain that servile labour, and traffic, were regarded by the surgeons as all that was prohibited in the Fourth Commandment. See above, p. 396-8.]

† "The days of the week are not named in the minutes, but I have ascertained that the meetings of the dates subjoined were all of them Sunday meetings; others may possibly have escaped me, though I think they cannot be many:—30th June 1588, 26th September 1591, 17th September 1615, 13th September 1629, 4th June 1637, 13th September 1640, 22d September 1644, 13th September 1646, 5th October 1651, 6th March 1653." [Dr Gairdner has framed and published a very ingenious *Calendar for the Correction of Dates*, by means of which the day of the week on which any past date fell, or any future date will fall, can be determined with ease and certainty. It is sold by Edmonston & Douglas, Edinburgh.]

‡ "*Inventaires de la Royne Descosse*, printed for the Bannatyne Club in 1863, preface, p. lxxix., from which it appears that John Knox entertained noblemen and ambassadors on Sunday." [See above, p. 468.]

§ "Same book, preface, pp. lxxvii. and lxxviii."

‖ "Same book, preface, p. xxxvii. note 1. It was held in the old archi-episcopal palace, which still exists at the corner of the Cowgate and of Blackfriars' Wynd, east side. See also Town-council Records, 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th August 1561, in vol. iv. pp. 14, 15."

¶ "Town-council Records, 21st May 1590. It was held in the 'lugeing' of 'Thomas Aitchesoune, master of the cunzie house [the Mint].' Ample provision was made for the hilarity of the occasion, as the minute proves."

great advantages and privileges which is almost universal among us.

"Of the transition, in the course of a century, from extreme hilarity to extreme asceticism, and from extreme freedom to extreme coercion, there are a few traces to be found in the minutes of the surgeons. In the reign of the first Charles they were agitated by debates about what is quaintly called in the minutes 'barbarising on the sabbath-day.' At that time the highest men among the surgeons were barbers by right, and a few of them may still have been such in fact, though the barber trade had been then in a great measure transferred to the single barbers, not members of the body, but subject to its authority. In 1630, a refractory sabbatarian member, who had 'compleint to the kirk and counsall' against the barbers for practising their trade 'upon the Sabbath day,' was publicly reminded that such tell-tale courses were 'contrair to his aith of admissioun.' He was nevertheless so audacious as to tell the assembled incorporation that 'quha wald, quha wald not, he suld have their libertie restrainit.' But he was explicitly told in reply that the barbers of whom he complained had done only what was lawful for them to do, and he was suspended from his privileges 'aye and quhill he confes his falt,' which he did and was forgiven.

"Five years later, the opinion of the surgeons was so far changed that an act was passed by them, on the 27th October 1635, against 'barbarising on Sabbath.' The practice is characterised as being 'absurd and unlawful, contrary to God's Word, and deboishing of servands.' A fine was imposed of 'fifty-aucht shillings, *toties quoties*.' But it is curious that, while thus schooling the barbers, we continued our Sunday meetings, of which I find at least half-a-dozen of a later date than this act. It seems clear to me that such meetings were not then thought to be wrong, for they occurred at a period of great religious zeal and excitement,—the period of the abortive attempt to enforce the liturgy, of the signature of the Covenant, and of the memorable assemblies of Glasgow and Westminster;—and it is obvious that, if our Sunday meetings, which continued till the time of the firm establishment of Cromwell's power, had been thought to be profane, as they certainly would at a later period in the same century, there would not have been wanting rough warnings from such people as Jenny Geddes, the Tron Kirk green-wife, who, on Sunday 23d of July 1637, corrected the theological errors of Archbishop Laud, and of Charles the First, with such heroic intrepidity and with such remarkable success.

"You may perhaps feel some interest in the fact that, on the 25th of August 1638, the surgeons of Edinburgh signed the Covenant, and 'ordained their haill prenteisses and servands to subscryve the same als weill as themselfis, and that there sall be in no tyme cumming any freeman admittit, either chirurgeon or barbour, nor any buike prenteisses or servands, but sic as shall subscryve the Covenant.'" (Pp. 685–7)

Heylin correctly states that it was from the English Puritans that the clergy of the same faction in Scotland derived their Sabbatarianism. (Part II., ch. viii., § 12). And his account of the laxity of Sunday-observance in Scotland at the time when he wrote (1636), does not seem to be exaggerated in the least. "However in the greater towns they do observe the Sunday very precisely, according as our men [the Puritans] would have it; yet in the villages and smaller places of the country, they keep it not with that solemnity as the common people do with us. For in many of those villages and the like places, they have not only no public meetings at the church in the afternoon, but spend the whole time either in their businesses or their pleasures, as occasion is: whereof I have been well assured by sundry natives of that kingdom, of good faith and credit."

Page 193.—Dr THOMAS YOUNG.

The full title of Dr Young's treatise is given below, vol. ii. p. 39, where is also a notice of a translation of it, edited by Richard Baxter in 1672. Some particulars about Dr Young, and especially the fact that he was the classical teacher and a valued friend of Milton, are mentioned in the same volume, p. 260. See likewise Gilfillan, p. 171, and Hessey, p. 353. The original work is now to be found in the Library of Edinburgh University.

On certain passages in Clement of Alexandria, Josephus, &c., which are discussed above, pp. 116, 117, 273, 293, Dr Young builds the following conclusion:—"That the seventh day," says he, "was celebrated amongst the Gentiles, and that they observed it with a certain solemn devotion (either from the instinct of nature, or by a tradition received from the ancestors from whom they descended, or from a general knowledge of the creation itself), their very writings in express words do show; in which, whoever will look into them, he may easily find clear footsteps of a sabbatical solemnity." (B. I. ch. 8.) In chapter 10th of the same book he says—"Because we so often read in the Scriptures that the apostles, and the whole Church of Christ, did unanimously hold their assemblies on that day, to whom will it not be thought a needless thing to dispute the authority of its institution?" To this question, Milton replied in a treatise where the scriptural evidence for the Divine authority of the Lord's Day is critically examined, and pronounced insufficient. (See below, ii. 46.)

Again, Dr Young affirms that "one and the same reason of this day's solemnity is assigned everywhere in the Fathers." (B. I. ch. 5.) This is true in the sense that there is a reason which they all assign—the resurrection of Jesus on a Sunday. But the words of Dr Young may easily be misunderstood to signify that *this reason only* is assigned by them all; whereas it is but one of their many reasons, and is not even the *leading* one assigned by

Justin, the earliest writer in whose works any mention is made of the grounds on which the day was honoured by the early Christians. (See above, pp. 323–4, 353, 456; and below, ii. 4.)

Page 193.—George Abbot.

This writer teaches, that, as God by his example instituted the Sabbath at the creation, so the apostles, by their example, instituted the Lord's Day after the resurrection of Christ. This theory of obligation imposed by example has been much acted on by Protestants as well as Romanists, but is denied by Milton among others, who moreover calls in question the alleged *fact* of apostolic example in the matter of stated Sunday-observance. (See below, ii. 51–54.)

There is a copy of Abbot's book in the Library of the New College, Edinburgh.

Page 203.—Archbishop Bramhall.

Bramhall's *Works* have been reprinted in 5 vols. 8vo, (Oxford 1842-5,) the 5th of which contains his treatise on the Sabbath. Dr Hessey (p. 289) says it was written in 1658, but gives no authority for the statement. In the table of contents prefixed to the original edition of the *Works*, it is said to have been "never before publisht." For extracts from it see below, ii. 388; Hessey, pp. 134, 211, 413; and Dean Hook on *The Lord's Day*, p. 73.

Page 207.—George Walker.

Walker's book is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and in Trinity College, Dublin. Its full title is given below, ii. 38, and a passage is quoted from it in the same volume, p. 36. Altingius, Pynchon, and Warren embraced his notion that the Sabbath was instituted *after* Adam's fall, and is grounded on "God's blessing of the seventh day with the promise of Christ, and sanctifying it by his shedding his spirit on our first parents, and giving them faith to believe in Christ the blessed seed."

Page 217.—Grotius.

The opinion of Grotius (above p. 220) that the sanctification of the seventh day at the creation did not include its appointment as a day of *rest*, was held also by Cappellus, Baxter, Allix, Sharp, and T. S. Hughes (see above, p. 269; and below, ii. 30, 82, 146, 294). It seems to have been held likewise by Bede (below, ii. 9, 10), and possibly by Luther and Calvin (above, p. 403). Objections to it are stated below, ii. 146.

In his great work on *The Rights of War and Peace*, Grotius speaks of the Mosaic law in the following terms:—

"Of all the nations of the earth, there was but one to whom God peculiarly vouchsafed to give laws; which was that of the Jews, to whom Moses thus speaks, Deut. iv. 7: 'What nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon him for? And what nation is there so great, who have statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law, which I set before you this day?' And the Psalmist, cxlvii. 19, 20: 'He showed his word unto Jacob, his statutes and ordinances unto Israel. He hath not dealt so with any nation; and as for his judgments, they have not known them.' Neither is it to be doubted, but that those Jews (among whom Tryphon also in his disputes with Justin) do egregiously err, who think that strangers too, if they would be saved, must submit to the yoke of the Mosaic Law: For a law obliges only those to whom it is given. And to whom that Law is given, itself declares, 'Hear, O Israel;' and we read everywhere, that 'the covenant was made with them,' and that 'they were chosen to be the peculiar people of God;' which Maimonides owns to be true, and proves it from Deut. xxxiii. 4. . . .

"We (who are not Jews) are obliged to no part of the Levitical law, as a law properly so called, because all obligation beyond that arising from the law of nature is derived from the will of the Lawgiver; but it cannot be made appear that it was the will of God that any other people beside the Israelites should be bound by that law; and therefore, as to us, it is by no means necessary to prove the abrogating of that law; for it cannot be said to be abrogated in respect to them whom it never bound."

But he thinks that "whatsoever was enjoined by the Law of Moses, which relates to those virtues that Christ requires of his disciples, ought now as much, if not more, to be observed by us Christians. The ground of this observation is, because what virtues are required of Christians, as humility, patience, charity, &c., are to be practised in a more eminent degree than under the state of the Hebrew law, and that with good reason too; because the promises of heaven are more clearly proposed to us in the Gospel. Wherefore the old Law, in comparison with the Gospel, is said to be neither perfect nor ἄμεμπτος faultless, Heb. viii. 19; viii. 7. And Christ is termed the end of the Law, Rom. x. 5, but the Law only 'our schoolmaster,' or guide, 'to bring us unto Christ,' Gal. iii. 24. Thus the old law concerning the Sabbath, and that relating to tythes, show that Christians are obliged to set apart no less than the seventh part of their time for the worship of God, nor no less than the tenth part of their income for the maintenance of those who are employed in holy affairs, or for other sacred and pious uses." (B. I. ch. 1, § 16; English transl., London, 1738.)

Page 223.—Selden.

With reference to Selden's ninth chapter, the title of which is quoted at the bottom of p. 223, it may be noticed that according to the Talmudists the Sabbath had its origin at Marah; being, as they suppose, the subject of one of the laws spoken of in the fifteenth chapter of Exodus, ver. 25—"There he made for them a statute and an ordinance, and there he proved them." Bishop Patrick in his commentary on the verse, seems not unfavourable to this view, which, however, is but a probable conjecture to meet the difficulty occasioned by the complaint in verse 28th of the following chapter—"How long refuse ye to keep my commandments and my laws?"—words apparently implying that the observance of the Sabbath had previously been imposed on the Israelites.

Page 254.—William Pynchon.

Pynchon's book is so rare that I have failed to discover it in any public library. There is however a copy in my own collection. It is a small-4to volume, and the two Parts of which it consists contain respectively 143 and 120 pages. The titles of these, here subjoined, sufficiently indicate the contents of this dry and tedious work:—

"I. The Time when the first Sabbath was Ordained. 1. Negatively, Not in the Time of Adam's Innocency, as many say it was. 2. Affirmatively, it was Ordained after the Time of Adam's Fall and Re-creation. II. The Manner how the First Sabbath was ordained. 1. By blessing the Seventh Day with many Spiritual Ordinances, both for publick and private use. 2. By sanctifying that Day for the Exercise of the said Ordinances. 3. By Sanctifying the outward Rest of that Day, to be a Typical Sign both of God's Resting, and of man's Resting in the Seed of the Woman, that was promised to break the Devil's Head-plot, namely, by his Propitiatory Sacrifice. And hence it follows, 1. That as the Sabbath was Ordained to be a Typical sign, so it must be abolished as soon as Christ had performed his said Propitiatory Sacrifice. 2. As it was Ordained to be the Sanctified Time, for the Exercise of the said blessed Ordinances; so the next day of the week, into which it was changed, must continue without intermission to the end of the world. By William Pynchon, Esq. London, 1654."

"II. Holy Time: or The True Limits of the Lord's Day. I. Proving that the Lord's Day doth begin with the Natural Morning, and that the Morning of the Natural day doth begin at Midnight; and so consequently that the Lord's Day must both begin with the Natural Morning at Mid-night, and end with the Natural Evening at Mid-night. II. Proving, that the Jews' beginning of the Day at the Sun-set Evening was only in relation to the date

of the Person purified from his Levitical uncleanness. III. That the Jews themselves did hold, That the Natural day did continue after Sun-set till Mid-night. London, 1654."

It will be observed that he opposes Shepard's opinion respecting the time when the Christian Sabbath begins and ends (above, p. 252). As to that writer, and his Sabbatarian successors in New England, see Gilfillan, pp. 158–164.

Page 254.—William Prynne.

Prynne, again, is on Shepard's side, and opposed to Pynchon, as the remainder of his title-page will show:—"Wherein is clearly and irrefragably manifested by Scripture, reason, authorities, in all ages till this present, that the Lord's day begins and ends at evening, and ought to be solemnized from evening to evening; against the novel errors, mistakes of such who groundlessly assert that it begins and ends at midnight, or day-breaking, and ought to be sanctified from midnight to midnight, or morning to morning: whose arguments are here examined, refuted as unsound, absurd, frivolous. Compiled in the Tower of London, and now published for the information, reformation of all contrary judgment or practice. By William Prynne of Swainswick, Esq. London, 1655." 4to, p. 92.

Baxter's judgment of this controversy will be found below, vol. ii. p. 32.

Page 255.—Aspinwall.

Of this writer and his book I have been unable to learn anything, except that it is written against the Seventh-day Baptists. The little volume of Ockford, one of that sect (above, p. 226), is also very rare, the only copy known to me being one in the possession of Mr Gilfillan.

Page 255.—Archbishop Usher.

Usher's letter to Twisse, first printed by Dr Nicholas Bernard, is included in the collection of letters bound up with Parr's *Life of Usher*, p. 500.

With respect to the book called *Usher's Body of Divinity* (above, p. 260), I find the following notice prefixed by "J. Dan" to an edition of it published at London in 1702:—

"The method and most of the materials are the incomparable Bishop Usher's; this I speak upon the satisfying evidence of eye-witnesses.

"The most reverend author in his elder days blessed God for its publication (though at first it started into the world without his consent), because he perceived it had done much good; which

those have affirmed to hear him say, which had no fondness for the book."

Page 264.—Bishop Williams.

In *Notes and Queries*, 2d series, vol. viii. p. 477, Mr Edward F. Rimbault writes as follows:—

"During the reign of James I., plays were performed at Court on Sundays. The statute 3 [1] Car. I. c. 4, absolutely prohibited their exhibition on the Sabbath day; yet, notwithstanding this act of parliament, both plays and masques were performed at court on Sundays during the first *sixteen* years of the reign of that king. (See May's *History of the Parliament of England*).

"The statement regarding the performance of the *Midsummer Night's Dream* at Bishop Williams's house, Sept. 27, 1631, does not rest solely on the MS. at Lambeth Palace. In John Spencer's *Discourses upon Diverse Petitions delivered into the Hands of King James and Charles*, 4to., 1641 (quoted from Oldys' MS. notes upon Langbaine, in the *Variorum* Shakspeare, iii. 148), we read that—

"'John Wilson, a cunning musician, contrived a curious comedy, which being acted on a Sunday night after that John bishop of Lincoln had consecrated the Earl of Cleaveland's sumptuous chapel, the said John Spencer (newly made the bishop's commissary general) did present the said bishop at Huntingdon for suffering the said comedy to be acted in his house on a Sunday though it was nine o'clock at night; also Sir Sydney Montacute and his lady, Sir Thomas Hadley and his lady, Master Wilson, and others, actors of the same: and because they did not appear, he sentenced the bishop to build a school at Eaton, and endow it with £20 a-year for a master; Sir Sydney Montacute to give five pounds and five coats to five poor women, and his lady five pounds and five gowns to five poor widows; and the censure (says he) stands yet unrepealed.'"

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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